

A VALUES ORIENTATION APPROACH TO STUDY OF THE
PUBLIC PERSONNEL SYSTEMS OF TAIWAN
CONSTRUCTING A FOUR-VALUES FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

by
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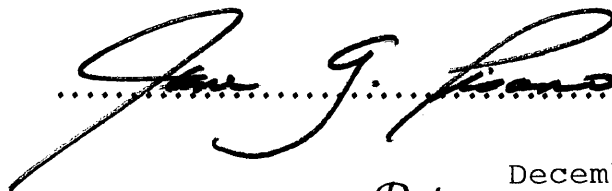
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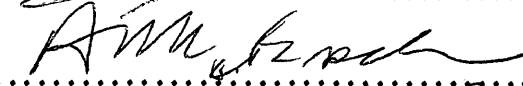
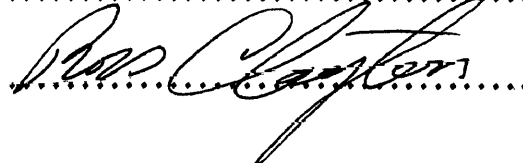
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is respectfully dedicated to my parents in Taiwan and to my beloved wife, Shu-hui Lin, who has patiently made many sacrifices to help me through my years of graduate study in the United States.

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Chapter I

THE TOPIC, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND STUDY DESIGN

Though public personnel systems are basic to government, writings on the Taiwan government have provided very little information about the complexity and competing values of its public personnel systems. Nor are there any studies of values orientations and profiles of Taiwan's public personnelists or of competing personnel system designs. Indigenous studies have not taken multiple values perspectives into their theoretical conceptualization. Also, the existing literature on public personnel/human resource management (hereinafter HRM) cannot be easily integrated within a comprehensive value framework. The present study is presented as exploratory research into Taiwan's public personnel systems through multiple values perspectives. Two major objectives of this study are (1) reframing Taiwan's public personnel systems through multiple values perspectives in order to construct alternatives in public personnel theory; and (2) conducting an empirical survey of values orientations of public personnelists to reinforce the findings of the literature search regarding the values orientations of public agencies worldwide with specific attention to their relevance in the Taiwanese setting. Comparisons are made, but specific recommendations for policy and practice in Taiwan's personnel systems are left to future theorists. The emphasis is purely on values.

Four contrasting personnel values orientations--Personnel Administration, Personnel Management, Personnel Politics, and Strategic Human Resource Management (hereinafter SHRM)--were conceptualized as the major value frames of public personnel systems. An empirical value survey of Taiwan's public personnelists was conducted to examine their contrasting values orientations regarding public personnel systems in five dimensions ranging from abstract to specific, including public personnel institutions, system designs, organizational actions, personnel operations, and personal qualities. The survey also solicited their value profiles regarding six personnel practices including staffing criteria, recruitment, performance appraisal, financial concerns, training, and exit/turnover. In addition, the survey probed their conceptions of future expectations, organizational goals, constituents, personal qualities, and motives for entry. Six variables--gender, age, rank, governmental classification, educational level, and tenure--were used for group analyses. The research design is justified by use of the measurement of weights of value desirability.

This present study sought to determine the current contexts, structures, and functions of Taiwan's public personnel systems. The study also examined the values of Chinese in regard to public personnel systems. In its discussion of possible alternatives in personnel reform, the study has also taken into account cultural phenomena of the Chinese. Many questions dealt within the research arise because of the paradoxical and complex nature of Taiwan's public personnel systems. The meta-objective of this study is to make a contribution to public personnel theory as well as practice in Taiwan.

Objectives of the Study

The study develops multiple values perspectives on public personnel decisions and actions. Theoretically and practically, the research responds to the imperative of

developing multiple value perspectives. Scholars from various disciplines have offered different and even contradictory conceptualizations regarding public personnel/HRM (Legge & Gowler, 1986; Dawson, 1987; Guest, 1987; Lengnick-Hall & Lengnick-Hall, 1988; Legge, 1989; Ferris & Judge, 1991; Wright & McMahan, 1992). Over the years, there have been developed four competing approaches to theory and practice in public personnel administration. They are categorized as personnel administration, personnel management, personnel politics, and, currently, strategic HRM. These four conceptual frames respectively emphasize different, competing values and values orientations in dimensions of personnel institutions, system design, organizational action, operation, and individual quality.

This study is concerned with whether there can be consistent and contrasting methods of integrating these four frames or values orientations. Acceptance of different conceptual frames by public personnelists as well as scholars will most likely depend on their own value orientations and action focuses. To avoid conflicting values and frames, Taiwan's public personnelists have a strong tendency to seek a fad or one "best way" to cause one perspective to prevail. The four above-mentioned types of personnel values orientations are proposed as action alternatives for Taiwan's public personnel administrative reorganization and personnel operations. The five objectives of the study are restated as follows:

- (1) Reframing Taiwan's public personnel systems through a value-analytical model;
- (2) Conceptualizing Chinese values with reference to personnel systems through cultural, psychological, social, political, and philosophical contexts;
- (3) Developing a comprehensive instrument for public personnel values measurement;

- (4) Conducting an exploratory study of the values, profiles, and orientations of public personnelists; and
- (5) Constructing a road map for seeking alternatives to current practices.

Importance of the Study

A key point of this study is that keeping one dominant values perspective over others inevitably constrains action alternatives. In discussion of administrative reorganization, Garnett (1987) has pointed out that there are four competing rubrics focusing on reorganization as economy, as management reform, as politics, and as ideology. He asserted that with multiple perspectives people can develop broader, more balanced views of reorganizations, and explore action alternatives beyond the limitations of a single perspective. Frost (1989) stressed the need to develop and articulate a vision for HRM. He regarded the vision of HRM not only as a matter for research, but also as a practical matter.

It is imperative to develop multiple value perspectives in releasing conceptual and action restrictions. Most important is determination of what values are held by public personnelists at different ranks. Taiwan's public personnelists are selected and promoted solely within their organizations. In viewing selection and promotion processes, certain questions arise regarding the value conceptions of the public workforce. Do demographic structures in personnel organizations affect the extent of value congruency? In other words, do personnelists in Taiwan have different values according to differences in age, gender, educational level, tenure, and governmental level? The present study includes a quantitative instrument to determine the values profiles and orientations of the respondents whose demographics differ.

Given that continual conflict among values and systems for job allocations "comes with the territory" of HRM in public agencies, how does this conflict affect public personnelists' views of their field and their expectations in it? The value profiles and orientations of existing public personnelists will be part of the answer to these questions. House (1988) and Ferris et al. (1991) asserted that individuals with the will and skill to act politically have high cognitive complexity and tolerance for ambiguity. A value survey of public personnelists in multiple dimensions will provide clearer and more comprehensive answers regarding values and also offer a road map for taking future actions. Additionally, the qualitative analysis of the values of the Taiwanese Chinese in the study can yield important insights into political practices and realities in Taiwan's public personnel systems. With this cultural insight, the study can more thoroughly explore to determine how generalizable the four-quadrant value framework is. Primarily, the four-quadrant framework with multiple levels of analysis can extend the scope of public personnel theory in general, and the findings can serve as guidelines for personnel policy and practice in Taiwan.

Significance of Value Studies for Personnel Decisions and Actions

Many personnel theorists have advocated using the value-analytical approach to complement systematic and empirical study (Elliott, 1985; Klingner & Nalbandian, 1986; Nigro & Nigro, 1986). Their underlying assumption is that value perspectives can offer more insights than other approaches regarding personnel decisions and actions. The value-analytical approach is compatible with the political perspective advocated by Rosenbloom (1985), Frost (1989), Dresang (1991), and Shafritz et al. (1992). Perceiving public personnel as balancing the conflicts between politics and merit is conceptually equivalent to adopting a competing values perspective.

Theorists from a variety of disciplines have advocated applying multiple value frames or perspectives to organizational effectiveness (Rohrbaugh, 1981; Quinn, 1988; Quinn & Cameron, 1988), somewhat like using the multiple-constituency model on human resource (HR) effectiveness (Tsui, 1984, 1987, 1990; King & Bishop, 1991) and effectiveness criteria in a public context (Gortner, 1989; Heffron, 1989).

Theorists also have emphasized the empirical significance of values study in understanding aspects of organizational behavior (Posner & Munson, 1979). Included were employee motivation (Brown, 1976), work values (Hofstede, 1984), organizational processes (Connor & Becker, 1975), organizational culture (Posner et al., 1985; Schein, 1985; Enz, 1986), managerial success (England & Lee, 1974), and in differentiating between managers and nonmanagers (Sikula, 1973; England, 1975). Also studied were the managerial level (Moreno, 1984; McGregor, 1991), gender effects (Powell et al., 1984), and functional communications (Posner et al., 1987). In addition, Schmidt and Posner (1982, 1983, 1986, 1992) have conducted a longitudinal value study of American managerial values and expectations.

Specifically, psychological studies on value congruency as a "fit" concept have extensively treated a variety of organizational and personnel issues: effects of value congruency between person-organization on individual behavioral and psychological outcomes (Meglino et al., 1989; Boxx et al., 1991), effects on intra-organizational power (Enz, 1988), relationships to demography in superior-subordinate dyads (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989), and social integration and turnover (O'Reilly et al., 1989). Both demographic researchers and interactionists admit that demographic compositions of organizations correlate with whichever dominant groups have value congruence and homogeneity (Schneider, 1987; Pfeffer, 1983, 1991). The negative effects of value congruence are shown in group linkage (Kovach & Render, 1987). Dispositional theorists adopt values

as major dispositional criteria in HR practices such as selection, job design, training, and goals and decisions (Judge, 1992). Definitely, the utility of values study as well as theoretical extensions are worthwhile and fascinating.

In particular, the values perspective is appropriate for studying public personnel systems. Public personnel systems are subsystems of public administration, which also inherently face diverse and even conflicting demands based on public values and expectations. Rosenbloom and his associates have asserted that public personnel administration is within the same political context as public administration (Rosenbloom, 1983; Rosenbloom & Riccucci, 1986; Ingraham & Rosenbloom, 1990). However, Bjur and Zomorradian (1986) argued that any perspectives on public administration need to be modified in different cultural, political, and social contexts. Frost (1989) believed that the underlying structure of contemporary HRM practices has its origins in cultural, social, and historical contexts.

In a given time and context, both value conflicts and consensus are transformed into personnel actions and practices. Longitudinally, conflicts or consensus in values might be institutionalized in system designs and purposes of organizational actions. Conflicts between current personnel authorities are rooted in the distinctiveness of Taiwan's context. The question of how to integrate conflicting values certainly generates an important inquiry into Taiwan's public personnel systems. Taking culture into account, multiple value perspectives extend the interest in public personnel administration as an intriguing field, particularly when Taiwan's public personnel systems mix and clash with Chinese cultural traditions and modern personnel management.

Scope and Delimitations of the Study

This study is comprehensive in scope. It deals with the complexity and competing values of public personnel systems in Taiwan. Although numerous references are made to the relevant political, cultural, psychological, and philosophical literature, this study does not make recommendations or draw implications outside the public personnel field. The major concerns of the study are personnel institutions, systems, practices, and procedures only of the Taiwan's government. The empirical value survey was conducted within a short time period. Time was considered a vital variable. The findings of this study have not been discussed except in their purely contemporary significance with reference to the present study.

The results of the survey are not intended to be applied in all policy decision-making in Taiwan's government. Although the study sets out to develop a multiple values framework, its value items and value profiles do not universally fit into contexts other than those of Taiwan. The findings might not be necessarily applicable to personnel agencies or bureaucracies of governments worldwide.

Current Situation and Problems

Eight major problems complicate the current situation, theoretically and practically. First, writings on the government of Taiwan generally neglect the significance of its public personnel systems. By their very nature, Taiwan's public personnel systems include competing interests, power struggles, and conflicting values. Public personnel administration is thus a mass of multiple values that constantly conflict. Second, theorists have failed to integrate a comprehensive model for conceptualizing competing personnel systems and values. Third, problems of current systems are so intricate that many paradoxes coexist. Fourth, continual personnel reforms are made to appease the critics of

appease the critics of ineffective and inefficient management, despite the absence of a value consensus and clear focal constructs. Fifth, the insulated status of public personnelists might account for their value homogeneity in current public personnel actions and practices. Sixth, current practices reflect the confined value perspectives of public personnelists and their agencies as well. Seventh, existing studies of the values of the Chinese do not provide cultural insights from multiple viewpoints: philosophical, epistemological, and psychological. Finally, contemporary value measurements have not yet combined personal and social values into a comprehensive set of value scales.

Overview of Public Personnel Systems

Drastic changes in Taiwan have been a popular research focus for contemporary social scientists. Many theorists have acknowledged that the Taiwan's government has played a crucial role in changing society, politics, and the economy (Copper, 1988). Many writings on Taiwan's government show a simple focus on its relationship to economic success (Wade, 1990; Hwang, 1991; Clark, 1989), political democratization (Cheng & Haggard, 1992), and societal changes (Gold, 1986; Tien, 1989; Hsiao, 1991). While theorists have praised the government for its prosperous national development, there is insufficient research on its public personnel systems or on these systems' most important actors, public personnelists.

Furthermore, literature in English on the Taiwan's government (e.g., Copper, 1990; Cheng & Haggard, 1992; Moody, 1992) offers merely descriptive material on its structures and constitutional designs but nothing regarding its public personnel systems. Studies of HR in Taiwan (Ogawa et al., 1993) center on demographic trends and labor markets, an emphasis which is justifiable for economic planning. These studies deliberately underestimate the impact of civil service examinations on forming public personnel systems. One reason for the omission is that Western theorists lack either

interest in or adequate knowledge about the contexts of Taiwan's public personnel systems, although many have contributed to the literature on the imperial Chinese civil service (e.g., Menzel, 1963; Bishop, 1968). Language barriers and cultural gaps also increase the difficulty in comprehending these problems as a whole (Metzger, 1990; Bond, 1991). Another reason for the dearth of research is that the complexity in current systems and insufficient information consistently thwart Western scholars as well as general observers in gaining a comprehensive understanding of Taiwan's public personnel systems.

Various Labels Reflecting Conceptual Confusion

Generally, the scholarly neglect of public personnel systems can be traced to the diverse categories of personnel systems in both theory and practice. Confusion in labeling of personnel systems and the rigidity of using a single value perspective or frame impede theoretical advancement. Yet problems develop when theorists use different labels and terms in studying public personnel systems. Traditionally, "public personnel administration" is often associated with a technical and controllist organization. However, "public personnel administration" may be a general term referring to personnel agencies in a government. Ban (1991) argued that civil service systems and merit systems might not be conceptually equivalent. In contrast, Thompson (1990) also claimed that politics in personnel is perplexing and misunderstood. Theorists have construed the politics of personnel by attaching many meanings, such as political patronage (Rosenbloom, 1985), vehicles for promoting democratic governance (Saltzstein, 1992), generic politics in organization (Nalbandian & Klingner, 1981), or application of the political perspective (Ferris & Judge, 1991). In contrast, many students believe that the increasing use of the term HRM reflects the decay of "personnel management" (PM), which is deemed to have a strong functional focus and to be more

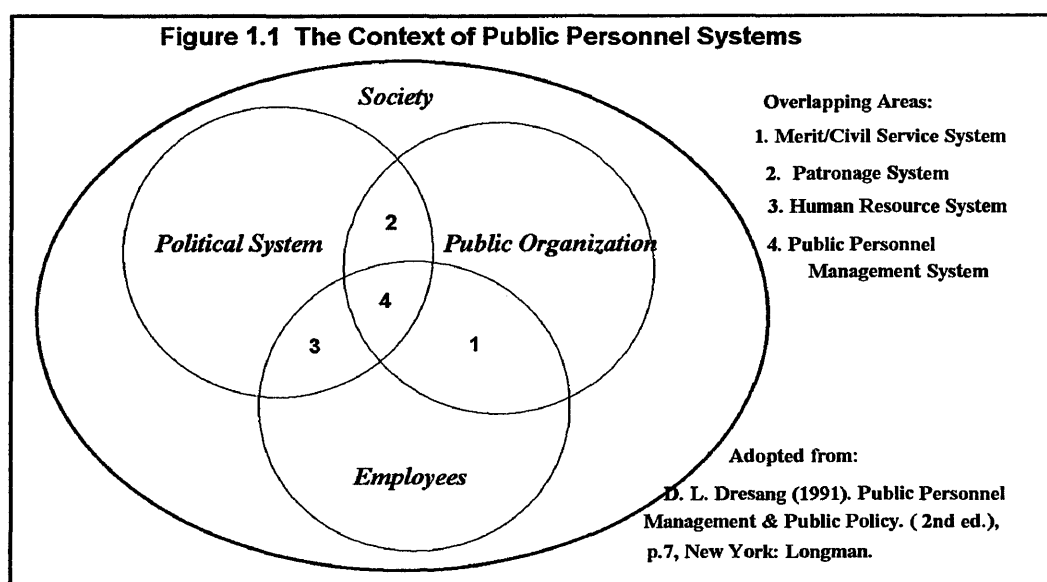
concerned with the administration of specific employee-related functions than with overall strategies. French (1986:7-8) asserted that changes in terminology reflect the increased significance attached to the management of people in organizations as well as to the broader perspective from which the field is currently viewed. While the range of meaning of the terminology becomes broader and more diverse, according to Guest (1989), theorists have failed to make a distinction between personnel management (PM) and HRM.

Likewise, French (1986) referred to HRM as the philosophy, policies, procedures, and practices related to management of people within an organization. Yet he sensed no difference between HRM, personnel and industrial relations, personnel and labor relations, and employee relations. Mahoney et al. (1986) and Ferris et al. (1991) never intended to differentiate conceptually between personnel administration and HRM. The terminology of personnel management developed with the passage of time, and Dawson (1989) doubted whether changing categories and terminology have led to development of any other values orientation.

Much confusion in categorization has been created because the focal construct has not been clearly defined. Theoretically speaking, four different and interrelated personnel systems exist through interactions between public organizations, employees, and political systems in a social context: the merit/civil service system, personnel politics, human resource management (HRM), and personnel management systems. (See Figure 1.1)

The merit/civil service system stems from the interaction (areas 1-4, Figure 1.1) between public organizations and public employees. "Merit system" refers to a government personnel system in which activities are carried out by merit principles, and thereby controlled by rules, procedures, and regulations to minimize political intervention

and abuse. The values are related to employee protectionism, political neutrality, organizational stability, merit principles, and administrative responsibility. However, merit formalization, internal action focus, employee protectionism, and political isolation are easily fused into an inbred bureaucracy that fails to respond to democratic values. As for the administration-technical emphasis, the merit system tends to incorporate structural arrangements promoting specialization, formalization, centralization, hierarchy, and integration.



In contrast, the personnel politics system (areas 2-4, Figure 1.1) is based on a conception of values whereby personnel decisions and actions must be grounded on the principle of responsiveness to the external context and to the people. Elected officials representing public interests and a democratic ethos exert influence on how public organizations should operate. The values of a personnel politics system are derived from executive leadership, political patronage as democratic action, responsiveness, political fidelity, and accountability. Yet, in opposition to the merit system, the personnel politics system operates with an external focus and in a flexible structural arrangement.

The HRM system is that aspect of public personnel management that interacts between this external political system and HR strategy for employee career development and planning. Too often HRM is responsive to "wish lists" proposed by managers with political realities established by legislative priorities and productivity forecasts for HR. The values are those of equality, productivity, employee career development, constituency effectiveness, and strategic vision. The focus is on external demands while seeking to integrate structure in making long-term strategies.

Obviously, a personnel management system (area 4, Figure 1.1) is central to collaboration between and coordination of total personnel decisions and actions. Its value orientations are equity/fairness, economy/efficiency, motivation/internal cohesion, professionalism, and managerial adaptability. Its focus is still internal and organizational; structural arrangement is flexible with a contingent action focus. These four interrelated, but competing, frameworks of public personnel/HRM are advocated by different constituencies and organizations. Each framework represents respective values orientations and profiles of personnel institutions, system designs, organization actions and operations, and personal quality. Failure in discriminating among personnel systems results in conceptual confusion. In this study it is argued that it is worthwhile, theoretically and practically, to analyze personnel decisions and actions and to identify value orientations through this value-analytical approach.

Several important questions need to be asked: (1) Can researchers construct a comprehensive model integrating these four personnel systems? (2) How do they accomplish this? (3) How do they measure different values and value orientations in a certain construct space? (4) How can they integrate value profiles at the individual as well as at the organizational level of analysis? (5) What are the implications of the premise that people not only can but also should have multiple conceptual frames and value profiles?

(6) What are the practical implications if these multiple conceptual frames can facilitate public personnel decisions and actions? The existing literature of public personnel/HRM fails to deal with these questions.

Complexity of the Problems

Public personnel reforms continue to be critical issues for the Taiwanese government. On the surface, there are criticisms of both the public personnel focus on personnel growth and the budgetary burdens. Public accounting rarely emphasizes cost-minimization in expenditures and the idea of utilization maximization in HRM. From an accounting perspective, civil servants have historically been treated solely as expenses or costs of operation. Constant expansion in the size of the workforce and rising personnel costs have led the public to believe that public personnel are out of control and inefficiently managed. The Taiwanese government has frequently conducted both civil service examinations and recruitment programs, despite the fact that there is a surplus in HR from previous recruitment efforts. The frequency of the examinations indicates the high value placed on equality as opposed to finding solutions to problems of effectiveness and efficiency in personnel management. The difficulty is that each value has its own advocates, and the legitimacy of these values endures in the fabric of the society.

Although multiple measures for control of personnel quotas have been initiated, Taiwan's government has still failed to keep personnel growth down. The 1974 and 1993 government expenditures for personnel amounted to one-third of the total budget of the central government. From 1981 to 1991 the number of general administrators in the central government increased 61.91 percent (Ministry of Personnel, hereinafter MOP, 1992). Though the government continues to proclaim its cutback program to control personnel quotas, the growth keeps soaring. Seemingly, benefits of personnel cost-effectiveness and HR planning rarely occur to public personnelists.

Thus, charges against Taiwan's public personnel systems include the following: inefficient operations, ineffective management, and merit abuse through politics.

Ineffective manpower need estimates made by public personnelists often result in radical personnel growth. There are many criticisms of unfair performance appraisals, personal intervention in personnel decisions, nonmerit recruitment, law misinterpretation, and ineffective training (Research, Development and Evaluation Commission, hereinafter RDEC, 1980).

Statistics show how complex the problems are. Until 1992 one fifth of all civil servants were not qualified by means of either examination or official appointment. In the fiscal year 1993, 30.16 percent of total governmental expenditures will be made for personnel. In 1974 and 1989 the ratio between personnel expenditures and total expenditures was 36.4 percent, representing an increase of 6.79 times within a 15-year period (Central Personnel Administration, 1990). Though public personnel agencies have proposed programs for controlling personnel quotas, the growth in numbers and expenditures on personnel seem uncontrollable (Chu, 1991).

Other evidence indicates low satisfaction among civil servants themselves regarding public personnel management. According to a 1988 study of 364 turnovers, 68.1 percent of those who resigned from public agencies had less than five years of tenure (RDEC, 1988). One-third of those recruited would resign within the first three years of their service. The average age of 89 percent of the turnovers was under forty. Two-thirds had higher degrees than university graduation. This means that these turnovers were younger and highly educated employees. Most of their responses involved complaints about unfairness and inequality in personnel promotions, welfare, and performance appraisals. There were also complaints about lack of training opportunities.

complaints about unfairness and inequality in personnel promotions, welfare, and performance appraisals. There were also complaints about lack of training opportunities.

According to another survey in 1990, 1,543 turnovers registered complaints about personnel management in their organizations. Included were few promotion opportunities, low pay, lack of a grievance channel, unfair performance appraisals, and unequal assignment of workloads (MOP, 1990). The solutions to these complex problems must begin with different values, multiple dimensions, and action orientations. However, current personnel reforms are proposed in a piecemeal style rather than on a large scale. Desirable end-states of reforms shift cyclically without value consensus.

Reform Without Value Consensus

Continuous criticism of public personnel systems does not help to achieve consensus on what the desirable personnel reforms should be. Many proposals have been made; the major focus has been on system designs based on either legalistic or descriptive-analytical perspectives involving values of control, centralization, hierarchy, and the status quo.

Currently, two public personnel agencies, the Examination Yuan (hereinafter the EY) and the Central Personnel Administration (hereinafter the CPA) of the Executive Yuan in Taiwan, are competing in terms of the policy authority of each and the desire to realize their respective values. The EY has constitutional legitimacy as an advantage in its exercise of authority on personnel policy-making and legislation. It focuses on centralized structure, hierarchical control, and enforcing and policing public personnel decisions and actions. It seeks effective control mechanisms in a highly decentralized setting, whereas the CPA controls personnel affairs in administrative agencies in a centralized style.

enterprises, and it recruits and maintains competent personnel for the government. The CPA takes the initiative to implement its own version of personnel reform and finds itself in the position of having to catch up with personnel organization technical developments. However, CPA attempts to exercise program control are universally regarded as too late, inconsistent, and not sufficiently informed by adequate level of technical expertise.

New proposals will not make any difference unless there is a resolution of the continuing conflict between the EY and the CPA. These two personnel agencies are in charge of personnel operations and policy-making in the central government. Both of them emphasize control of public personnelists. As a matter of fact, the Constitution of the Republic of China in Taiwan does not equate examination power with all personnel administration authority. The EY has only partial personnel authority while maintaining the right to initiate personnel legislation. Conflicts arise simply because there are too many overlapping personnel functions and areas of authority between the two agencies, without clear discrimination.

Like these dual institutions, many personnel systems function without integration. Dual institutions with overlapping authority leave public personnelists in an equivocal position. Diverse personnel laws and regulations are enforced. Overlapping personnel authority certainly adds up not only to conflicting values in policy but also to contradictory orders. But fundamentally, it is these dual personnel-authority problems that call for personnel reforms and even constitutional redesign.

In contrast, alternatives like management tactics, cost-minimization, efficiency ideas, and HRM from the private sector are championed as ideal remedies for Taiwan's ailing public personnel systems. Yet managerial reform with a contingency focus often succeeds at the expense of other values, most likely political responsiveness and strategic

HR planning. Managerial flexibility also conflicts with merit concerns for legalistic requisites and formalized control.

Many theorists like Klingner and Nalbandian (1985), Thompson (1989), and Levine et al. (1990) have asserted that certain core values are competing for attention in personnel management. The core values compete for the decision-maker's attention; they coexist in conflict with each other. However, Klingner and Nalbandian (1985) argued that the influences of competing values are inevitably filtered through contemporary contexts. Thus, according to Dresang (1991), public personnel management is based on a number of public values and is charged with the pursuit of a number of policy goals.

In proposing a theory of public personnel reform, Rosenbloom and Riccucci (1986) stated that tradeoffs between competing values are inevitable. When reformers succeed in causing total public personnel systems to increase their emphasis on certain values like political responsiveness, they also prompt others to seek change on behalf of other core concerns like merit or instrumental goals (Rosenbloom, 1986).

Kaufman (1956) believed that reform in the public sector reflects the internal decomposition of dominant values. In contrast, Thompson (1989) argued that discontent springs from the inability to forge a consensus on the appropriate weights to be assigned to particular values in order to define the optimum mix of achievement in the various dimensions. Inability to reach consensus means that reform movements often contain the probability of new conflicts and thus they assume a cyclical pattern.

Rokeach (1973) defined a value as a prescriptive belief wherein some means or ends of action are judged to be desirable. A value is a cognition about the desirable--equivalent to what C. Kluckhohn (1951) called a "conception of the desirable." Personnel reform with multiple aspects can be seen as a value system comprising an

enduring organization of beliefs concerning socially preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence in personnel systems.

Thus, it is imperative to ask whose personnel value orientations are influential in determining policy goals. Public personnelists are often in charge of making the objectives of reform a reality. It is the professional status of public personnelists that lends credibility to their conception of what is desirable in personnel reforms. Thus the crucial questions are as follows: (1) What is their conception of desirable personnel reform? (2) Which aspect or dimension of personnel systems do they consider desirable and important for reform? (3) When do organizations or governmental levels make the difference?

Insulated Status and Value Homogeneity

Public personnelists are seen as insulated groups, not because of their professional expertise but because of their independent network. In 1992, they were only 2.76 percent of total public employees, and only 3.41 percent of those in administrative agencies were public personnelists. Compared to total numbers of civil servants, they are a minority group whose members are older, specialized, relatively highly educated, and powerful in personnel issues. As noted, in 1991, the 15,518 public personnelists comprised only 2.76 percent of the total 562,983 public employees in Taiwan (Ministry of Personnel, 1992). Thirty-three percent of these public personnelists hold degrees higher than university bachelors, compared to 31.88 percent of total civil servants. Their average age is 43.45, compared to 39.77 of all public servants and 37.89 for those in administrative agencies. Most important, performance appraisal, selection, and promotion of public personnelists are all under the control of the CPA and the Ministry of Personnel (MOP) of the EY.

Public executives are probably not able to discharge any public personnelists. Nonetheless, personnelists still follow both the orders of executives within their organization and those of supervisory personnel authorities. Their career development is controlled through specialized personnel channels rather than by their executives. Public executives have no power over personnel functions unless they get cooperation from public personnelists. Public executives always complain about their powerlessness in deciding who might comprise their personnel staff. In such matters, public personnelists and their executives often have difficulties in communication regarding conflicting issues.

Incidentally, personnelists may not openly challenge actions of their executives. In 1992, one-fifth of all civil servants had not qualified through the examination and regular appointment process. The high numbers of temporary hires has caused problems with equity, merit principles, and cost concerns. Nonmerit recruitment and invalid performance appraisal in selection have put public personnelists under the scrutiny of the public and of public employees as well. The public generally believes in the existence of a conspiracy between personnelists and their executives against the merit system.

The insulated status of public personnelists in comparison to other public servants may cause greater value homogeneity in their group. As an isolated group in the government, how do public personnelists form a homogeneous group with congruent value orientations and profiles? Does gender make any difference in their value homogeneity? Do other variables, such as rank, tenure, age, educational level, or governmental level make any difference? Who are the important constituents of public personnelists?

Trapped into a Single Value Perspective

Another philosophical problem is that theorists have confined their frames to a sole value perspective. Ferris and Judge (1991) observed that most theory and research

in personnel/HRM have been micro-analytic in their level of analysis and unitary in perspective, with the rational model of HR perspective dominating the field. Gowler and Legge (1986) claimed that the present consensus is that the image of future personnel management reflects the shared functionalist perspective--the dominant paradigm of prescriptive studies and practices. Both observations appear valid compared to the current thinking on Taiwan's public personnel systems. It should be noted that this current dominance of the functionalist orientation inevitably limits the extent of choices in policy and action.

Traditionally, people have thought of public personnel as using a functional-technical orientation when applying rational scientific techniques. Sayre (1948) stated that as a result techniques gradually have obscured the ends they were designed to serve. He referred to public personnel as having a "control mentality," emphasizing "the triumph of technique over purpose." Nigro and Nigro (1986) also recognized the drift of personnel administration toward a "technical" discipline that has become "value neutral."

In fact, it is not the techniques that are causing all the problems haunting public personnel administration. Fundamentally, the techniques imply values and expectations. The resolution of the problems often comes from a different perspective on the values and uses of personnel techniques. As the most significant actors in personnel systems, the value perspectives of public personnelists decisively determine the use of techniques. Thompson (1990) has argued that public personnel administration cannot be value free; it is especially political in that it affects who gets what from the government.

In discussing the present approaches to studying public personnel management, Klingner and Nalbandian (1985) criticized American scholars for continuing to focus on the functionalist approach in the developmental process. The search for the one best way leads scholars, as well as practitioners, to a narrow perspective in pursuit of a merit

system. While the merit concept has been traditionally viewed as value free, each value emerging from contrasting perspectives carries its own special definition of merit.

Current Taiwanese theorists mostly consider public personnel administration from a technical-functional orientation and as a barren area for theoretical study. Although indigenous studies have provided much useful information on current systems, little attention has been paid to how public personnelists frame their values and what their value orientations are. Despite being politically "neutral" officially, public personnelists are inevitably associated with politics in operations and policy-making. Their purposes may still be instrumental in serving the needs of other public employees and in safeguarding the merit system. Metaphorically speaking, other than their technician image, they might have other faces with different voices.

According to current personnel laws and regulations in Taiwan, rank-and-file personnelists are required to implement at least 16 functions and 55 practices. Efficiency, effectiveness, and merit protection sometimes compete with flexibility and adaptability. Some systematic designs require assurance of the personnelists' integrity and protection of employees' rights. Obviously, multiple functions and roles require them to have multiple values orientations.

Further, public personnelists have the opportunity to view first hand the results of personnel reforms and policy changes. Their experiences and perceptions about the personnel system can be an important indicator of the extent to which the personnel system is effective (U.S. MSPB, 1988). By and large, they represent an informed and vocal group. Their values, concerns, and recommendations for change can provide a unique perspective on personnel issues which can substantially help decision-makers with personnel reforms.

How public personnelists determine purposes and techniques probably reflects their value orientations, images, frames of reference, or maps (Bolman & Deal, 1991). The most important questions are as follows: (1) How do they construct various public personnel systems? (2) What other conceptions of personnel systems are possible if the future is viewed from different positions? (3) How might the conceptions contrast with the different frames? It is therefore meaningful to ask what values orientations personnelists have. Failing to take value perspectives into account certainly impedes theoretical advancement and confines the range of policy choices in practice.

Unfortunately, Taiwan's theorists often fail to integrate important theoretical bases in surveying other value perspectives. New theories and fancy designs are initiated and imported without probing their values and effects. Taiwanese scholars and practitioners seldom clarify whether they pay any attention to value-analytical dimensions. However, this lack of value perspectives might be more readily understood from in-depth examination of the Chinese cultural heritage.

Lack of Cultural Insights

The imperial Chinese civil service has historical claim to primacy among the world's civil service systems. Many of its features and values, such as merit principles and equality, have been preserved in Taiwanese civil service. In fact, Confucian China evolved much of what has entered the common heritage of personnel administration in the modern state. As an idea and an institution, the traditional Chinese civil service was closely linked to many aspects of Chinese life: political, societal, economic, and cultural. Taiwan's public personnel systems still advocate traditional personnel values such as equality in entry, merit, bureaucratic ethics, and efficiency.

In modernizing, Taiwan has adopted many Western management theories and HR system designs. Modern personnel values like cost minimization, employee motivation,

utilization of HR, and managerial flexibility were quickly integrated into actions and practice. In Taiwan, political democratization with social pluralization also has justified taking into account a political perspective on how public personnel systems should operate.

Thus Taiwan's public personnel systems can be viewed as the confluence of multiple value orientations related to both traditional institutions and modern management systems. Taiwan's public personnel administration seemed to one writer to be a "make-believe systemic mixture" (Pye, 1985:228-236), retaining a Chinese version of bureaucracy in function, features of a Western rational management system, and the political ideology of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People as the ideology (Copper, 1990).

The problem is that traditional values and modern values may coexist but do not seem to be necessarily compatible with each other (Brindley, 1989). Value conflicts arise in a polaristic way between bureaucratic rationality and the democratic ethos and between centralization and decentralization. However, in the Taiwanese system, value conflicts never reach an extreme deadlock. Sometimes public personnelists even deny the existence of value conflicts. The paradox in this balance between conflict and harmony actually reflects the distinctiveness of Chinese culture, the dialectic of harmonization (Cheng, 1977).

Philosophers have observed that the Chinese have constructed a harmony-oriented framework into their conception (e.g., Bodde, 1953, 1977). Psychologists have noted how the Chinese control aggressive behavior psychologically and what social-psychological mechanism maintains order and harmony (e.g., Bond & Wang, 1983). The harmony orientation is mainly from Confucian theory which inherently pursues social order and harmony (de Bary, 1991:107-108). Confucians promoted moral values,

benevolent bureaucracy assumptions, and the ideal of government by talented and moral men. Actually, Confucianism offers a psychological foundation for the "order complex" of the Chinese (Cheng, 1989).

The configuration of Chinese culture was unified in the goal of political order and social integration. The primacy of authority and harmony obviously dignify and reinforce the order complex of the Chinese. Chinese administrative histories, in fact, have shown the prevalence of Legalistic thought and the control inclination (Balazs, 1965). Legalists constantly advocated minute, complicated designs of law and severe punishments to control the malevolent bureaucracy. While being realistic and practical in operations and actions, the Legalists formulated conceptions of order and stability that were as desirable as those of Confucians. Historically both have been used to reinforce the executive. Consequently, a hybrid governmental structure emerged: (1) Legalist in its form, its rigor, and its stress on form, and (2) Confucian in the values and ideology it revered and brought to bear when it safely could. From this cultural perspective, Taiwan's public personnel systems reflect this very paradoxical form, harmonious in its nature.

The paradoxes between conflict and harmony are constructed by way of polarity (Schwartz, 1964). Conflicting values are arranged opposite one another but are spread within multiple polaristic structures. Dialectics of harmonization accompany the order complex in resolving conflicts through multiple polaristic structures. Value conflicts in one polar dimension are often harmonized in another. Unfortunately, some of these subtle cultural insights are missing in the discussion today of value conflicts in public personnel systems, although several recent studies (The Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Nathan, 1990) have begun to conceptualize Chinese tradition and culture in terms of value perspectives.

Additionally, some cultural values are essential to take into account when studying Taiwan's public personnel systems: authoritarianism, personalism, sexism, and pragmatism. Sufficient evidence indicates that authoritarian value orientations prevail in the administrative culture of the Taiwan government (Liang, 1984). Executives typically regard imposing their authority in personnel operations and decisions as a leadership requisite. Yet public personnelists are strictly required to follow current regulations and merit principles. They constantly call for resolution of conflict between the flexible personnel actions authorized by agency executives and the controlled, formalized personnel regulations handed down by supervisory personnel agencies. Too often personnelists surrender themselves to interpersonal harmony rather than to a policy of sticking to the rules and laws which may lead to confrontation and hostility.

Theorists have asserted that constant political turmoil and social chaos in their history certainly led the Chinese to view personal security and social order as desirable (Pye, 1992:174-179; Redding, 1990). Their wishes to avoid disorder and confusion, to seek predictability and the comforts of dependency, and to accept the importance of authority inevitably promoted expansions of the influence of personal ties and factions. Organization building is grounded on the collective dependency on controlling uncertainty. Informal cultural norms based on social groups, familism, nepotism, and factionalism also come into being, but they contradict uniformity values and legal standards (Yang, 1959).

Thus civil servants are too often promoted, not because of their competency but because of their personal relations with whoever can grant the promotion. Promotion is like a personal reward which depends on the extent of identification with and loyalty toward societal actors like political parties, public executives, or supervising agencies. Detailed professional codes and merit structures are abused merely because personal

relations have value priority in the society (Hwang, 1987). Lenience shown in their employee performance appraisals reveals that supervisors intentionally maintain personal harmony between themselves and subordinates.

Desires for maintaining solidarity in a networked society and culture also prompt personnel changes according to a norm of equity. Personnel changes such as position classification and assignment are made under distributive justice (Leung & Iwawaki, 1988; Leung & Bond, 1984). Beside favoritism, seniority is considered as a major criterion for promotion. Everyone just rotates to get promotions. In some sense, the emphasis on harmony has a favorable effect and contributes to the collective endeavor and accomplishment. However, harmony also restricts individual discretion. One problem is that the Chinese have become so used to these conflicting values and cultural patterns that change is difficult, if not impossible.

Despite the prevalence of an equity standard, the gender composition of Taiwan's public personnel is not balanced. Many studies show that women still have social and administrative status inferior to men's status in Taiwan's society (Chang, 1988; Yao, 1988). Yao (1988) pointed out that Taiwan public personnel policy-makers believe that females are socialized to commit themselves to home affairs and thus are less committed to their organizations than males. Yao believed that this explanation has been used as justification for sex discrimination in both hiring and promotion.

Why the Chinese pursue careers in civil service also is an interesting question related to the values of pragmatism and materialism. Fame and wealth are the two most important motives for entry. Job security and a stable life are also pragmatic value indicators. However, both modernization and societal complexity make value transformation in these areas inevitable. Political democratization provides new meanings for the values of political responsiveness and accountability. Personnel politics may no

longer be conceptually equivalent to partisan patronage. Therefore, many personnel values like equality, equity, and political responsiveness need to be reinterpreted in the present day Taiwanese context.

Lack of a Comprehensive Set of Social Value Scales

Value measurement instruments have been deficient in distinguishing between personal and social goals as well as between personal and social applications of desirable behaviors and traits. The emphasis of current value studies seems to be on individual application. Social values have largely been ignored. Although personal values will probably continue to be more useful in vocational guidance and motivation, a counterpart set of social value scores, with some unique variance, is likely to benefit both action prediction and decision-making. The significance of this conclusion arises from the possibility of measuring social values. A comprehensive set of social value scales should be valuable for research into the development and change of values (Mueller & Wornhoff, 1990).

Liedtka (1989) has proposed that decisions are often made by assessing the fit between organizational values and the individual's self-image (or personal values). Posner and Schmidt (1993) confirmed that managers whose personal values and organizational values were clearly defined reported positive attitudes about their work and the ethical practices of their colleagues and firms. Their study suggests that having clearly defined personal values may be more important in relation to attitudes about work and ethical practices than being clear about organizational values. However, those who understand and are comfortable with their personal values are better able to militate against the potentially negative consequences of conflicts between personal and organizational values.

Also, public personnelists are more effective when they are clear about their core values. Personnel organizations with explicit core values benefit by increasing participants' focus on and attention to pivotal goals and desirable constituents. Many questions call for answers: (1) What ideas do contemporary Taiwanese public personnelists hold regarding their institutions, systems, actions, and decisions? (2) Which value frames do they use: traditional-technical personnel administration, personnel management, personnel politics, or HRM in the strategic sense? (3) If different values represent different action orientations, what specific value orientations do public personnelists have? This present study was undertaken to provide comprehensive answers to these significant questions. To provide answers, it was deemed necessary to devise a comprehensive value measurement instrument integrating multiple levels of analysis: individual, organizational, and social.

The Research Questions

The dissertation has employed an exploratory research design in conducting an empirical survey to address the following four sets of research questions:

- (1) What public personnel values exist within Taiwan's public personnel system?
Given the context of the Taiwanese government, what are the values orientations of public personnelists concerning public personnel systems? Do public personnelists have different values orientations regarding personnel actions? Are they oriented to personnel administration, personnel management, political politics, and/or SHRM?
- (2) Do Taiwan's public personnelists have value conflicts because of group differences? Is there value congruence in terms of values orientations and

profiles between groups differentiated by gender, age, rank, educational level, tenure, and governmental classification?

- (3) What are Taiwan's public personnelists' expectations of the future? What are the most desirable organizational goals perceived by public personnelists? What are the most desirable and important personal qualities they recognize? What motivates public personnelists to enter the personnel field?
- (4) What are the implications of values categorization schemes or multiple-values perspectives on personnel actions and decisions? How are value conflicts handled, taking into account Taiwanese political culture and Chinese social psychology? What will happen if the conception of "choosing the right type" is applied in personnel reform? Given that values are conceptualized as relatively stable individual characteristics, is it possible to reframe value perspectives?

Research Methodology

The present study utilizes both qualitative and quantitative methods in its research design. A study of related literature, as well as a contextual analysis, comprises the qualitative approach. Using the findings of authorities in the field and the study of the Taiwanese public service system (its history: cultural, social, and philosophical foundations; bureaucratic organization; administration; policies; practices; present problems; and future expectations), an empirical survey instrument was designed, administered and quantitatively analyzed. A rating method was developed to measure values in terms of importance and desirability. The weight of desirability, a new value measure, of each value has been computed by multiplying the cumulative means of its importance and desirability. Then, the relative ranking among the different values was

obtained by comparing weights of desirability. Quantitative methods included descriptive statistics, t-tests, F-tests, and ANOVA. These were used in analyzing the questionnaire survey responses of 385 public service professionals. ANOVA was used to reveal statistically significant differences between each of the groups regarding value items and survey questions. F-tests and t-tests were used to find simple statistically significant differences. Pretesting was done. Translation of the survey into a Chinese version has been discussed. The text of the questionnaire survey is provided in Appendix C, and the Chinese version is in Appendix D.

Definitions of Terms

The following definitions supply the meanings of terms in the study with reference to specific application to the present research:

Constituency Effectiveness refers to the extent to which public personnelists within an organization accomplish predetermined goals or objectives in order to serve the interests of the multiple constituents of this organization.

Desirability with reference to the rating of public personnel values means the worthy or advantageous in terms of theoretical and normative conceptions in the future sense. Dictionary definitions include worthiness, advantageousness, beneficialness, and advisability.

Equality is a social and cultural value of personnel institutions, which insures that all societal members of Taiwan have an equal claim to access into the public service. Thus, the population of civil servants should reflect the heterogeneous nature of Taiwan's population as a whole.

Equity refers to the state of being just, impartial, and fair while giving differential treatment to individuals based on their degree of virtue, educational level, achievement, and contribution.

Human Resource Accounting (HRA) is a concept with reference to public employees either as capital assets or as expenses in terms of the budgetary payroll of Taiwan's government.

Human Resource Management (HRM) is a proactive approach that assumes the public personnelist's appropriate goal is maximum utilization of his organization's HR, and that public personnelists must have a strategic vision of how to manage human resources within and outside their organizations.

Importance with reference to the rating of public personnel values indicates what is desired in terms of realistic and practical perspectives in the present.

Personnel Administration Values Orientation refers to a general conception of the desirable, comprising action emphases and structural focuses which are mainly concerned with the technical and formalized aspects of maintaining a full complement of public employees.

Personnel Management (PM) describes to a reactive managerial frame which requires public personnelists to act to meet the values of economy/cost minimization and adaptability.

Political Responsiveness is a characteristic of the actions of a personnel organization which are answerable to the wishes of the public, and serve the public's interests. Yet, "public" might imply different groups of actors in the political context of Taiwan.

Public Personnel Administration in this study means theory and practice in relation to personnel systems, functions, decisions, and actions in the public context of Taiwan.

Public Personnelists are those persons either within public personnel agencies or within public agencies whose major responsibility is for personnel policy-making and implementation of the goals and objectives of personnel authorities in Taiwan.

Value is defined as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach, 1973:5). Values are also the standards that determine actions in and perceptions of personnel institutions, systems, organizational actions, practices, and personal qualities. Values also represent conceptions of what is desirable in the public personnel field.

Values Orientation (Value Frame, Value Quadrant) is a distinct modal aspect of the total action complex toward competing public personnel systems and their practices. In this study, values orientation represents a general conception of the desirable with reference to both action and structure of Taiwan's public personnel systems in multiple dimensions.

Value Profile refers to a set of individual values regarding desirable and important modes of conduct or end-states of existence in the public personnel field along a continuum of relative importance.

Weight of Desirability (WD) defines the extent of the desirability or preferability for each individual value in comparison with others in the public personnel system.

Organization of the Remainder of the Study

The study is comprised of six chapters. Chapter II reviews the general literature on values and public personnel systems. This chapter focuses on the analysis of value orientations and profiles in competing public personnel actions and practices. It elaborates on the four values orientations--Personnel Administration, Personnel Management, Personnel Politics, SHRM--as multiple, competing action and structural focuses. Values orientations and value definitions are formulated in terms of the literature review.

Chapter III provides an up-to-date assessment of the paradoxical nature of institutions, organizations, and operations of competing public personnel systems in Taiwan. It also includes a discussion of the historical and cultural contexts of those systems. This chapter also presents the updated information of the 1992 constitutional amendment on Taiwan's public personnel systems. Problems in current personnel systems and their distinctiveness in the Taiwan context are discussed.

Chapter IV presents cultural insights into the values of the Chinese in Taiwan in their historical, psychological, epistemological, and philosophical contexts. Through qualitative analysis the study probes various aspects of how the Chinese in Taiwan construct their values in a polaristic way and why value conflicts can be resolved in harmony. This chapter also compares the traditional political philosophies of Confucianism, Legalism, Mohism, and Taoism. Particular cultural perspectives like social networking and face and favor interactions are used for explaining the personnel politics in realistic terms.

Chapter V lays out the research design and presents findings and analyses based on the results of an empirical survey--a value questionnaire--of views of Taiwan's public

personnelists. The findings are presented with reference to gender, governmental level, age, rank, educational level, and tenure.

Chapter VI concludes the theoretical and practical implications of the study for Taiwan's personnel system generally and for public personnel theory specifically. The limitations of the study have been identified in affecting the generalizability of the finding. The usefulness of the value survey and practical implication of the four-quadrant values framework are discussed. Multiple levels of analysis and multiple-value perspectives are proposed for extending conceptualization in public personnel studies. Cross-cultural value comparison and longitudinal research of value change are recommended for future research.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Building upon value perspectives, the present study presents a conceptual framework of public personnel systems. The framework is based on both a literature review of values and values orientations and value studies of public personnel/HRM. It was hoped that the review of the literature would illustrate why value studies of public personnel/HRM can be done better, and how the juxtaposed values orientations in the created conceptual framework could facilitate better strategies for action and practice.

Value studies have been marred by theoretical fragmentation, confusing levels of analysis, and methodological vagueness. The present study has included comprehensive definitions of values and values orientations. The nature of values can be analyzed mathematically and theoretically in terms of three related concepts--function, intensity, and direction. Theoretically, values as the desired, and values as the desirable, can be separated into two sets of conceptions but in reality these two sets are interactive and can be measured mathematically by their weight of desirability. The researcher has assumed that considering the multi-dimensionality of a value is proper in the study of public personnel/HRM. Four criteria--generality, discriminability, readability, and nonredundancy--have been used in selecting the value item samples for the value framework created in this study.

Current theorists of public personnel/HRM have proposed diverse conceptions of how value perspectives can contribute to theoretical and practical developments without integration. Value conflicts in public personnel/HRM are inherently juxtaposed. An improper category distinction between HRM and personnel management may reflect a bias against the image of personnel for management. The highly abstract conceptualizations in existing studies inevitably limit the feasibility of applying value perspectives in public personnel/HRM. After the review of the related literature, an integrated value framework of public personnel systems was created by paralleling the four-cell conceptual frameworks offered by various theorists in different contexts. Value profiles and their respective properties have been presented.

Literature Review: Values and Values Orientations

Problems in Values Study

Before applying value perspectives in examination of public personnel systems, the author of the present study deemed it necessary to take into account three main conceptual and methodological problems related to values study. These are as follows: (a) theoretical fragmentation, (b) conceptual diversity and ambiguity, and (c) methodological vagueness.

Theoretical Fragmentation

First, in their study of values, theorists from various disciplines in the social sciences have not integrated their research into a comprehensive framework. Primarily, values study involves the interdisciplinary efforts of philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists. The concept of value supplies a point of convergence for those theorists, and it is a key concept for integration with studies in the humanities

(Kluckhohn, 1951:389). Value is a bridging concept bringing together many diverse studies.

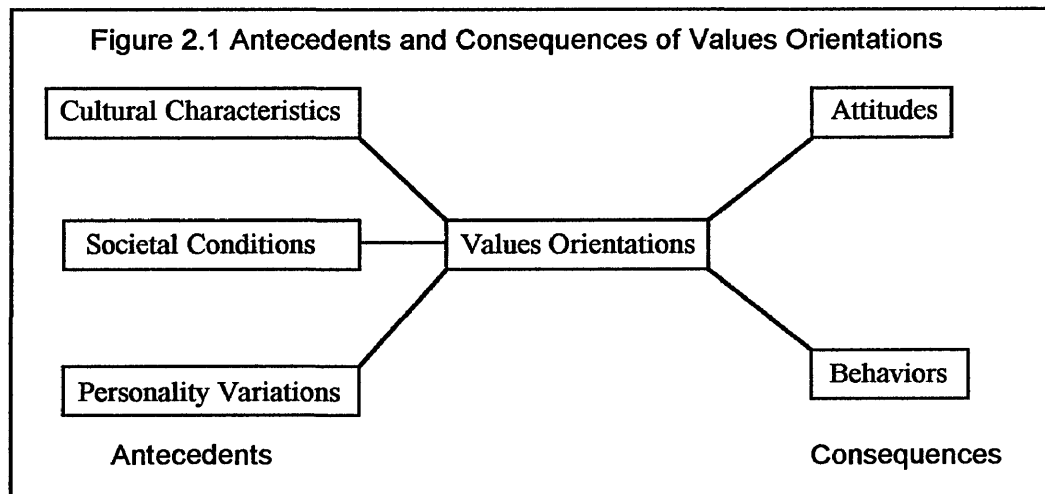
However, a problem arises when scholars in various fields attempt values research empirically from a single point of view but without linkage. Values are viewed in many ways. They are proposed as key constructs in the socialization process. Values are orientations pertaining to what is held desirable by social actors--individuals and societies. Values epitomize interactions between contextual constraints and human desires. Values also refer to the standards that determine future directions and justify past actions. In addition, values are viewed as shaped by the biological and psychological needs of the individual. This last perspective has supported considerable psychological research relating values not only to the attitudes and personality of individuals but also to their behaviors.

Despite general agreement on the relevance of values to human activity, development of value study has been frustrated by problems of definition and doubts about the empirical viability of the construct (Braithwaite & Scott, 1991). Since empirical research on values has been conducted by theorists differing widely in their disciplines, substantive theoretical interests and research methods, the term "values" has inevitably been used with many different connotations (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969).

Smith (1969) and Zavalloni (1980) agreed that the empirical study of values originates from different preconceptions and altogether fails to link together or even develop a domain of cumulative knowledge. Zavalloni noted that there has not yet been developed a "body of specific measuring techniques" in values research:

...if empirical research on values has failed to develop an autonomous body of cumulative knowledge, it reflects to a certain extent a given state of the art in the social sciences; its future development may be linked to the general theoretical orientations that will prevail at that time. In sharp contrast with the neighboring and somewhat overlapping field of attitudes, values research has never developed a body of specific measuring techniques comparable to attitude scales, which are somewhat independent of the substantive interests of those using them. (p. 70)

The varying approaches to measuring value are intrinsically related to the particular ways that a theorist conceptualizes the term. Too often the theorist will typically focus on a specific aspect of what is conceived of a "the desirable," in a given theoretical orientation. Zavalloni (1980) warned that this approach would preclude specific concern with measures of values as distinguished from substantive and theoretical issues.



Social scientists generally abstract values from verbal and nonverbal behavioral events rather than from neurological properties. Most earlier studies of the values yielded static, descriptive data and provided little information on either determinants or consequences. As Figure 2.1 shows, anthropologists and sociologists are probably concerned with values as dependent variables, whereas psychologists are probably concerned with values as independent variables. Empirical study of values has lagged behind and been preserved as a field especially for axiologists and philosophers (e.g.,

Perry, 1950, 1954; Morris, 1956). Value theories exist in a fragmentary style without integration and linkage.

Conceptual Diversity and Ambiguity of Levels of Analysis

The concern about how to study values stems from diverse conceptualization and different levels of analysis. The concept of values is among the few social-psychological concepts that have been successfully applied across all social science disciplines (Rokeach, 1989). Anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, and organizational theorists all have conceptualized values and value systems at different levels: cultural values (Hofstede, 1984), societal and institutional values (Rokeach, 1979; Worthley, 1984; Bjur & Zomorrodian, 1986), organizational values (Connor & Becker, 1975), and individual values. However, theorists show little consensus about how to conceptualize and measure values; there is confusion about how to do this. Conceptualizing and measurement must be carried out in a manner that will be meaningful across levels of analysis, from the individual at the micro level to societal and cultural institutions at the macro level.

Sociologists with the functionalist's emphasis are likely to adopt a macro level of analysis. They will translate group/organizational value profiles into actions (e.g., Parsons, 1953; Lipset, 1963). In contrast, psychologists have been more likely to limit their focus to the impact of value congruency and of value conflict at the individual or superior-subordinate dyad level of analysis (e.g., Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989; Chatman, 1989, 1991; Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990; Boxx et al., 1991; O'Reilly et al., 1991). Undeniably, such psychological findings could be conducive to understanding personnel decisions but be significant only at the managerial level (Posner & Munson, 1980; Zedeck & Cascio, 1984; Judge, 1992). The overemphasis on the individual and dyad levels of analysis

inevitably limits development of higher levels of analysis of organizational action, system design, and personnel institutions (Danserau & Markham, 1987; Rousseau, 1985).

Many scholars (Ferris & Judge, 1991; Pfeffer, 1991; Staw, 1991) have agreed that it is crucial to integrate sociological and psychological analysis not only at the individual/dyad level but also at the group/organization level. The problem is whether analysis can be raised from the individual level of observation to the system level where problems of interest usually lie. Pfeffer (1991) has recognized that the study of organizations has mainly started with the individual as the basic unit of analysis. Although organizations are relations entities, in which individuals interact and compare themselves with others, many analysts have treated the individual alone as the unit of analysis. Such studies have not attempted to incorporate notions of social structure either with theory or with empirical research. Pfeffer (1991) noted that to move from the individual level of analysis is often problematic, and many organizational studies remain insensitive to this issue. Taken together, these studies show both the diversity and confused status of existing analytic approaches.

Methodological Vagueness

Development of the study of values has been hampered by problems not only of definition of value and values orientation as a logical construct but also of the measurement of values. Reviewing the study of value, Braithwaite and Scott (1991) asserted that even if convergence of views emerges at the conceptual level, it is still not reflected in the scales that are available to measure values. Kaufman's (1956) three competing values in public administration--representativeness, executive leadership, and neutral competence--are highly abstract. Such a level of value abstraction inevitably causes problems in terms of identifying variables, devising indicators for those variables, or specifying the relevant linkages.

Definitions of Values and Values Orientations

Definitions of Values

Hofstede (1984) defined a value as a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others. Argyris and Schon (1974:162) noted, "Values are the instruments by which we select from more information than we can handle (the typical condition of our first encounters with real situations) the simplified, constructed situations in which we can act." Rokeach (1968:124) defined values as "abstract ideals, positive or negative, not tied to any specific object or situation, representing a person's beliefs about modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals." Comprehensively, Kluckhohn (1951:395) thus defined a value as "...a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."

Rokeach (1968:160) and Brown (1976) defined values as global beliefs that "transcendentally guide actions and judgements across specific objects and situations." Brown (1976) outlined a detailed and useful glossary of values and relevant terms in a context of motivation of the individual on the job. (See Table 2.1)

Table 2.1 Brown's (1976) Glossary of Values and Relevant Terms

<i>Attitude</i>	-- a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.
<i>Behavior</i>	-- actions resulting from motivation ranging from a single act (voting) to a whole set of acts (pursuit of a certain occupation).
<i>Belief</i>	-- an inference made by an observer about underlying states of expectancy.
<i>Ethics</i>	-- the study of right and wrong, usually including the determining and encouraging of what is right.
<i>Ideology</i>	-- an organization of beliefs and attitudes--religious, political, or philosophical in nature--that is more or less institutionalized or shared with others, deriving from external authority.
<i>Opinion</i>	-- a verbal expression of some belief, attitude, or value, insufficient to produce certainty.
<i>Philosophy</i>	-- the study of science of the truths or principles underlying all knowledge and being (reality) (similar to the total value system).
<i>Value</i>	-- a belief upon which a person acts by preference; an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state existence.
<i>Value System</i>	-- an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance.

Source: Brown, M. A. (1976). Values--A necessary but neglected ingredient of motivation on the job. *Academy of Management Review*, 1(4), p. 16.

Figure 2.2 Schwartz and Bilsky's (1987) Definition of Human Values

A value is an individual's concept of a transsituational (		<i>Goal</i>
		(terminal)
		(instrumental)
goal that express (individualistic) interests concerned with motivation		
		(collectivistic)
		(both)
		<i>Motivational Domain</i>
domain (enjoyment...power) and evaluated on a range of importance		
from (very important) as a guiding principle in his/her life.		
		(to)
		(unimportant)

Source: Schwartz, S. H., & Bilsky, W. (1987). Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 53(3), p. 553.

As shown in Figure 2.2, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) constructed psychological structures of human values, viewing values as cognitive representations of three requirements: biological needs, interactional requirements for interpersonal coordination, and societal demands for group welfare and survival. Figure 2.2 shows graphically Schwartz and Bilsky's definition of human values. Because the study dealt with societal or interactional values, biological values were excluded. Yet they have emphasized the significant influence of values on human behavior, individual and collective.

In conclusion, Rokeach (1973:5) provided a definition which appears to be comprehensive; a value is "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."

Definitions of Values Orientations

Values orientations include those value notions which are general, organized, and inclusive of definitely existential judgments. A values orientation is thus a set of linked propositions embracing values and existential elements. Because value elements and existential premises are almost inextricably blended in the over-all picture of experience that characterizes an individual or a group, one can call this over-all view a "values orientation," symbolizing the fact that affective-cognitive (value) and strictly cognitive (orientation) elements are blended (Kluckhohn, 1956). Kluckhohn (1951:412) presented an inclusive definition of a values orientation as "...a distance modal aspect of any total action complex. The distinctive quality of each culture and the selective trends that characterize it rest fundamentally upon its systems of value-orientations."

Kluckhohn (1951) concluded that such values orientations may be held by individuals or, in the abstract-typical form, by groups. Like values, they vary on a continuum from the explicit to the implicit. The present study has applied Kluckhohn's

definition to analyze the values orientations of Taiwan's public personnelists through groupings. Argyris and Schon (1974) argued that individuals programmed with values and values orientations dysfunctional to constructing theories-in-use tend to create groups that reinforce their programming. Inevitably, this facilitates the development of group dynamics that inhibit the construction of theories-in-use; it also makes learning difficult because individuals find themselves confined either by their own behavior or by the group dynamics that these behaviors produce. In view of these considerations, the present study has been designed to analyze value-dimensions from implicit to explicit, and from the abstract to the specific.

Intensity, Direction, and Function of Values

Because values can always be referred to as an "action system, society, or a subsystem," the functions of values are largely at the latent or implicit level. Yet few people think about their values or values orientations while facing the multiple realities in life, similar to Argyris and Schon's (1974) conception of "theories-in-use." Asking individuals to think about their values and values orientations not only is unusual but contradicts much of what they have learned about understanding and managing behaviors. Those who have done little thinking about constructing their theories-in-use (or values orientations) often lack the capacity necessary to develop them, and the skills learned may be dysfunctional in this respect.

Bolman and Deal (1991) have contended that people in organizations tend to see their preferred values orientations, or frames, as right and useful, while all others are considered wrong, superficial, and unrealistic. These people are likely to adopt one or two conceptual frames as lenses in order to understand and act in organizations (Bolman & Deal, 1992). Their values orientations, or frames, are well defined in implicit terms. Thus when a frame confirms their predictions, they incorporate its message into their

values orientation. When it challenges their core beliefs, they deny or even attack it, so the functions of values imply both intensity and direction. Hofstede (1984) contended that

Mathematically, values have a size and a sign; they can be represented by arrows along a line. If we 'hold' a value, this means that the issue involved has a certain relevance for us (intensity) and that we identify certain outcomes as 'good' and others as 'bad' (direction). (p. 19)

Values as the Desirable and Values as the Desired

A common belief is that the human being is capable of distinguishing between values as the desired (what is actually wanted) and the desirable (what is thought ought to be wanted). Smith (1969) asserted that the distinction has serious implications for value measurement. He believed that current value measurements focused primarily on the desired, and tended to ignore the desirable. People's interpretation of value items as connoting either the desired or the desirable may influence their responses. To clarify the desired-desirable distinction, Smith (1969:116) suggested that available instruments be revised to apply a consistent rhetoric of "ought," "should," and desirability rather than of wish or preference.

According to John Dewey, "the desired" is often to be contrasted with "the desirable." An individual's or a group's conceptions of existence (what is) and of values (what ought to be) are intimately related, interdependent; and yet--at least at the analytical level--conceptually distinct. Three fundamental types of experiencing can be differentiated:

- (1) What is or is believed to be (existential);
- (2) What I and/or others want (the desired); and
- (3) What I and/or others ought to want (the desirable).

Rokeach (1968) proposed three distinctive types of beliefs:

- (1) descriptive or existential beliefs (those capable of being true or false);
- (2) evaluative beliefs (wherein the object of belief is judged to be good or bad);
and
- (3) prescriptive belief (wherein some means and ends of actions are assessed as desirable or undesirable).

Rokeach insisted that a value is a prescriptive belief upon which man acts by preference. Values as the desirable are beliefs developed on the basis of rational evaluation, although conceptions of the desirable are not limited to ultimate goals. The desirable goal is what is thought should be wanted. It exists when an individual or group of people desire--and believe they "ought" or "should" desire--for either the individual or a group. Hofstede (1984) argued that values as the desired and values as the desirable can be set apart but are also interrelated. (See Table 2.2)

Table 2.2 Hofstede's (1984) Distinction Between Values as the Desired and Values as the Desirable

Nature of a value	the Desired	the Desirable
Dimension of value	Intensity	Direction
Nature of corresponding norm of value	Statistical, Phenomological, Pragmatic	Absolute, Deontological, Ideological
Corresponding behavior	Choice and Differential effort allocation	Approval or Disapproval
Dominant outcome	Deeds and/or Words	Words
Terms used in measuring instrument	Important, Successful, Attractive, Preferred	Good, Right, Agree, Ought, Should
Affective meaning of this term	Activity plus Evaluation	Evaluation only
Person referred to in measuring instrument	Me, You	People in general

Source: Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's consequence* (p. 20). CA.: Sage.

Although the two types of values are, of course, not independent, they should not as previously noted be equated. Hofstede (1984) asserted that equating them is a "positivistic fallacy" and in research leads to confusion between reality and social

desirability. In most psychological and sociological research literature, social desirability is often treated as something undesirable. However, asking for the desirable is perfectly respectable in values study; it is an essential part of the social phenomenon studied. Thus in the present research, social desirability in measurements is not undesirable; it should be realized only that values of two different natures are being dealt with.

Hofstede (1984) claimed that avoiding the positivistic fallacy of equating these values is especially important if one is trying to relate values to behavior. Responding to questionnaires or interviews is a form of behavior, but researchers should distinguish "words" (questionnaires, interviews, meetings, speeches) from "deeds" (nonverbal behavior). Values can hardly be totally equated with deeds, simply because behaviors depend on both the person and the situation. Contrarily, values as the desired are at least closer to deeds than values as the desirable.

A problem is that often people do not separate the desirable from the desired. Argyris and Schon (1974) believed that most people most of the time are unaware of the discrepancy between what they intend and what they do. People's behaviors tend to create a world in which it is unlikely that they will become aware of any discrepancy. As a result, individuals are frequently prevented from realizing their own weakness and thus persist in self-destructive, self-sealing cycles of behavior.

Finally, Hofstede's distinction fails to take into account time, the most important variable. How people distinguish between what they want and what they should want depends on the time when they want to achieve some purpose. Any study will very likely be confined not only by space (the culture and the geography) but also by time. The results of values studies inevitably vary and depend on what period of time is being studied. Respondents to value surveys generally give their answers based on what they perceive to be the desirable and the desired during a given time. If values as the desirable

indicate abstract and ideological direction of actions, those values should imply future expectations and normative, theoretical concerns.

In contrast, at times, people tend to be rational, calculative, realistic, and practical. In asking them what they desire, from a contemporary perspective, they will probably give their responses in terms of importance rather than of desirability. Desirability is thus a measurement indicating direction for action in the future and in abstract, normative terms. When responding to questions in terms of importance, they indicate the intensity of values influencing action at that time in realistic, practical terms. Table 2.3 adds dimension to the conceptual distinction made in this section between the desired and desirable.

Table 2.3 The Distinction in this Study Between the Desirable and the Desired

	the Desirable	the Desired
1. Time Perspective	Future Orientation	Contemporary Orientation
2. Terms of Use	Theoretical, Normative	Realistic, Practical
3. Measurement	Desirability	Importance
4. Five-Point Scales	1. Must Not 2. Should Not or Ought Not 3. May or May Not 4. Should or Ought 5. Must	1. Not Important 2. Somewhat Important 3. Important 4. Very Important 5. Most Important

Weights of Desirability

Taking time into account, there can be no doubt that an individual's or group's conception of "what is" and of "what ought to be" are intimately connected. McEachern (1984) noted that desirability of a value connotes human aspirations and the future, whereas utility of a value connotes the humdrum and the past. However, time will change the context of these connotations. Values as the desirable today often are values

as the desired tomorrow; value as the desired yesterday might be reevaluated as the value desirable today.

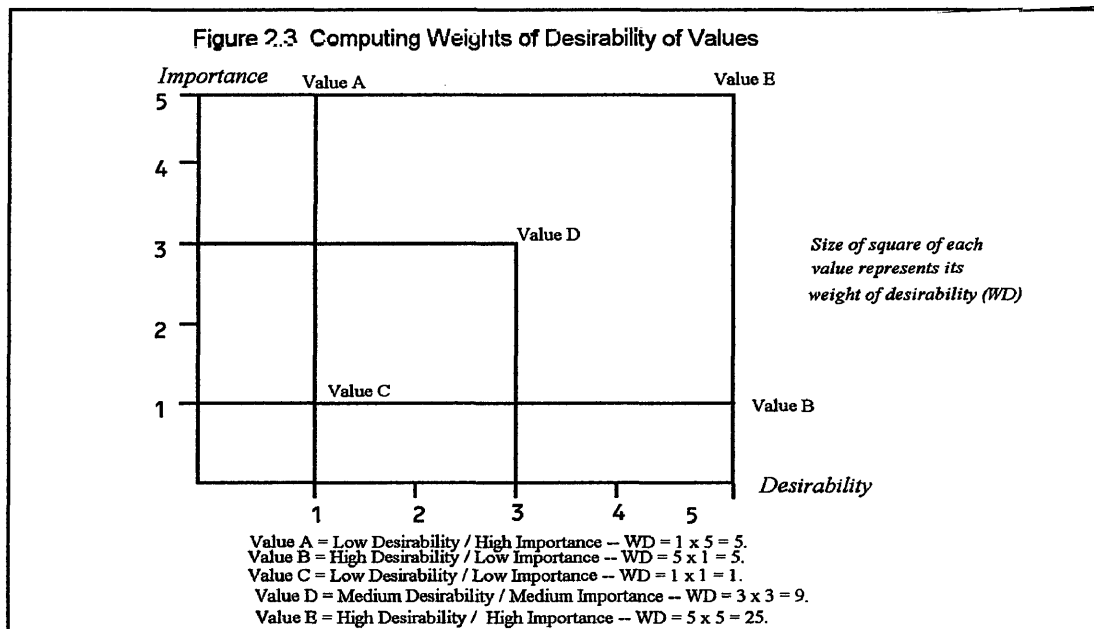
In reviewing the current state of public personnel administration, Nigro (1990:193) claimed that the inventory of concerns in the field has extended considerably. For example, too often the basic norm of merit is extended by other values, such as responsiveness, representativeness, equity, and organizational effectiveness. Social values as the desirable are never absolute on a time continuum. This view is supported by Kaufman's (1956) theory of the cyclical nature and constant realignment of core values in public administration. Any study of social values or individual values pertaining to social systems is likely to obtain contemporary value responses, no matter how it differentiates the desired and the desirable.

Nevertheless, each social sciences investigation still has to deal with the time issue. Unlike ethical studies seeking absolutes, the present study necessarily catches the essence of social values in a contemporary mode. In this study the researcher argues that comparisons of social values in different time frames are possible with a technique of unified measurement, "the weight of desirability" (WD), a function of combining desirability with importance.

In Figure 2.3, desirability represents the direction of a specific value in the horizontal dimension, and importance indicates the intensity in the vertical dimension. On a five-point scale, different values can be compared not only in terms of desirability and importance but also in terms of time, which is measured by the weights of desirability.

For example, Value A and Value B have the same WD. However, in terms of time, Value A is more important than Value B for the time being, whereas in the long run, Value B is more desirable than Value A. Once conflict emerges between Value A and Value B, the choice might be made to shift to Value D, the one having more WD than

these A and B. Value E is the most important and desirable value in the scales, and Value C is least important. WD is a useful measure for value ordering and for strategic choice in action, though social values coexist in multiple dimensions.



The researcher concurred with what McEachern (1984:51) stated: "The usefulness of measurement scales depends not on their validity in any absolute sense, but on the conventions with which people agree to use them, which is about all validity can mean with respect to measurement scales anyhow." McEachern considered that multi-attribute desirability analysis is a general theory regarding not only how people should make decisions, but also how they actually do make decisions. WD in the present study is consistent with his basic premise that all human action is based on items of cognitive and evaluative information, whether or not awareness of the connections among them follows the action. Being a time-bounded being, no human can possibly know enough about the present and the future to apply absolute measurement techniques successfully.

Multi-Dimensionality of Values

Obviously, public personnel systems are operated, not in a vacuum, but in a world of multiple social values in competing forms. They can be viewed as entities buoyed by the interactions between public organizations, employees, and political systems swirling in a fluid social context. Public personnel systems in fact are based on numbers of public values pointed toward the pursuit of various policy objectives. The differences among values and policies result in dilemmas for public personnelists, but only if the differences are taken to extremes. Dresang (1991) proposed that a more useful and realistic approach is to see these variances in public personnel management as a rich blend of values. Implied is the necessity for exploring multi-dimensional value perspectives and using the contrasting frames to solve value conflicts in personnel decisions and actions.

The author of the present study accepts Kluckhohn's idea that affective ("desirable"), cognitive ("conception"), and conative ("selection") elements are all essential dimensions of the notion of values. Kluckhohn (1956) defined dimension as the degree of manifoldness of a magnitude or aggregate as fixed by the number of coordinates necessary and sufficient to distinguish any one of its elements from all others. Values with their multi-dimensional aspects offer ample construct space for selection and action alternatives. In the long run, values can be manifested as multi-dimensional and coexisting, while differences occur in terms of extent, intensity, content, or modality.

McEachern (1984:9-19) asserted that facts are connected with cognitive information, a term of probability and estimate. In contrast, values are related to evaluative information on five dimensions equivalent to desires, preferences, and goals and objectives. The five dimensions of value are degrees of awareness, transience, generality, importance, and intensity. More comprehensively, Kluckhohn (1951:413) identified eight dimensions of values and value-orientations, grouping values as follows:

- (1) Dimension of modality--positive vs. negative values;

- (2) Dimension of content--aesthetic, cognitive, and moral values;
- (3) Dimension of intent--goal vs. instrumental (operational) values;
- (4) Dimension of generality--specific vs. thematic values;
- (5) Dimension of intensity--the strength of value;
- (6) Dimension of explicitness--implicit vs. explicit values;
- (7) Dimension of extent--from individual to the whole of humanity; and
- (8) Dimension of organization--value systems.

Kluckhohn's goal was to reduce the wide range of regularities in values to a few categories or thematic principles, trying for similar results to those of factor analysis in other areas. However, the present study is concerned with what value-dimensions are specifically important to the public personnel/HRM field.

In the short term, individuals in public service tend to focus--and even restrict--their conceptions of the desirable to only one perspective over others in translating their values into public personnel decisions and actions. Public personnel values confined as artificial alternatives are very vulnerable when confronting the manifold expectations emerging from a dynamic social context. Because their orientations and frames have been polarized without connection, public service personnel have difficulties in reaching consensus or instituting personnel reforms.

The value profiles and orientations of public personnelists are increasingly important. Facing a dynamic context, public personnelists can have varying values orientations simultaneously, according to the multi-dimensionality of the value. Individuals do not necessarily conceptualize values in a hierarchical arrangement. This view allows for variance in weighing the importance of individual values, and also in weighing the desirability of the full array of values held by a person or a group. If the total weights of desirability are significantly different between groups, values measurement instruments must be flexible enough to take differences into account.

In the absence of a priori knowledge about the content to be measured, generalizations about the relative advantages of various measurement strategies are difficult to make. The choice of measurement approach depends as much on theoretical considerations as on knowledge of the properties of various measurement techniques. Given the a priori elements of the present study, theoretical considerations have been made the basis of five essential dimensions of values orientations related to public personnel systems. They abstract the levels of analysis from the implicit to the explicit: institution, system design, organizational action, personnel operation, and personal quality.

Criteria for Selecting Value Item Sampling

It is not possible to know merely by observation that values really exist, but instead, they must be postulated in general terms on the basis of public personnel literature, or must be inferred in individual cases, even sometimes directly from the individual's own values orientations. Hofstede (1984) asserted that there is no such thing as objectivity in the study of social reality. He believed that people will always be subjective. The values selections of Elliott (1985), Klingner and Nalbandian (1985), and Thompson (1989) obviously revealed their subjectivity in conceptualizing public personnel systems. But the present researcher argues that there should at least be an attempt to be intersubjective by both pooling and comparing a variety of subjective points of view of different theorists.

Kilmann (1981) complained that the concept of values has been defined differently within each discipline in the social sciences. Kilmann offered two criteria--usefulness and uniqueness--in order to reduce the number of values. However, problems arise, not from the numbers of values but from differences in criteria for value selection. Fischhoff (1991) has posed a critical question regarding the researchers' assumption of values.

Survey researchers are often overly optimistic, he stated, expecting their "participants" will provide meaningful answers to items on any topic intriguing them, assuming that the questions have been phrased with attention to semantics and correct linguistic structures. To avoid problems, he listed thirteen descriptions of conditions favorable to determining articulated values:

- (1) Personally familiar (time to think)
- (2) Personally consequential (motivation to think)
- (3) Publicly discussed (opportunity to hear, share views)
- (4) Uncontroversial (stable tastes, no need to justify)
- (5) Few consequences (simplicity)
- (6) Similar consequences (commensurability)
- (7) Experienced consequences (meaningfulness)
- (8) Certain consequences (comprehensibility)
- (9) Single or compatible roles (absence of conflict)
- (10) Diverse appearances (multiple perspectives)
- (11) Direct relation to action (concreteness)
- (12) Unbundled topic (considered in isolation)
- (13) Familiar formulation

Since it is virtually impossible to meet all these thirteen conditions, the present study has utilized the following four general criteria offered by O'Reilly et al. (1991) in measuring public personnel values:

- (1) Generality -- an item should be relevant to any type of organization, regardless of industry, size, and composition;
- (2) Discriminability -- no item should reside in the same category for all organizations;

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| (3) Readability | -- the items should be easily understandable to facilitate their aim of having common shared meanings; |
| (4) Nonredundancy | -- the items should have distinct enough meanings so that they could not substitute for one another consistently. |

Public Personnel/HRM Literature From a Values Perspective

Diverse Concepts Without Integration

Paralleling the problem of conceptual fragmentation of value studies, concepts of values perspectives in public personnel systems often display lack of integration in a comprehensive framework. Scholars have failed to reach consensus on what value typologies should be included and how values are treated as variables. Conceptual diversity, in fact, reflects the lack of an integrated value framework and a fundamental lack of consensus regarding the societal and political values to be maximized. Kaufman's (1956) shifting values as a cyclical reform can be used for an example. In that cycle, some objects are ascendent and have prominence while others fade temporarily. Solutions and new policies can be considered only if they are congruent with ascendent values. Thus, at stake in the requirement for achieving improvements in public personnel theories is the development of a consensus on value issues (Lee, 1979).

However, the question is: How many core values are competing for expression in public personnel systems? The typologies of these values vary. Klingner (1988) points to four basic values, and Elliott (1985) pointed to fourteen. Table 2.4 shows that theoretical advancement might not benefit from conceptual diversity and that theorists' diversity might result in mere confusion.

Not surprisingly, the numbers of competing values derive from different frames of different theorists in different contexts. Both Klingner and Nalbandian (1985) and Thompson (1989) have proposed that there exist five basic values: instrumental goals, merit, political responsiveness, social equity, and employee rights and well-being. However, Thompson's concept of political responsiveness might not be identical to Klingner and Nalbandian's. Also confusing is whether Elliott's (1985) fourteen values can be compatible with Klingner's (1988) four values. There is no conceptual framework for integrating the four contrasting perspectives--administration, management, politics, and HRM--into the context of public personnel systems.

Table 2.4 Diverse Conceptions of Competing Values in Public Personnel Systems

Kaufman's (1956) three competing values	Klingner and Nalbandian's (1985); Thompson's (1989) five basic values	Elliott's (1985) fourteen primary values	Klingner's (1988) four values
-Politically Neutral Competence -Social Representativeness -Executive Leadership	- Instrumental Achievement - Merit - Political Responsiveness - Social Equity - Employee Rights and Well-being	- Elitism - Spoils - Racism - Sexism - Merit - Equity - Efficiency - Rationalism - Protectionism - Political Neutrality - Executive Leadership - Political Responsiveness - Social Representativeness - Professionalism	- Political Responsiveness - Administrative Efficiency - Social Equity - Individual Rights

McGregor (1991) argued, despite acknowledging that merit principles provide a broad framework for HRM, their main function is to constrain political manipulation rather than to define the strategic principles on which operational practices would rest. Yet all public personnel systems are guided either de jure or de facto by values and design choices about personnel actions and practices. These basic values mix to establish the

strategic design of public personnel systems. Table 2.5 shows the basic choices as competing values in terms of four strategic dimensions of HRM--employment, compensation, career system, and staffing structure. Design values may be codified by statute or regulation and may exist in explicit terms and institutionalized into actual actions and practices. They also represent unconscious choices that result from the combined weights of competing values.

Table 2.5 McGregor's (1991) Strategic Dimensions of HRM Design

HRM Systems	Design Choice as Competing Values
1. Employment system a. Job design b. Recruitment c. Selection	Specialist vs. Generalist Open vs. Closed Program vs. Career
2. Compensation system a. Job evaluation b. Compensation	Rank-in-job vs. Rank-in-person Time-based vs. Contribution-based pay
3. Career management system	Elitist vs. Nonelitist Training & Development
4. Staffing structure	Personnel system layering: Vertical separation Horizontal separation Bipartisanship Horizontal overlap

Source: McGregor, E. B. (1991). *Strategic management of human knowledge, skills, and abilities* (pp. 85-86). CA: Jossey-Bass.

Obviously, design values are strategic in understanding conflicting personnel decisions and operations. The problem is whether these conflicting values in design could coexist with different strategic dimensions. Implicitly, McGregor has suggested the possibility that diverse, loosely coupled design values could be used as multiple choices for strategies. The rationale of McGregor's strategic dimensions of HRM with their multiple values is consistent with the multi-dimensionality of values inherent in the public personnel systems. Unfortunately, unlike McGregor and Dresang, many theorists have not conducted their studies in accordance with a multi-dimensional value framework (Moore, 1985).

If the term "values" refers to "global beliefs that transcendently guide actions and judgment across specific objects and situations." contemporary theorists have failed. They do not unify, integrate, and harmonize multiple perspectives on values in order somehow to facilitate "actions and judgment across specific objects and situations" by a person of integrity and intelligence.

Dilemma: Selecting Between Merit Systems and Political Responsiveness

Regarding system design, career bureaucrats have aimed to set up a strong and neutral merit system to counter political intervention. For the public, it is more desirable to ask: How can the workforce be controlled to serve public interests? What actually constitutes "fair and equal opportunity" in employment, compensation, appraisal, and career development decisions? Mosher (1982) believed that the answer to this practical question reveals one of the most basic conflicts, the simultaneous demands for merit employment and political responsiveness.

"Merit" implies a public service that is recruited, selected, placed, promoted, disciplined, and paid in accordance with a set of principles that do not depend on partisan politics. Merit principles serve as the most general guide to employment system operation. However, they are extremely limited because they are incomplete as either strategic or operational guides. Only by specifying the managerial choices by which a system of employment must operate can there be knowledge about relevant practices. Merely positing the need for fair and equal treatment for all employees leaves too much to be explained.

A merit system presumes that public policy is best served by administrative machinery and procedures that filter political influence from personnel decisions. It is designed to resist political influences on government workforces. The trade-off when merit is a legalized buffer established between partisan politicians and career public

employees is that the control of bureaucracy by elected executives is lost. The loss of control occurs because merit systems have built-in defenses to prevent career officials from surrendering themselves to the will of politicians.

Another consideration is that merit systems often breed security-conscious time-servers, adept at avoiding professional responsibility while advocating merit principles as protection for their ineffectiveness. Inevitably, real power has been transferred to executive personnel agencies which are seeking ways to overcome the shortcomings of rigid merit systems and to emphasize quality and competence over job protection. Ideally, antipatronage reform efforts should reduce bureaucratic centralization. However, both patronage systems and personnel department policing can increase central control and decrease managerial adaptability. Patronage reinforces bureaucratic centralization. Instead of eliciting employee participation, patronage sends employees the message that their values are unimportant. Yet the effectiveness of patronage operatives is enhanced when all personnel decisions are highly centralized within an agency and do not require any approval from others. Decentralization of these functions may shake the foundations for and reduce the occurrence of patronage, while empowering middle managers. It is possible to curb patronage without resorting to restraining bureaucratic controls.

Trade-offs Between Merit Principles and Managerial Flexibility

Perceptions about administrative- and cost-effectiveness as a split occurs between personnel management and personnel administration in roles and responsibilities are issues that the present study sought to identify. Professionalism does not guarantee competence. Procedures for ensuring professionalism can actually prevent competent people from being hired and can protect the incompetent. Merit often turns out to be little more than the ability to pass technical examinations of questionable reliability, instead of a measure of work performance or future potential.

Merit systems are not universally supported. These systems require an extensive investment in administrative overhead and are accused of impeding public productivity. Ironically, one of the great managerial virtues of a patronage system is the extent to which the will of executives representing public interests can be realized directly through career officials. In contrast, one of the great limitations of a merit system lies in its chief requirement that impersonal rules and regulatory designs are needed to guard the merit relationship between public executives and employees.

McGregor (1991) has argued that the competing ideas of patronage, merit, and collective employment are complex. They go far beyond simplistic assumptions that patronage causes corruption, that collective employment breeds labor unrest and inefficiency, and that merit produces competitive excellence. Involved here is more than simply managerial adaptability and control of corruption; also involved is the control of the public policy-making system itself.

The evolutionary development of Taiwan's public personnel systems has shown clearly that the narrow management values of accountability and control are inadequate for achievement of multiple HRM objectives. Also, the elevation of political responsiveness and partisan ideology as ultimate values has not led to the creation and maintenance of an institutional capacity for effective governance in a democratic system. In democratic governance, executive leadership and political responsiveness are essential and proper values that need to be realized. It is important, too, that other values be maintained in order for administrative agencies to operate with any reasonable diligence and effectiveness in executing laws and in operating personnel organizations in the public's interest. The issue that must be resolved is how to accommodate management/merit to democratic politics. The present study has expanded the horizons and dimensions to be considered, going beyond the basic linear matrix of merit, management, and politics.

Human Resources Management Versus Personnel Management

Despite the lack of convincing empirical evidence, a crude distinction between PM and HRM is sometimes identified in the literature and is also implicit in different models used by managers to describe the "best practice." However, these loose models require a stronger theoretical or empirical base if they are to be of any value. Nigro (1990) has argued that public personnel administration has projected two different images of the personnel function. One is the traditional image, personnel for managers. Another is Human Resource Management (HRM) or personnel by managers (PM). He noted that even though HRM is proposed as the solution of the future, it lacks well-defined implementing concepts and technologies--a problem that does not beset "personnel for managers."

Guest (1987) also complained that HRM is a term which is now widely used but loosely defined. He argued that if the concept is to have any socially scientific value, it should be defined in such a way as to differentiate it from traditional PM and to allow the development of testable hypotheses about its impact. In comparing normative models of PM and HRM in the literature, Legge (1988) found four main areas of similarity as follows: (1) Both models emphasize the importance of integrating PM/HRM practices with organizational goals; (2) Both would empower PM/HRM in line management; (3) Both emphasize commitment to employees' potential and their personal satisfaction in order to make contributions to organizational success; and (4) Both advocate the placing of the right people in the right jobs as a means of integrating PM/HRM practice with organizational goals including individual development.

At least three differences between PM and HRM are identified: (1) PM is generally seen as something performed on subordinates by line managers, and, for PM, the image of personnel for managers stands, whereas, in HRM, the emphasis is on personnel by managers (Nigro, 1990); and (2) Following the reasoning in (1), where PM

would require all managers, in a sense, to carry out PM as well as their other duties, HRM emphasizes integration of all duties under the line manager who is responsible for bottom-line performance, which is seen to be related to the proactive use of HR in an integrated strategy; and (3) Most HRM models emphasize management of the organization's culture and values as a central activity. Most PM models view these culture concerns more typically as an activity of organizational development which is maintained on a dyad relationship basis between employees and their supervisors.

Legge (1988) concluded that these three differences in emphasis point to HRM, in theory, as being essentially a more central personnel strategic task than PM in that the employee is viewed by managers as the most valued resource to be managed, it involves them in the achievement of organizational goals, and it expresses the executives' preferred values. On the surface, this reference to a valued resource suggest that, if HRM is in the future to displace PM, a management tool that is specifically concerned with valuing resources could play a key role.

In clarifying the concepts of HRM and PM, Guest (1987) acknowledged the problems and limitations of normative comparisons. He has identified certain stereotypes which are useful in highlighting the differences between PM and HRM (See Table 2.6). With respect to evaluation criteria, the stereotype for PM is given as "cost-minimization" while for HRM he recorded "maximum utilization (human asset accounting)." As Table 2.6 shows, Guest (1987) noticed that an assumption that HRM is 'better' is implicit in these contrasting stereotypes.

Table 2.6 Guest's (1987) Comparison of Stereotypes of Personnel Management and Human Resource Management

	Personnel Management (PM)	Human Resource Management (HRM)
Time and planning perspective	Short-term, reactive, <i>ad hoc</i> , marginal	Long-term, proactive, strategic, integrated
Psychological contact	Compliance	Commitment
Control systems	External controls	Self-control
Employee relations perspective	Pluralist, collective, low trust	Unitarist, individual, high trust
Preferred structures /systems	Bureaucratic/Mechanistic centralized, formal defined roles	Organic, devolved, flexible roles
Roles	Specialist/professional	Largely integrated into line management
Evaluation	Cost-minimization	Maximum utilization (human asset accounting)

Source: Guest, D. E. (1987). Human resource management and industrial relations. *Journal of Management Studies*, 24(5), p. 507.

However, this assumption fails to take into account variations in context which might limit effectiveness of HRM. Perhaps in public bureaucracies with a strong tradition of adversarial labor relations, traditional PM might more successfully contribute to achievement of their organizational goals. Until convincing evidence to the contrary is available, this possibility suggests that HRM can most sensibly be viewed as only one approach to managing the workforce. In certain contexts, other approaches are equally legitimate and likely to be successful.

On the surface, HRM comprises a set of policies designed to maximize organizational integration, employee commitment, flexibility and quality of work. An underlying assumption is that HRM is helpful for motivation and more specifically for its capacity to encourage high intrinsic motivation and commitment.

However, because many workers will not display high intrinsic motivation at work, attempts to apply a HRM strategy with an established workforce will not always be desirable or feasible. Those who wish to move toward the practice of HRM will have to place a premium either on selection or on the management of change. Thus, if any danger

is inherent in labelling successful practices as HRM, theorists ought to have compelling reasons for statements about the development of their theory. Dawson (1989) even speculated about a future relationship between HRM and PM. Clearly, perceptions are heavily influenced by the frames or values perspective adopted.

Limited Utilization and Implications

In applying values perspectives in studying public personnel systems, a competing values framework appears to be an approach comprehensive enough to reflect social trends in a contemporary fashion. However, existing highly abstract conceptualizations inevitably limit comprehensiveness in applying values perspectives in public personnel/HRM. Post-hoc analyses such as Kaufman's (1956) three competing perspectives--political neutrality, social representativeness, and executive leadership--appear to be making historical descriptions with both unsupported comments and societal critiques. Elliott's (1985) value analysis of public personnel reform is certainly vulnerable to the same criticism. It is imperative in the professional literature and in practice to go beyond description and historical analysis.

In the present study, the researcher considered using an analytical, competing values perspective like Kaufman's (1956) or Klingner and Nalbandian's (1985) as basic to any comprehensive social policy research. However, their approaches are appropriate only for post hoc explanation while limited in making predictions. Further, despite being theoretically valuable, high abstraction in the study of values does not contribute too much to action and practice. Gavin (1991) asserted that all of these abstractions have failed to build a theoretical basis for better understanding of the historical "why" of personnel actions and procedures. This failure has caused scholars in universities to search assiduously for supplementary ways to teach the important and necessary theory of public personnel/HRM to students.

Techniques and functions in public personnel systems are influenced by behaviorism, group theory, motivation theory, organizational theory, institutional theory and other theories which flow from the important contributing disciplines of psychology, sociology, political science, and economics. Unfortunately, little of this theory relates directly to the principles of public personnel/HRM in their more current form. Public personnel administration is normally treated as a technical-functional orientation without reference to the competing values perspective. The literature needs an appropriate underpinning of theoretical data on which to frame intellectually the practical application of public personnel administration values as formulated into principles.

Laying Out the Conceptual Framework

Theoretically and practically, this study has aimed to respond to the imperative for developing multiple values perspectives that call for a study of this kind. Theorists from the various disciplines have been making different--and even contradictory--conceptualizations of public personnel/HRM (Legge & Gowler, 1986; Dawson, 1987; Guest, 1987; Lengnick-Hall & Lengnick-Hall, 1988; Legge, 1989; Ferris & Judge, 1991; Wright & McMahan, 1992). Observation of these trends reveals at least four distinct, competing approaches to theory and practice in public personnel administration. These are classified as Personnel Administration, Personnel Management, Personnel Politics, and, currently, Strategic Human Resource Management (SHRM).

These four conceptual frames respectively emphasize different, competing values and values orientations in regard to five value-dimensions: personnel institutions, system design, organizational actions, operations, and individual quality. In contrast, personnel values orientations could be constructed from the value profiles of six consequent personnel actions and practices, including staffing criteria, recruitment, performance appraisal, financial concern, training, and exit/turnover.

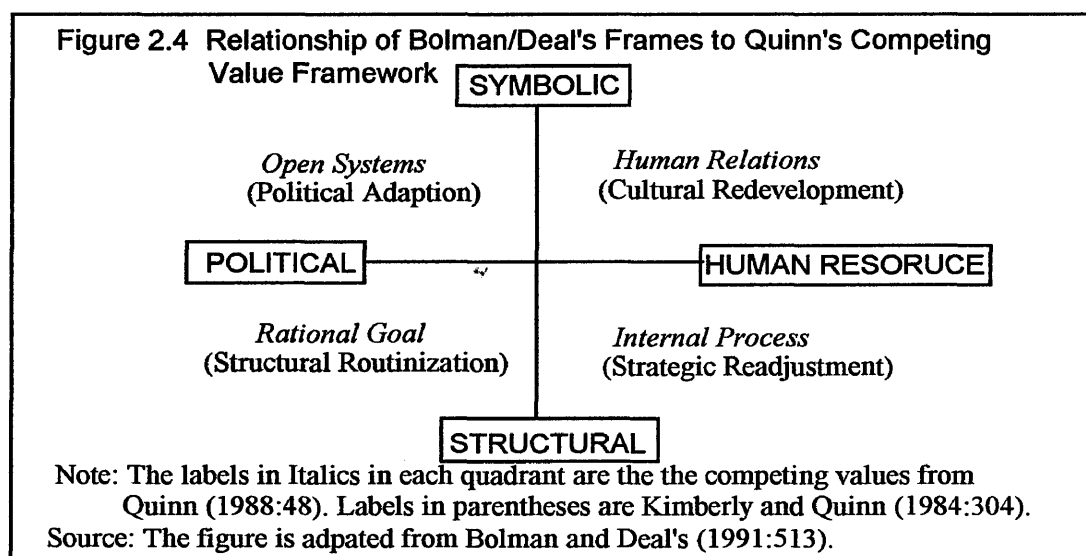
Acceptance of these conceptual frames by public personnelists and theorists will very likely depend on their own values orientations and action-focus. To avoid problems of conflicting values and frames, public personnel theorists and practitioners show a strong tendency to seek fads or a single "best way" perspective which dominates others. There is some question as to whether or not there can be a consistent and contrasting study integrating these four frames or values orientations.

Four Values Orientations of Public Personnel Systems

In this study, the researcher has developed a four-value typology as a conceptual framework which conforms to both theoretical and practical needs. The researcher hypothesized that this typology combines both a reflection and conception of the competing public personnel values and systems which Taiwan's public personnelists utilize in managing their domains. Several theorists have developed four-cell conceptual models for helping reframe organizations, in seeking to identify competing values of effectiveness (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981, 1983; Quinn, 1988), and in exploring multi-paradigm perspectives on theory-building (Gioia & Pitre, 1990).

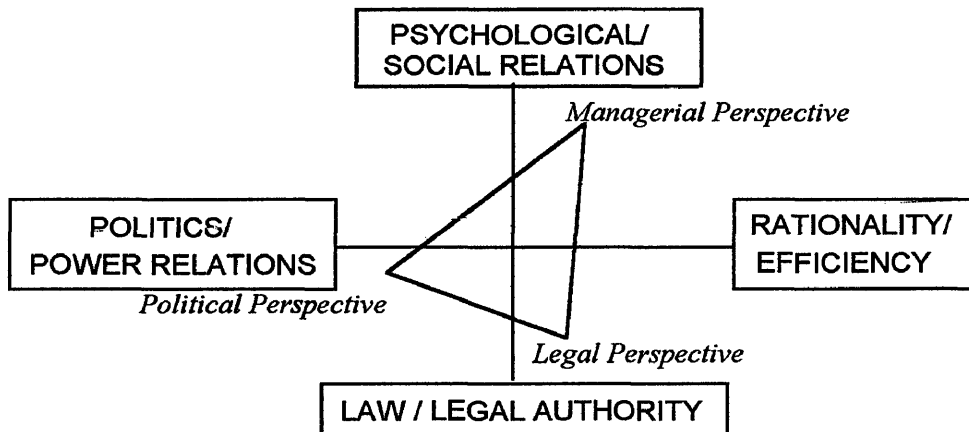
Gioia and Pitre's (1990) conceptual frames are based on Burrell and Morgan's (1979) 2 x 2 matrix comprising four different research paradigms: Radical Humanist, Radical Structuralist, Interpreter, and Functionalist. Gowler and Legge (1986) also followed this conceptual framework in integrating four paradigm concepts into personnel management.

Figure 2.4 reveals the contrast between Bolman and Deal's (1984) four frames of organization and Quinn's (1984) four competing value frameworks. Bolman and Deal (1991) have conducted an empirical study of how multiple frames influence the perceived effectiveness of the manager and leader. Four major frames--structural, human resource, political, and symbolic--are competing for attention. In constructing organizational effectiveness as competing values, Quinn (1984) provided four other contingent models--internal process, human relations, open systems, and rational goal.



In Figure 2.5, Gortner et al. (1989) proposed four themes or perspectives or areas of controversy related to public organizations: law and/or legal authority, rationality and/or efficiency, psychological and social relations, and politics/power relations. Rosenbloom and his associates have consistently advocated three competing perspectives--political, legal, and managerial--in viewing public administration (Rosenbloom, 1983; Rosenbloom & Riccucci, 1986; Ingraham & Rosenbloom, 1990).

Figure 2.5 Relationship of Gortner et al.'s (1989) Frames to Rosenbloom's (1983) Three Competing Frames



Note: The labels in Italics in triangle are Rosenbloom's (1983) three competing frames.

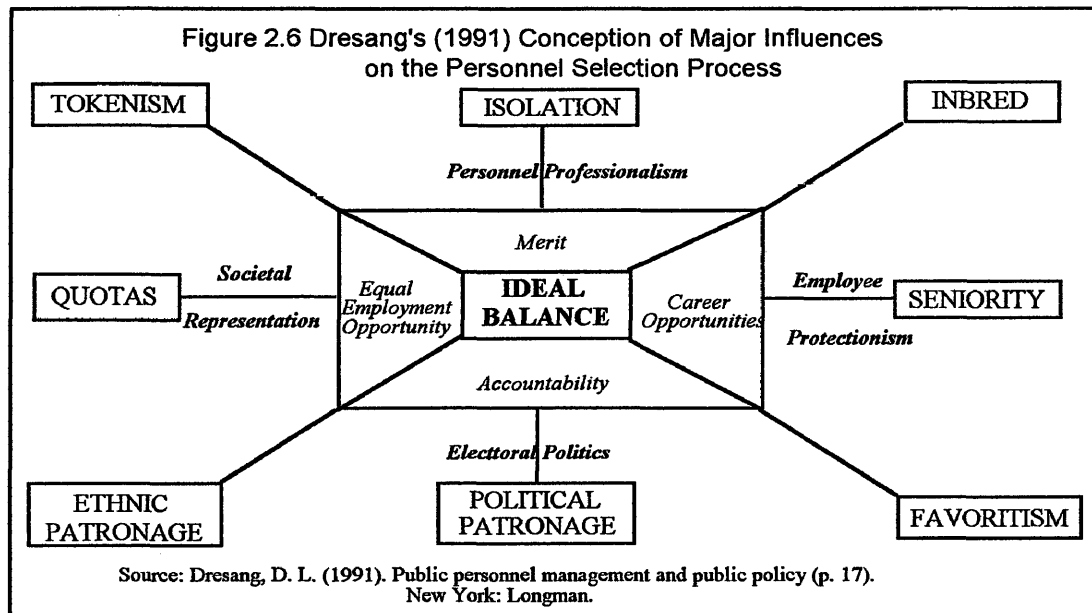
Early on, Newland (1974) suggested that policy theorists and politicians have remained largely preoccupied by personnel or bureaucratic battles over turf or by conflicts between extremes of political values and power, generally with traditional themes of spoils versus merit. Until 1974, three debates centering upon the proper bureaucratic organization for performance of personnel functions were the following: neutral independence versus executive control; centralization and prescription versus dispersion and differentiation; and labor-management integration versus collective bargaining.

Ingraham and White (1989) have reviewed the politics of designs and considered the unresolved tensions in the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. They claimed that the process of reform design and the values that guided it created a reform package that was, at best, loosely coupled; at worst, full of internal contradictions. The comprehensiveness of the reform ensured that solutions to some problems would conflict with others. Some of the solutions reflected this failure to reconcile internal tensions. From a design perspective, Ingraham and White believed that a "gray-solution-to-a-gray-problem" explanation is very useful. It limits expectations; it points to potential implementation

problems; it predicts likely outcomes. However, it also is one of the reasons civil service reform has not achieved many of its intended objectives. Among the most significant of the internal inconsistencies were these issues: (1) Centralization versus Decentralization versus Fragmentation; (2) Control versus Accountability; (3) Better Management versus Better Responsiveness; and (4) Structural Reorganization versus Revitalization. The remarkable resemblance between Newland's (1974) and Ingraham and White's (1989) observations apparently means that these issues have consistently haunted public personnel systems.

Accordingly, Klingner and Nalbandian (1985) conceptualized their models of value impact through system interaction and transformation into functions and actions. They developed their contextual models around the four significant and dominant values--administrative efficiency, individual rights, political responsiveness, and social equity--that have shaped development and application of personnel techniques and practices. Rosenbloom and Riccucci (1986) adapted Kaufman's values perspectives into their strategic analysis of personnel reform.

Dresang (1991) has illustrated a four-cell model of the various influences on public personnel systems. As Figure 2.6 shows, he focused on how these influences on values are competing for the selection of public employees. At the center is the ideal public personnel system. The balance of values informs a selection process that is merit-oriented and uses professional techniques for identifying competent workers; ensures a socially representative workforce; maintains accountability to executive leadership; and institutes career opportunities for employees.



Any deviation from this ideal balance can develop when one of the four major values of public personnel systems dominates. Excessive politics in personnel selection results in a patronage system. A selection process that commits to employee career development operates according to seniority principles. Overemphasis on a representative workforce leads to an artificial quota system. Being obsessed with professional techniques, a public personnel system is likely to isolate itself from public contexts and neglect its main role of representing public interests.

In reality, two or more values, rather than just one, are dominating selection systems, thereby leading to imbalance. In Figure 2.6, Dresang has illustrated some combinations of values as influences most directly juxtaposed to each other: merit and politics, on the one hand, and societal representativeness and seniority principles, on the other. As politics and societal representativeness dominate, ethnic or minority patronage is likely to occur. The domination of politics and employee protectionism may lead to favoritism. The combination of professional techniques and societal representativeness

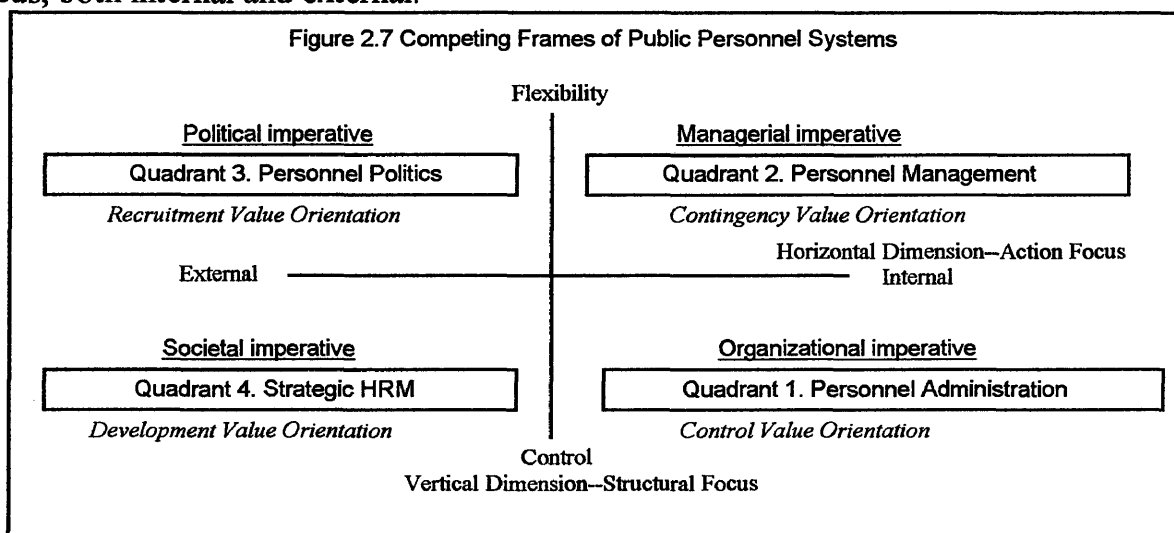
will quite likely result in tokenism, while an overemphasis on employee careers and merit can lead to a relatively static, inbred workforce.

Similarly, Klingner and Nalbandian (1978) advocated Thompson's four decision-making strategies--computation, managerial judgment, inspiration, and compromise--for resolving conflicts among objectives in personnel management. In the same strategic pattern, Miles and Snow (1984) classified four types of behaviors necessary for strategies within their (1978) 2 x 2 matrix framework of organizational types of value profiles. They compared the identified "strategic types" as "defenders," "prospectors," "reactors," and "analyzers" with regard to the different types of HR practices required in each case. However, they compressed their original four types into three types which combined "reactor" and "defender" types representing functional, centralized personnel administration in organizations.

Traditionally, the focus of action in public personnel systems has been on the enduring conflicts between bureaucratic rationalism and democratic ethos. Many personnel theorists have agreed that this dilemma of choices between bureaucracy and democracy, administration and politics accounts for the major unsolved issues in public personnel reform (Ingraham & White, 1989; Lane, 1989). Effectiveness and responsiveness as values have demanded bureaucratic imagination and flexibility to develop appropriate governmental responses to economic distress. Seeking this flexibility has strained the notion of public personnel administration as a neutral, technical administrative function.

Cayer (1989) concurred with the idea that public personnel management has operated like a pendulum swinging between political responsiveness, on the one hand, and administrative rationalism as neutrality, on the other. Ingraham (1985) considered this clash between politics and administration a continuation of an old issue, particularly in the public personnel field.

The present study has aimed to integrate these values, conflicts, and conceptual differences along the lines of (1) an internal-external action-focus and (2) a flexibility-control structural focus as the two construct continuums. (See Figure 2.7) On the vertical axis, the continuum is presented with two polar structural focuses, flexibility and control. On the horizontal axis, the continuum is shown with a bipolar group action-focus, both internal and external.



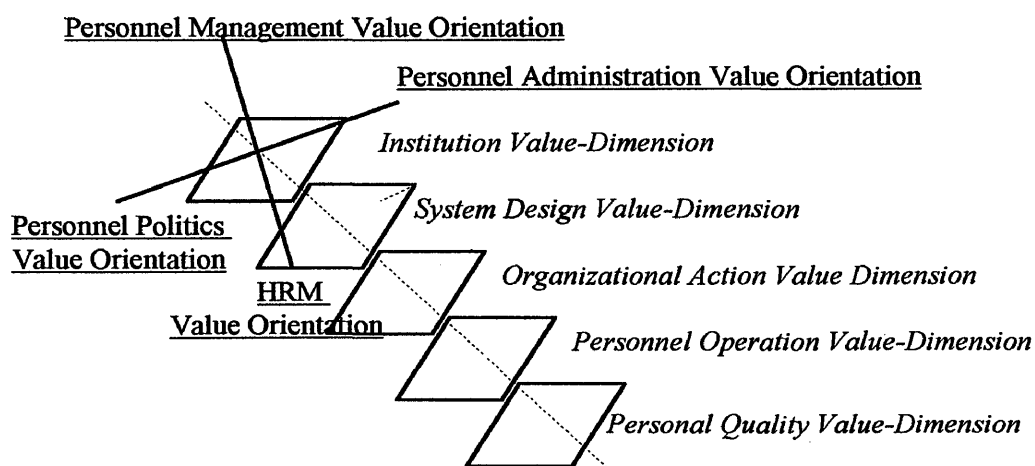
Horizontally, from the intra-organizational action-focus public personnelists are portrayed as demanding satisfaction of the values of clients. In reality, public personnelists representing public organizations are pressured to serve the interests of their constituency as their main priority. Viteritti (1990) has redefined the term "client" as "customer" or "service recipient" in the sociological literature on organization; he has also redefined the term "constituent" in the political science literature on the legislature. In the nature of governance, the purpose of a public agency is responsiveness to the needs of the citizenry it is expected to serve. However, an intraorganizational action-focus emerges from bureaucratic rationality and managerial goals such as efficiency, economy, and--particularly in Taiwan's culture--equity. External organizational action centers its

emphases on the democratic ethos or political ideals of representativeness, or responsiveness, and--in line with Taiwan's cultural distinctiveness--on equality.

As Figure 2.7 shows, the two axes represent four contrasting frames or values orientations: Personnel Administration (PA-1), Personnel Management (PM-2), Personnel Politics (PP-3), and Strategic Human Resource Management (SHRM-4) as the four analytical orientations. Each frame or values orientation includes five personnel dimensions: institution, system design, organizational action, operation, and personal quality. Each frame contrasts with the other three with respect to their value profiles, specifically with regard to the five dimensions.

With this approach, the present study has framed five essential dimensions comprising four values orientations related to public personnel systems. These frames abstract the levels of analysis from the implicit to the explicit: institution, system design, organizational action, personnel operation, and personal quality. (See Figure 2.8)

Figure 2.8 Public Personnel Values Orientations in Five Value-Dimensions



Value Profiles of Four Values Orientations of Public Personnel Systems

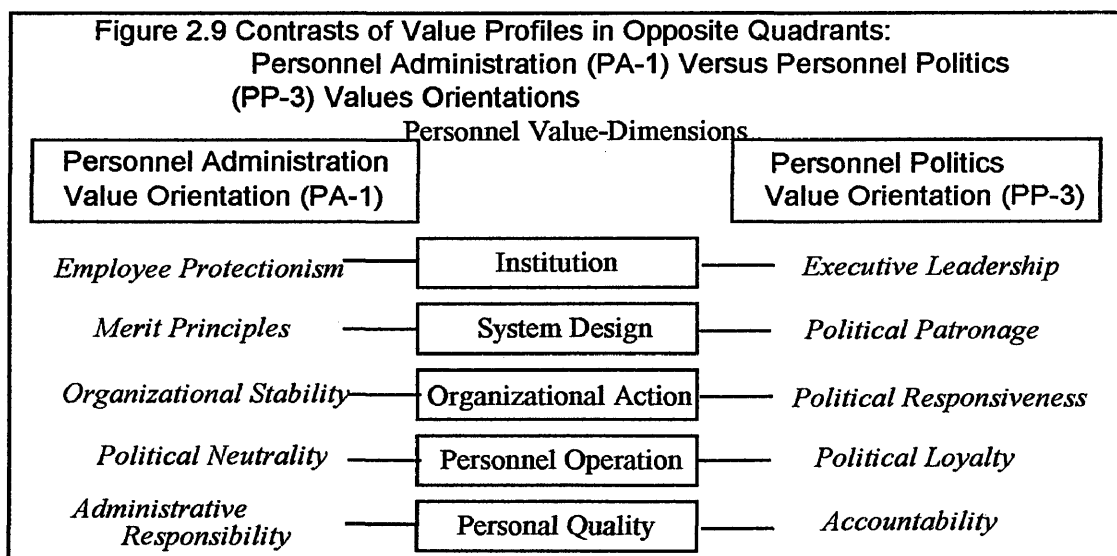
In addition to the literature research, the author of the present study also conducted a systematic empirical check of the questionnaire survey to insure that the items met the four criteria offered by O'Reilly et al. (1991)--generality, discriminability, readability, and nonredundancy--in selecting public personnel values. In this study, the writer asked for and received the cooperation of Taiwan's public personnel agencies in reviewing Chinese language versions of the survey before distribution. The scope of this quantitative study is limited to the extent that a central task was identifying four values orientations from five value-dimensions in terms of individual quality, operation, organizational action, system design, and institution.

Traditionally, **Personnel Administration (PA-1)** promotes personnel functions, policing, and employee protectionism. This category represents both the technical and implementing dimensions of public personnel decisions and actions. The civil service commission, as an example, emphasizes organizational stability by means of strict personnel procedures, political neutrality in personnel operations, and administrative responsibility for desirable personal qualities. Its action-focus is on internal-organizational matters and on administrative concerns. The desirable structure tends to be centralized and hierarchical. The values orientation is toward control in general, and the value profiles are the following:

- * **Employee Protectionism** in institutional dimensions;
- * **Merit Principles** in personnel system design dimensions;
- * **Organizational Stability** in organizational action dimensions;
- * **Political Neutrality** in personnel operations; and
- * **Administrative Responsibility** in personal quality dimensions.

The **Personnel Management (PM-2)** orientation plays a complementary role relative to the **Personnel Administration (PA-1)** orientation. Both share the same concerns related to their internal-organizational action-focus. These two, however, have a different structural focus on the flexibility-control continuum. Persons in this frame share the flexibility construct with those in the **Personnel Politics (PP-3)** quadrant. The contrast between **PM-2** and **PM-3** is embodied in an internal-external action continuum or administration-politics continuum. Value profiles in **PM-2** orientations are as follows:

- * **Equity** in institution dimensions;
- * **Economy** in system design dimensions;
- * **Motivation** in organizational action dimensions;
- * **Professionalism** in personnel operation dimensions; and
- * **Managerial Adaptability** in personal quality dimensions.



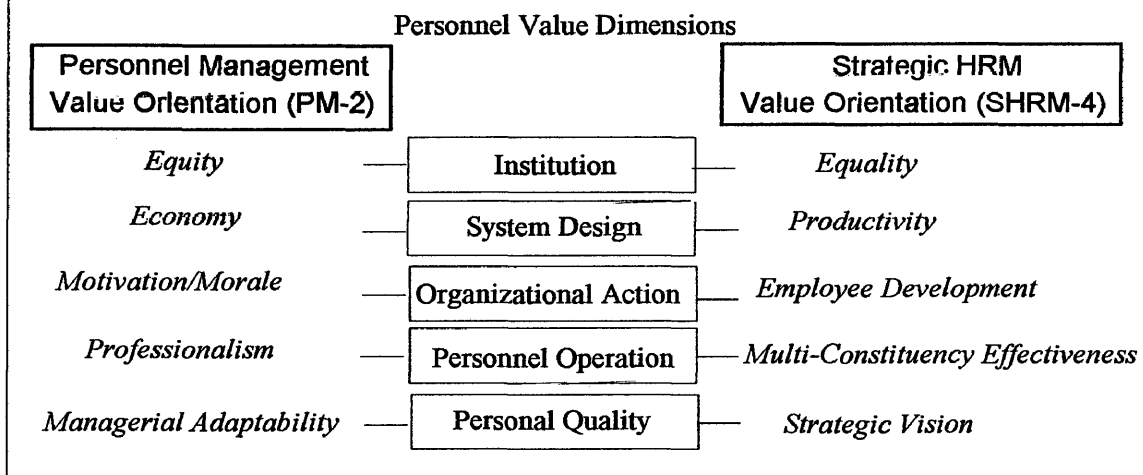
Personnel Politics (PP-3) is opposite to **PA-1** with the values orientation of political recruitment in Figure 2.9. To respond to democratic values, elected officials are accountable for responsive personnel actions and practices. Public personnel agencies

and personnelists have obligations for advising the executive on personnel decisions and actions. Higher levels of personnel, however, are recruited and appointed to government positions on the basis of their political loyalty, not their administrative competency. In the quest for political responsiveness and action in the interests of multiple constituents, the personnel system in this orientation is treated as a vehicle for governance, rather than merely a means of building regime authority or rewarding the party faithful. Political patronage is thus not necessarily considered in negative terms but as a positive indication of personnel system design values. Values conflicts inherited in this system do in fact emerge from political pluralism and democratization. The action-focus is on external-democratic concerns, and the structure is moving toward flexibility. The value profiles of **Personnel Politics (PP-3)** are these:

- * **Executive Leadership** in institution dimensions;
- * **Political Patronage** in system design dimensions;
- * **Political Responsiveness** in organizational action dimensions;
- * **Political Loyalty** in personnel operation dimensions; and
- * **Accountability** in personal quality dimensions.

As Figure 2.10 shows, **Strategic HRM (SHRM-4)** is opposite to **PM-2** with a values orientation of employee development. Scholars generally consider that PM is performed on subordinates by line managers, that for PM, the managers are administering in terms of personnel factions and practice with their managerial adaptability and professional standards. On the other hand, SHRM is proposed in response to societal change and for achieving constituency effectiveness with an external action-focus. Maintaining the interests of multiple constituencies rather than favoring a single client, SHRM promotes democratic-consciousness in personnel operations.

**Figure 2.10 Contrasts of Value Profiles in Opposite Quadrants
Personnel Management Versus Strategic HRM Value Orientations**



However, commitment to employee career development requires a strategic vision in decision-making and a centralized structure for integrating human resources into productivity maximization. Organizations are currently centralizing their structure and controls so that they can grant flexibility of operation at lower levels. While decentralizing personnel operations, the headquarters of organizations will tend to shape the values and culture of the organization in a centralized style.

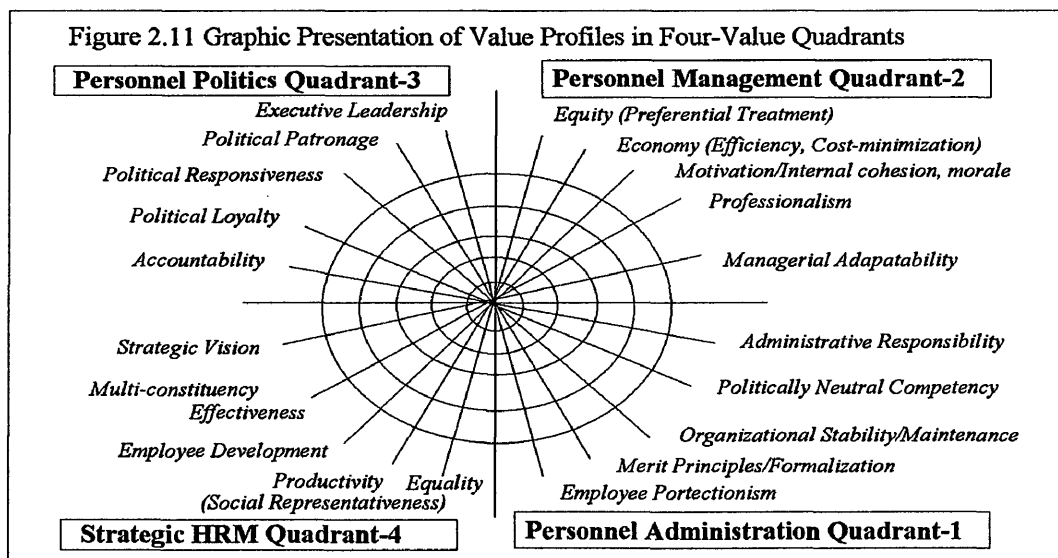
The opposition between **PM-2** and **SHRM-4** stems from the PM managerial accounting emphasis on efficiency and economy and on treating employees in terms of being an operating expense; thus the major concern is cost-minimization in the area of personnel expenditures. SHRM treats employees as knowledge capital rather than an item on a balance sheet, and productivity maximization is the major concern.

Integration of various personnel systems into a total SHRM system means that attitudes and values, as well as management, rewards, and incentive systems, have to be modified to encourage and promote productivity. For maximizing productivity, SHRM emphasizes a strategic sense of personal quality through the central decision-making structure, while PM stresses a contingent, adaptive, flexible structure in order to

strengthen internal-organizational cohesion. The SHRM system is designed to deal with the equality issues associated with the indefinite potential of groups of public employees. Members of the society have their opportunities and rights to serve equally in the public sector. Therefore, the value profiles in the conceptual frame of SHRM appear as follows:

- * **Equality (Social Representativeness)** in institution dimensions;
- * **Productivity (Utilization Maximization)** in system design dimensions;
- * **Employee Career Development** in organizational action dimensions;
- * **Constituency Effectiveness** in personnel operation dimensions; and
- * **Strategic Vision** in personal quality dimensions.

Figure 2.11 is a graphic presentation of contrasting PM and SHRM values profiles in the construct space in four quadrants.



Public personnel actions and practices can also be viewed as clustered into six general functions or sets of value profiles: (1) staffing criteria, which determine staffing choices in a range from seniority, competency, and political loyalty, to potential of HR planning and selection; (2) recruitment, which includes different perspectives from those

of HR on recruitment, administrative, managerial, and political policies; (3) performance appraisal, which involves diverse enterprises ranging from technical-administrative purposes to a commitment to employee career development; (4) financial concerns, which are related to human resource accounting (HRA), political support, and personnel budgeting; (5) training, which involves various training programs ranging from the types with early career emphasis to programs of whole career retraining; and (6) exit/turnover, which includes contrasting ways of exiting from the public sector. These value profiles reflect the four contrasting values orientations portrayed in Figure 2.12. Table 2.7 presents the value profiles relating to six public personnel actions and practices under the four values orientations of **PA-1**, **PM-2**, **PP-3**, and **SHRM-4**.

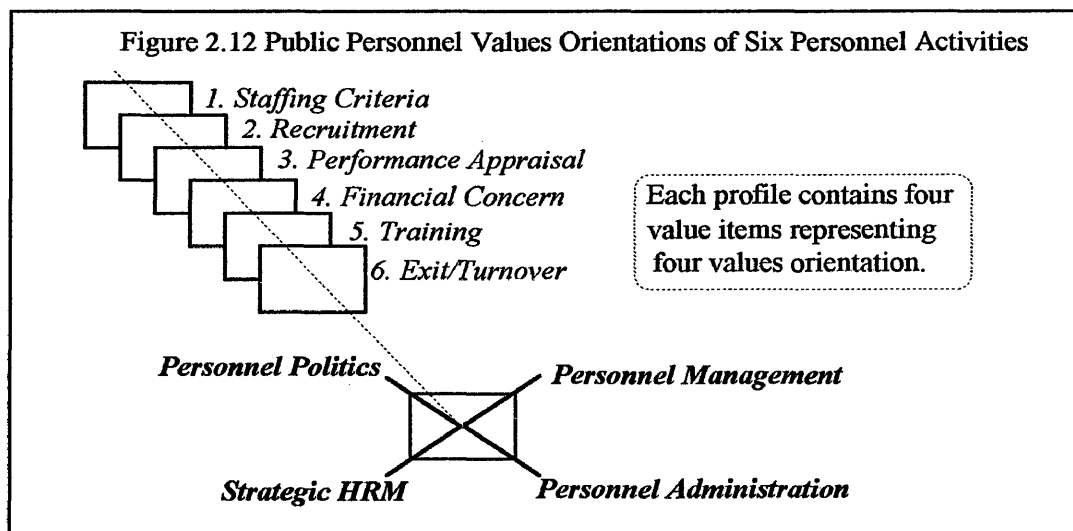


Table 2.7 Four Values Orientations of Public Personnel Systems and Respective Value Profiles Relating to Six Personnel Actions and Practices

Value Quadrants	PA-1	PM-2	PP-3	SHRM-4
Staffing Criteria	Seniority	Competence	Political Loyalty	Potential
Recruitment	A method for balancing HR flow (supply & demand)	A tactic for ensuring managerial efficiency	A strategy for ensuring political responsiveness	A plan for maximizing HR investment
Performance Appraisal	Fair tests of past performance	As a collaborative process	For a political selection	For a career development
Financial Concerns	Budget balanced	Cost-minimization	Exploring support	Maximization utilization
Training	Early career emphasis	Little socialization	On-the-job training	Whole career retraining
Exit/Turnover	Retirement	Dismissal by Layoff	Dismissal by Resignation	Career consultation & Transfer

Respective Properties of Four Values Orientations of Public Personnel Systems

Table 2.8 presents sets of strategic policies and contrasting value profiles to match respective values orientations. Any one of these four strategic types corresponds to different types of public personnel actions and decisions executed to provide the required degree of skill and continuity in the workforce. Each of these four frames is pertinent and important to organizing values orientations and integrating total public personnel systems in general.

This study proposes that the values orientations of an organization or its dominant groups determine the actions and practices of its workforce. The strategic purposes of a public personnel agency will lead to different emphases on various personnel systems actions and practices. Thus distinct value profiles emerge. This study offers four labeled values orientations as follows: Control-type Personnel Administration, Contingency-type

Personnel Management, Recruitment-type Personnel Politics, or Development-type SHRM.

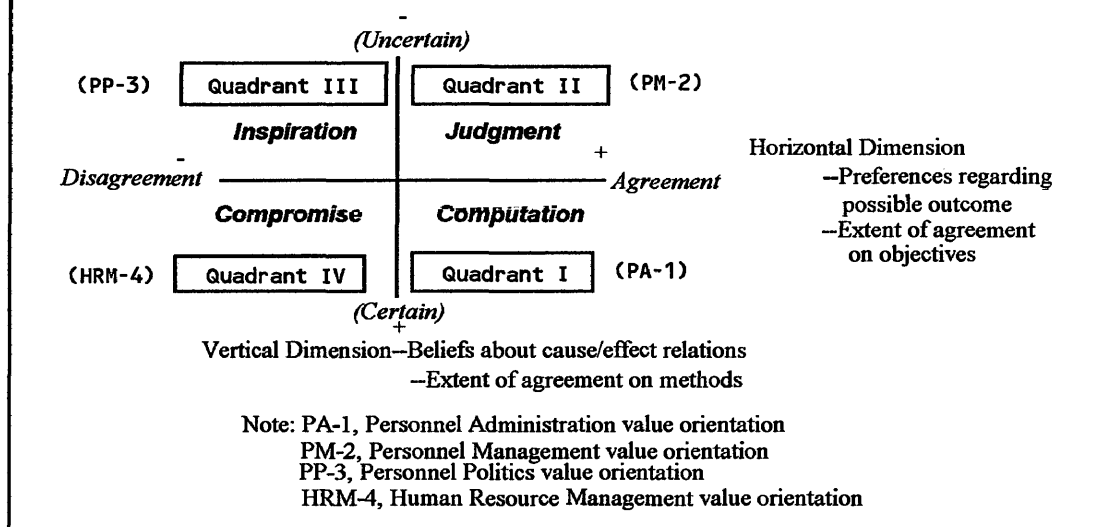
Table 2.8 Four Quadrants Representing Value Orientations and Profiles of Public Personnel Systems

Personnel Systems Typology	Personnel Administration (PA-1)	Personnel Management (PM-2)	Personnel Politics (PP-3)	Strategic HRM (SHRM-4)
Values Orientation	Control	Contingency	Recruitment	Development
Type of Behavior	Defender	Reactor	Prospector	Analyzer
Basic HRM Strategy	Building HR	Allocating HR	Acquiring HR	Developing HR
Organization structure	Functional	Functional	Divisional	Divisional
Control process	Centralized	Decentralized	Decentralized	Centralized
Decision making	Computation	Managerial Judgment	Inspiration	Compromise Strategy

Extension of the Values Framework for Selecting HRM strategies

The researcher maintains that there is no constant model of public personnel systems because a single model would be either too simplistic to capture the variations of different systems or too abstract to offer any clarity to understanding of a complex structure. In contrast, the four-quadrant framework helps by suggesting that public personnelists choose one values orientation over others after weighing the demands on and consequences to public employees, the organization, and political systems in the cultural context. Public personnelists will become aware of themselves as mediators of diverse constituents, as reflected in the personnel policies and actions. Beside its use in structure arrangement, action focus, and role function in strategic HRM, this four-quadrant framework can be extended to influence both decision-making and career system design in public organizations.

Figure 2.13 A Modified Version of Thompson's (1967) Framework Corresponding to the Four-Quadrant Value Framework



James Thompson (1967) has hypothesized that all decision issues can be categorized depending upon the extent to which conflicting groups or individuals agree or disagree on objectives and methods. Accordingly, each of the four decision-contexts, as shown in Figure 2.13, has an appropriate decisions-strategy which can be viewed as responsive to the four-quadrant framework in the present study. Figure 2.13 thus presents the correspondence between Thompson's model and the four-quadrant framework in public personnel/HRM in a modified figure. Thompson (1967) argued that decision issues involve two major dimensions: (1) beliefs about cause/effect relations, and (2) preferences regarding possible outcomes. The resultant matrix, modified from Thompson's original framework, shows four strategic choice possibilities (Quadrant I-IV) corresponding with the four-quadrant value framework in public personnel systems. The four appropriate problem-solving strategies are computation, judgment, inspiration, and compromise.

Selecting an appropriate quadrant for a decision issue depends both on the degree of influence that proponents of different values can muster and on the extent of

agreement on issues, outcomes, and means-end relationships. Once the issue is classified, a context is available, signaling the appropriateness of different problem-solving strategies. Knowing the quadrant that an actor or an issue falls into will help one to understand, explain, and predict the personnel dynamics and strategies associated with the issue. In fact, if any actor can categorize an issue or problem into a quadrant, the problem or situation has been effectively defined. Thus the author of the present study argues that any personnel decisions and issues can be classified according both to Thompson's model and to the four-quadrant value framework in the present study.

The four-quadrant framework is also in accord with the designs of HRM systems and career systems. In designing HRM systems, Miles and Snow (1978, 1984) gave labels to four strategic types of organizations: "defenders," "reactors," "prospectors," and "analyzers."

"Defenders" are organizations carrying control-type personnel administration values orientation. Their structure and action focus is on continuity and reliability. Therefore, the defenders' career system must produce loyal, long-term members committed to maintain the organization.

"Reactors" are those organizations that are confronted with a flexible context and need to react by instituting economy and efficiency in personnel management. Their HRM system must accommodate retrenchment and staffing as well as the retention of competent employees.

"Prospectors" are organizations that thrive on innovation and the creation of support from new sources. Coping with uncertainty and extra-organizational focus, executives in prospector organizations seek new strategies from the emerging trends in the context. They often emphasize political responsiveness and accountability. As managers in a career system, they must locate and recruit creative personnel who are both

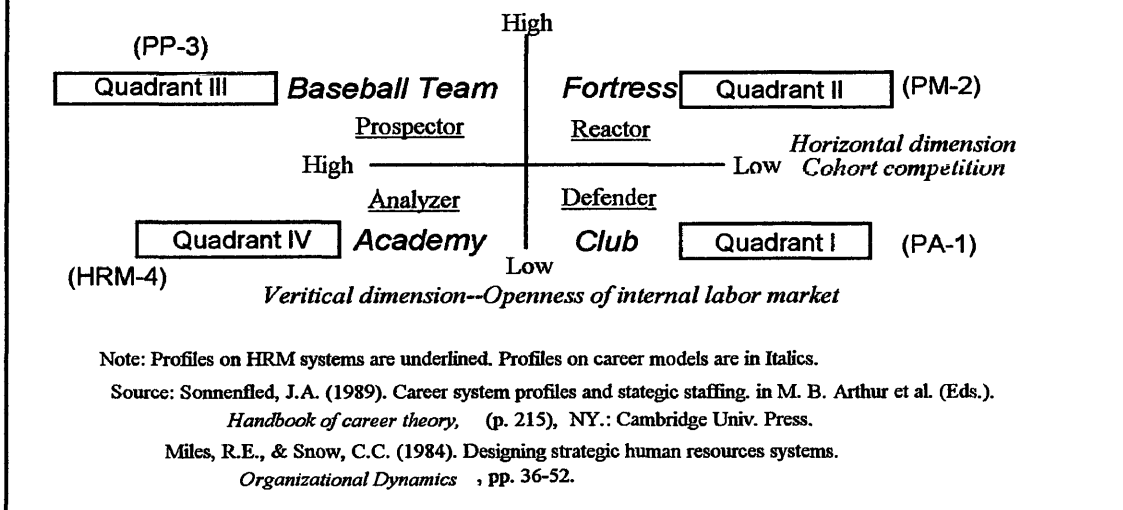
loyal and independent. They "buy" personnel (recruit externally) instead of "making" personnel (train and promote internally).

Following the HRM values orientation, "Analyzers" reveal properties that fall between the innovativeness of the prospectors in the political context and the certainty of defenders in an intra-organizational context. Their HRM system must develop and train those who take moderate risks and strive for freshness, but remain committed to the control structure.

Adapting Miles and Snow's strategic HRM framework, Sonnenfeld (1989) has developed four career system profiles related to important actions in strategic staffing. He profiles many variations by plotting organizations along two dimensions. First, organizations must consider the openness of the "supply flow" of the career system to the external labor market. The second dimension, "assignment flow," describes the mechanism by which assignment and promotion decisions are made. This dimension determines the pace and pressure in the career pipeline. Four types of career systems emerge: "Academy," "Club," "Baseball Team," and "Fortress." Figure 2.14 displays Sonnenfeld's career systems and Miles and Snow's (1984) strategic HRM systems, both corresponding to the four-quadrant framework proposed in the present study.

As Figure 2.14 shows, different career systems correspond to the four values orientations in public personnel systems. According to Sonnenfeld, each cell in his model has been given descriptive staffing. In a stable context, a "Club" career system runs according to the control-type personnel administration values orientation. Its career system emphasizes seniority and fairness in employee treatment. It quite likely will share the "defender's" concern with maintaining the personnel system instead of seeking new expansion.

Figure 2.14 Sonnenfeld's (1989) Models of Career Systems and Miles and Snow's (1984) Models of Strategic HRM Systems Corresponding to the Four-Quadrant Framework



A "Fortress" is an organization struggling for survival. In line with the contingency-type personnel management values orientation, this type of organization has hired and fired reactively to labor markets and economic conditions. Its strategic style suggests that as a "reactor" it has lost control over its context. Economy and cost-minimization are primary concerns, and its goal is organizational survival, mainly at the cost of individual members.

In quadrant IV, the "Academy" is in a more stable context with a commitment to developing its HR. The "Academy" is often a dominant competitor like the central government, while the "Club" is well protected from the labor market. Workers in the "Academy" see themselves as prestigious members of a modern society. Organizations with the Academy-type career system are likely to develop constituent consciousness. Thus they prefer to "make" versus "buy" their midcareer talent.

In contrast, a "Baseball Team" relies upon skilled individuals with transferable talents which can be taken to other organizations. The "prospecting" strategic orientation of the Baseball Team attracts innovative talent that often displays an extra-organizational focus. The "Baseball Team" actually operates as a "prospector" in the political context in

responding to the recruitment-type personnel politics values orientations. Creativity is the most appreciated personal quality of employees.

Table 2.9 presents Sonnenfled's comparative analysis of staffing choices or policies in set matching selected strategic postures. Each one of these four strategic types is shown in correspondence to different personnel practices designed to sustain continuity in the workforce. Most of the contained properties are similar to those presented in Table 2.8 and to those value items of the empirical values survey. Organizations may determine their strategic HRM systems by following directions of the four-quadrant framework. Many organizations may pass through several styles while retrenching or turning themselves around. While the dynamics on Sonnenfled's model are beyond the scope of the present study, the four-quadrant value framework applies diverse personnel actions, strategies, and system designs.

Table 2.9 Sonnenfled's (1989) Four Career System Properties

Type of career system	<i>Club</i>	<i>Fortress</i>	<i>Teams</i>	<i>Academies</i>
Strategic mission	defender	reactor	prospector	analyzer
Career system priority	retention	retrenchment	recruitment	development
Openness of supply flow	preferred entry at career	selected turnaround talent	entry throughout career	exclusive entry at career
Assignment flow	seniority	seniority sponsored	tournament contest	tournament sponsored
Organizational size	large, medium, small	large to medium	small to medium	large
Growth	stable or contracting	contracting	moderate or high	moderate
Training	early career emphasis and scattered general usage	little	on-the-job	whole career . retraining cycles for new jobs
Exit	retirement	layoffs dismissal	dismissal resignation	retirement

Source: Sonnenfled, J.A. (1989). Career system profiles and strategic staffing. In Arthur et al. (Eds.), *Handbook of career theory* (p. 218). NY.: Cambridge University Press.

The essential role of public institutions in a political system is to transmute ideals and values into the reality of specific actions. Public organizations become instruments for the pursuit of the public interest, and they represent specific interests within the society (Wamsley et al., 1987). Public organizations embody ideals and become infused with values which are reflective of those of the larger political society and are directly related to the particular laws, policies, and programs for which these organizations are responsible and which they implement.

Public personnel reform inevitably disrupts and revises clientele relationships and also changes the balance of power and influence in the relevant context. Public personnel reforms are, in fact, considered a means to bring about widespread political and administrative change. Generally such reforms are highly controversial because they are directly related to the distribution of political power in the society (Miewald & Steinman, 1984). Particular reforms might have no usefulness for all of the people. All the goals of reform, such as efficiency, accountability, and effectiveness will always need to be reevaluated in terms of payoffs to the different participants. Regarding personnel reform, the question of who benefits is directly related to the values expressed in the systems involved. Too often personnel reforms are problematic because not all segments of society have the same vision of the most desirable fashion in which to organize the public personnel function (Rosenbloom & Riccucci, 1986).

Knowing the strategic positioning of the public personnel system might help predict the emphasis on various public personnel actions and practices ranging from staffing criteria to exit/turnover. With reference to other organizational practices, public personnel values are also contingent upon structural and strategic factors (Thompson, 1967; Klingner & Nalbandian, 1978, 1981). As contextual forces change the structural

and action foci of a public personnel agency, one can predict changes in an organization's values orientations to match strategic transformations.

The author of the present study has created an organized conceptual framework as the vehicle for opportunity for applying original thought to re-inventing personnel policy in Taiwan's public service systems. The resulting value framework presented in this research is based on the need to achieve clarity in communication. A categorized configuration of public personnel systems that allows for division of diverse ideas or relevant events into meaningful subsets can be an organizational convenience for theorists as well as personnel practitioners. In addition, this value framework can also be useful for identifying distinctive lines of thought. In creating schema that include relevant ideas, both similar and dissimilar in the work of others, the present study not only contributes to the body of knowledge, but also communicates to others the findings related to pressing and immediate needs for reevaluation in a significant sector of the national government. Theorists should not assume a single universally applicable model of public personnel systems. Nor should they expect public personnel systems in dynamic contexts to be unchanging. Instead, researchers need to shift their perspective on public personnel systems from analysis of isolated personnel activities to integrated study of strategic perspectives and a multiple values framework. This shift in emphasis can end the search for a "one best way" in viewing public personnel systems and bring recognition of the complexities of public contexts. Multiple-values frames appear to be conducive to resolving conflicts in communication and to finding alternatives in decisions and actions.

Chapter III

CURRENT PUBLIC PERSONNEL SYSTEMS IN TAIWAN

Taiwan's public personnel systems serve a broad purpose embodying contradictory values and expectations. Taiwan's personnel institutions are either historically determined or politically compromised in the formation of current systems. Personnel authorities and operations overlap each other. Also, certain value orientations related to personnel administration and personnel politics have been institutionalized so firmly that contrasting value orientations such as those related to personnel management and strategic HRM cannot prevail in either practice or action. In addition, Taiwan's political and cultural contexts have facilitated the continuity of some value orientations. Consequently, personnel reform more closely resembles a political compromise with existing reality than a fundamental change in value orientations for future public personnel policy.

Though it is possible to learn lessons from the past, and to be more stringent in planning future action, one must deal with the paradoxical nature of Taiwan's personnel systems in terms of an understanding of the conflicting contexts and associated values. Conceptualizing the contexts from the multiple values perspective is a means of exploring the possible strategies and actions in future development and reform.

With awareness of oversimplification, this chapter examines the contexts and relevant aspects of Taiwan's current systems in four major sections. First, the discussion updates Taiwan's constitutional design of government structures since the 1992 constitutional amendment. The second section introduces the classification systems for public officials and describes the conflicting status of two personnel authorities, the Central Personnel Administration (CPA) and the Examination Yuan (EY). The third section analyzes current systems through the four-quadrant value framework: control-type personnel administration, contingency-type personnel management, recruitment-type personnel politics, and development-type strategic HRM. Then, in the context of the four-quadrant value framework, detailed analyses of competing value profiles are presented in terms of five personnel value-dimensions--institution, system design, organizational action, operation, and individual quality. The final section examines six major--and current--personnel practices: staffing criteria, recruitment, performance appraisal, personnel expenditures and concern, training, and exit/turnover. Included are value profiles emphasizing contrasts with principles of the four-value framework. It should be noted that value profiles have often been promoted in theory, but not in practice. Thus the desirable is a mirage, removed from reality.

In sum, while the values of paradox and harmony coexist in polarities, conflicts and tensions are well hidden by the cultural mechanisms of Chinese values. Chinese characteristics of thought such as polaristic thinking, value clustering, and order complex have helped public officials in Taiwan to deal with the inconsistency between the desired and the desirable. The focus of Chapter IV is on Chinese values, the basis of the discussion being cultural insights.

Constitutional Designs of Government Structures

The government structure of the Republic of China (hereinafter ROC) in Taiwan is based on the constitution promulgated in 1947, whose administrative scale was originally designed for continental governance in mainland China. However, after its 1949 exile from the mainland, the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT) regime brought its continental governments and centralized personnel into Taiwan, at this time an island province. Diverse aspects of personnel systems had to be readjusted to many extralegal constraints unforeseen in 1947. To maintain the legitimacy of the aims of representing all Chinese and of unifying China in the future, the KMT has defended the integrity of the 1947 constitutional design. This was done in accordance with the political ideology of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, i.e., the "Three Principles of the People" and the "Five-Branches of Powers."

However, the dominance of the KMT and its parallel drawn between the state and the party made the political neutrality of civil service impossible. The limited geographic size of the country also reinforced centralization in personnel authority. The action focus of personnel organizations and formal systems was derived either from the executive flexibility or administrative control perspective. Some values such as stability and control were made significant to serve the interests of the political regime. Before the 1990s, any change of public personnel was responsive to the KMT regime and existing organizations, rather than to the general public.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Concept of the Five Branches of Governing Powers:

the KMT's Political Ideology

Taiwan's governments are based on "Three Principles of the People" and the "Five-Power Constitution" as proposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the KMT.

The KMT adopted the ideals of Dr. Sun as basic both to governance and nation-building. These three Principles, the foundation of the 1947 constitution, are the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, and the Principle of Social Well-being.

According to the Principles, the state shall be a democratic republic of the people, to be governed by the people and for the people. Political powers are to be exercised by the National Assembly on behalf of the people, while administrative powers are vested in the President and are exercised by a five-branch government. The political dominance of the KMT has enforced its political ideology as official doctrine. The KMT has consistently perceived itself as a missionary party with a goal of national unification with the mainland. Thus on behalf of the people it set up an "all-efficacy government." This "all-efficacy government" limits individual freedom and defends the state, while being simultaneously a "government by all the people."

This division of power confers governing authority on the government but leaves sovereignty with the people. Dr. Sun believed that the government structure should be democratic with a system of checks and balances among the government's branches as in the United States. Synthesizing Chinese tradition with Western parliamentary democracy, the government combines the three Western branches of government--legislative, executive and judicial--with two traditional Chinese institutions--examination and control--to form a five-branch government. The separation of powers and check-and-balance systems are codified in the constitution.

Dr. Sun believed the separation of government into three administrative branches to be inadequate. Should the executive and examination powers combine, a spoils system could hinder recruitment of the talented and competent. The executive system would be subject to the changes of political parties because of political patronage. Should the legislature have control, it would become arbitrary, and the executive officials would be constrained by the power of impeachment. Adding the Chinese examination and control

branches reflects the high value placed on recruitment as well as the perceived need to control the bureaucracy to insure its competence and morality, the aim of the traditional Chinese polity. Thus, the idea that the examination and control functions should be independent from the other governmental branches, led to creation of the five-branch system now in effect in Taiwan.

The Presidency

The governing powers are under the authority of the President of the ROC. The five branches--the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan, and the Control Yuan--are the highest organs for governing the state in Taiwan, and they are respectively in charge of various government affairs. The President and the Vice President are elected by the delegates of the National Assembly. Effective after the 1996 election of the ninth-term President and Vice President, these officials shall be elected by the entire Taiwan electorate (Additional Article 12, Paragraph 1). As the Chief of the State, the President represents the country in both foreign relations and national functions. The President has the powers of promulgating laws and issuing mandates, declaring martial laws, appointing and removing civil officials and military officers, and assuming some other executive responsibilities.

The National Assembly exercises the right to confirm the appointments of personnel nominated by the President, including the presidents and vice presidents, and a certain number of members of the Control Yuan, Judicial Yuan, and the Examination Yuan.

In the event of a dispute among the five branches, the President may intervene to seek a solution. In case of disputes between two or more branches other than those for which there are relevant provisions in the Constitution, the President may call a meeting of the presidents of the Yuans concerned for consultation in order to reach a resolution.

The Executive Yuan

The Executive Yuan is the highest administrative authority of the State and is responsible for national policy-making and execution. The Yuan has a president, a vice president, a number of ministers and chairmen of commissions, and several ministers without portfolio. The president of the Executive Yuan is nominated and, with the consent of the Legislative Yuan, appointed by the President of the ROC. The vice president of the Yuan, ministers and chairmen of commissions, ministers without portfolio, and the heads of the other direct agencies are appointed by the President of the ROC upon the recommendation of the president of the Yuan.

The Legislative Yuan

The Legislative Yuan is the highest legislative body of the state. It represents the people in passing legislation and supervising the operation of the Executive Yuan. It exercises the legislative power on behalf of the people, enacts laws and statutes, reviews budgets, approves martial law enforcement and general amnesty, declares war and approves treaties. The Yuan is constituted of legislators elected for 3-year terms by the citizens in Taiwan. The Yuan has a president and a vice president elected by and from among its members.

The Judicial Yuan

The Judicial Yuan, the highest judicial organization of the state, has a president and a vice president. It is in charge of civil, criminal, and administrative trials and the disciplining of public officials. Under the Yuan, various levels of courts (the supreme, higher, and district), an Administrative Court, and a Committee of the Discipline of Civil Service are in charge both of judgments on civil, criminal, and administrative suits and of the discipline of the civil service.

The Yuan also sets up a Council of Grand Justices in charge not only of interpreting the Constitution but also of unifying the interpretation of laws and orders. Its president, vice president, and a certain number of Grand Justices are nominated and, with the consent of the National Assembly, appointed by the President of the ROC.

The Examination Yuan

The Examination Yuan is the highest examination organization of the state and is responsible for the examination, employment, and management of public personnel at all levels of government in Taiwan. The Yuan has a president, a vice president, and several council members nominated and, with the consent of the National Assembly, appointed by the President of the ROC. Under its jurisdiction are the Ministry of Examination (MOE) and the Ministry of Personnel (MOP).

The Control Yuan

The Control Yuan, as the highest control body of the State, has the powers of impeachment, censure, and audit. The Yuan consists of 29 members, including a president and vice president, nominated and, with the consent of the National Assembly, appointed by the President of the ROC. All members of the Control Yuan must move beyond party affiliation in order to independently exercise their powers and discharge their responsibilities in accordance with the law.

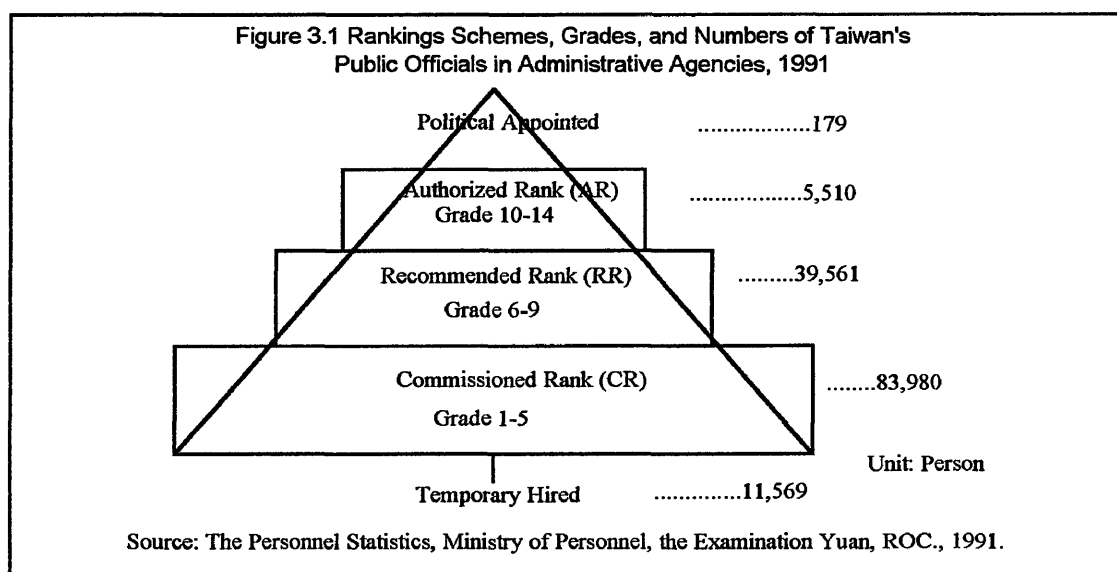
Introduction to Classification Systems and Personnel Agencies

Classification System Combining Rank and Position

The Taiwan's official classification system combines two different classification systems: the ranking appointment system and the position classification system. The official posts are divided into 14 grades within three ranks--"Authorized",

"Recommended," and "Commissioned." Authorized rank officials are those of grades ten through 14. Recommended rank officials are those of grades six through nine.

Commissioned rank officials are those of grades five through one. The 14-grade scheme for public officials is designed to reflect an individual's abilities, experience, and seniority (Hsu, 1988). It also reinforces the values of career development in hierarchy and organizational stability. To some extent, it is considered that simplistic ranking helps promote flexibility in personnel management. Most important, the ranking system perpetuates the values of the traditional Chinese bureaucratic system, which empowered the executive leaders with great latitude in appointments.



As Figure 3.1 shows, Taiwan's public personnel in administrative agencies are organized in a pyramidal form with designated ratios among three ranking groups. Sizes of public organizations must be controlled through a stringent statutory personnel quota as the hiring ceiling. Organizations must be staffed by not more than their statutory personnel quota and by an organizational chart.

In contrast, official positions are classified into 159 position categories, which belong to 27 position groups. It is possible to transfer between the position categories within any given position group. The position system by design focuses on the values of professionalism, rationalism, capability, skills, and merit in performance. Compared to the humanistic focus in the ranking system, the position system places much more emphasis on job analyses and organizational designs.

These two systems are quite different from each other in their underlying values as well as in their grade structures. The ranking system allows a greater latitude than the position system in appointment and promotion. The latitude in setting general qualification as staffing criteria reflects the traditional values placed by the Chinese on the bureaucrat as a "generalist" (Chiang, 1987). In contrast, the position system lays greater emphasis on specific qualifications and necessary expertise. The success of position classification depends on scientific job analysis and clarified organizational designs.

Therefore, interchangeability of personnel between the agencies using different systems is not easily accomplished because of the incompatibility in appointment standards and also because of the difficulty in finding a perfect match in the grades of these two systems. A large number of public agencies have been unable to clarify their function and structural designs, thus making it impossible to conduct job analyses and evaluations. Public officials can often manipulate the incompatibility between the two systems for their personal benefit and enhancement of chances for promotion (Miou et al., 1989). Complaints about unequal treatment resulting from the dual systems have increased radically.

In 1987, to eliminate unequal treatment under the dual systems and to unify them into a single system, a combined classification system was set up to be effective in all public agencies. The situation certainly reveals the paradoxical nature of the Chinese bureaucracy. On the one hand, the stubbornness in insisting on integration reflects the

traditional values placed by the Chinese on uncertainty avoidance. On the other hand, though lacking effective resolutions of the problems, Taiwan's public agencies still classify their officials by either system as they see fit, as if the new unified system were never established to make a difference. This solution can be attributed to the aim of "finding harmony in paradox," which is a primary value conception of the Chinese.

Personnel Agencies in Conflict

Personnel authorities of the Taiwan's government have been divided into two major agencies, the CPA and the EY. With overlapping functions, these two agencies have persistently promoted their own values in various personnel actions and practices. They confront each other, mostly on personnel institutions, in a subtle way. Regarding desirable institutions, the EY considers itself the protector of merit systems in promoting the value of employee protectionism. As the staff agency of the Executive Yuan the CPA very likely perceives the personnel institutions from the flexibility perspective and seeks managerial effectiveness and economy in system design. However, the values of the two agencies are similar with regard to specific dimensions such as organizational actions, personnel operations, and individual quality.

The Examination Yuan (EY)

According to the 1947 Constitution, the EY as the highest examination organ of the state, oversees all examination-related matters, all matters relating to qualification screening, security of tenure, pecuniary aid in case of death, and the retirement of public officials. It also supervises all legal matters relating to promotion, transfer, and awards for public officials.

Under the EY are both the Ministry of Examination (MOE) and the Ministry of Personnel (MOP). The Council of the EY is the policy-making body for all significant matters within the jurisdiction of the EY. The MOE handles civil service examinations

nationwide. The basic responsibility of the MOE is to examine, select, and qualify public officials and professional and technical personnel.

The MOP is in charge of registering and checking the performance records of public officials; screening qualifications; ranking, promotion, and salary scales; and supervising personnel management in public agencies. It also handles placement, transfer, demotion, discharge, pay, punishment, welfare, tenure protection, awards, commendations, pensions, and retirement programs of public officials nationwide.

The Central Personnel Administration (CPA)

The CPA is one of the directly subordinate agencies under the Executive Yuan. It directs and supervises personnel management in all agencies under the Executive Yuan, and it is responsible for recruiting and managing competent personnel for the government. Three major goals of the CPA are to assist public executives with personnel matters; to research and recommend personnel policies and regulations; and to supervise personnel in administrative agencies. When performing examination and screening for appointments, the CPA is still under supervision of the Examination Yuan. The CPA is headed by a director general and two deputies. The main functions and operations of the CPA are divided into five departments: Planning, Manpower, Appraisal and Training, and Compensation; an Information Office; a General Affairs office; a Housing and Welfare Commission of Public Officials; and a Civil Service Training Center.

Every agency and organization under the Executive Yuan sets up a personnel division (department), a personnel office, or staffing personnelists to manage the personnel affairs at different organization levels. The personnel agencies (units) in the first level under the Executive Yuan (such as personnel divisions and ministries) are directly subject to the direction and supervision of the CPA. The other personnel units are subject to the delegated direction and supervision of their immediate superior

personnel units. However, a personnel unit is under the supervision of public executives, in the area where the personnel unit is located.

Official changes in position of public personnelists in public agencies are handled by the duly provided for personnel unit through their own agency. In reality, these changes of public personnelists have been centralized and moved into the control of the CPA. The CPA can decide on the appointment and removal of any personnel. Except in the case of those appointments and removals of personnel directors of Ministries, and Provincial and Municipal government, the CPA does not need approval from the MOP. All personnel agencies and units must submit their working plans annually and obtain approval from the CPA. Any regulations made by personnel agencies at any level can not be contradictory to those of the CPA. If a personnelist should be found neglecting the orders of the CPA, he/she would be disciplined by the CPA.

Conflicts Between the CPA and the EY

Article 83 of the 1947 Constitution stipulates that the EY shall be the highest examination organ of the State and shall have charge in cases relating to eleven personnel matters including examination; appointment; qualification, appraisal; pay scales; promotion; protection; awards; survivor's relief; retirement; and pensions. The EY may present statutory bills on matters under its jurisdiction to the Legislative Yuan, and have authority in interpretation of laws.

According to the 1947 Constitution, the EY has legitimacy in instituting all personnel systems and regulations, while the CPA has been only the staff agency of personnel administration under the Executive Yuan, responsible only for proposing personnel policies and implementing them in personnel administration. All operations of the CPA must be in accordance with the EY's regulations. However, the CPA can

present proposals regarding new institutions and research and can operate personnel measures under the authority of the Executive Yuan.

Many Taiwanese scholars have argued that the original aim in dividing authority between the EY and the CPA was to designate the policy authority as belonging to the EY and the implementation power to the CPA. There is, a popular notion that the EY handles policy, regulations, and legal interpretation of personnel matters, while the CPA emphasizes implementation, management, and techniques. However, this artificial kind of distinction resembles a news commentary/analysis which shows no awareness of the impossibility of drawing clear, sharp lines between policy and implementation. The interrelated and extensive scope of public personnel administration/management includes various activities and actions. Any attempt to isolate certain functions without coordination ends in futility.

However, many Taiwanese scholars have identified the core problems and conflicts between the CPA and the EY. The existence of the EY obviously depends on the fragile political ideology of the Five-Power constitutional design, which has been prolonged by the KMT regime. Most liberal scholars and members of opposition parties have proposed dissolving the EY, the body that they have deemed a redundant authority from managerial and economical perspectives. However, they may fail to take into account most influential actors--the KMT. The KMT and its conservative members often equate any criticism of the continuity of the EY either with disgrace to the merit spirit in Chinese culture, or with challenging the KMT's authority and legitimacy.

The problem is that the CPA has in fact handled the personnel management of more than 98 percent of all public officials in Taiwan. Most of the arguments in favor of the continuity of the EY and integrity of the Five-Power constitution are made by the incumbents in that Yuan. In opposition, advocates of the CPA have mostly grounded their arguments on a realistic consideration. From a rational viewpoint, the KMT

recognizes that its own ideology of Five-Branch Powers inevitably conflicts with its desire for personnel flexibility, which is probably realized by the CPA under the Executive Yuan. Paradoxically, the KMT believes that trading constitutional integrity for managerial flexibility is not worthwhile as long as it still controls the state. Thus it has strong reason to delay any proposal of radical changes until meaningful and better resolutions emerge, which appear to be impossible. Debates concerning whether the EY or the CPA should be replaced by one or the other become endless without reaching any value consensus.

In 1992, with additional of Article 9 of the Constitution the Executive Yuan was permitted to establish the CPA as its formal agent. Even before that, the CPA had handled at least seven functions not found in the Constitution: training, advanced study, insurance, welfare, personnel management, new personnel systems, and position classification. Generally, there are 12 overlapping responsibilities of the CPA and the EY:

- * Assignment after Entry Examination;
- * Pay;
- * Performance Appraisal;
- * Institution of new personnel systems;
- * Retirement & Survivor's Relief;
- * Insurance;
- * Management of personnel agencies;
- * Benefits;
- * Training & Development;
- * Legislation of personnel regulations;
- * Interpreting personnel laws; and
- * Filing personnel data.

Gradually, the scope of the EY's jurisdiction has shrunk to the handling of personnel agencies other than those of the Executive Yuan. The CPA might become the most influential personnel authority in the State, while the EY is profiled as a token of constitutional integrity associated with the KMT's out-of-date political ideology.

Yet according to Dr. Sun, the independent status of the EY must represent and preserve the equality spirit of the traditional examination institution. Expressing his distrust of the bureaucracy, Dr. Sun asserted that recruitment of public officials should be independent from the executive branches. To some extent, his ideal of public personnel systems might be classified in terms of strategic HRM perspectives. Yet, there is no substantive evidence showing that he had equated the examination power with total personnel power. Before the emergence of the CPA in 1957, the EY had successfully reinterpreted its authority as the total personnel power. The arguments favoring the CPA now are very likely to depend on the same strategy used by those favoring the EY back in the 1930s.

Constitutional Restructuring as Compromise with Reality

To resolve the conflicts between the CPA and the EY, in 1992 the Taiwan National Assembly amended the 1947 Constitution and redefined the powers and scope of jurisdiction of the EY in Additional Article 14, which states

The Examination Yuan shall be the highest examination body of the State, and shall be responsible for the following matters; and the provisions in Article 83 of the Constitution shall not apply:

1. All examination-related matters;
2. All matters relating to the qualification screening, security of tenure, pecuniary aid in case of death, and retirement of public officials; and
3. All legal matters relating to employment, discharge, performance evaluation, scale of salaries, promotion, transfer, commendation and award for public officials.

Since the amendment, the CPA can institute new systems and regulations. Being the staff agency under the Executive Yuan, the CPA is able not only to present budgetary bills on human resources planning but also to initiate statutory bills concerning personnel systems and institutions, through the Executive Yuan to the Legislative Yuan. Regarding certain personnel matters, the CPA no longer functions in accordance with the EY's supervision, unless its legal proposals collide with the EY's authority. The conflicts may become worse than before.

The EY may still present statutory bills on matters under its jurisdiction to the Legislative Yuan and attend hearings concerning the content of these bills. The problem is that if the Legislative Yuan rejects these, the EY may have no remedy but to accept the rejection. But if it finds difficulty in accepting the rejection, the EY could require the President of the ROC to call a meeting to settle the interbranch dispute. However, this situation appears unlikely to develop.

Three possible approaches to resolution of problems can be found: constitutional, political, and administrative. First, constitutional interpretations for remedy can be required from the Council of Grand Justices in the Judicial Yuan. However, several incidents in the past show that with their independent status, the Grand Justices always interpret the constitution in ways contrary to the request of the EY. Second, a political solution could be found if the KMT would resolve the interbranch dispute through its party mechanism and if the President of the ROC, often the head of the party, plays the dual roles of arbitrator and mediator. The final approach to resolution could be to downplay the dispute to the level of personnel administration in order for the CPA to handle it. Since the third choice is less risky than the first two, the CPA, in selecting it, would have increased its influence significantly.

A possible explanation for the continuity of the CPA is that most people accept its reality and existence. The CPA has continued to handle the personnel matters of public

officials in the Executive Yuan, a population which comprises more than 98 percent of the total number of public officials in Taiwan. Unless there is any argument sufficient or powerful enough to challenge the existence of the CPA, the efficiency and centralized control of the CPA will continue to be valued.

In contrast, decisions favorable to the EY were not so difficult. First, the existence of the EY manifests the determination of the Taiwan State to keep the faith in Dr. Sun's Five-Power government. Too often political modification is seen as a less painful strategy than the total dissolution of existent constitutional structures. However, once any decision is made to modify the five-power constitution, much effort will be required to control the resulting uncertainty, both political and societal. The cost of such a venture is too high to consider. Second, traditional distrust of the bureaucracy leads the Chinese to insist on maintaining for its preventive effects the independent status of the EY. Another consideration is that the Chinese have been socialized to appreciate the equality value of the examination institution. Finally, from the political perspective, as a higher-level government agency, the EY is able to offer political positions to patronize politicians and loyal party members. Thus the KMT has strong reasons to ensure the continuity of the EY, while legitimizing the CPA in a rational manner.

The current balance in arrangements between the CPA and the EY operations obviously represents a compromise with reality. Conflicts and confrontations seem predictable in the future, and public personnel values will apparently never be integrated and a consensus reached. The so-called government restructuring in the 1992 Constitutional Amendment is nothing more than a compromise with an endorsement of the continued existence of both agencies.

In some ways, these arrangements have helped to illustrate the key role that Chinese values have played in public personnel systems. Maintaining both agencies while the desirable values are in confrontation provides an example of the value clustering

observed in the Chinese cognitive pattern (e.g., Munro, 1977). Compromise with reality is a way to seek harmony but not to solve the problems in a conflict. Seeing conflicts from a constructive perspective, as for example in faithful competition, is a rare notion in the Chinese value system. Maintaining the status quo reveals the deeply ingrained Chinese values of order complex and uncertainty avoidance (e.g., Cheng, 1989). Bond and Wang (1983) argued that the Chinese are preoccupied with a concern for maintaining social order. This order is created for them through the hierarchical structuring of relations, which is basic in the interaction pattern between the CPA and the EY. The EY still preserves its supervising status over the CPA especially with regard to personnel matters such as qualification screening, performance evaluation, promotion, and retirement.

Further, trimming some authority from both agencies reflects the traditional value of moderation, or following the "middle way" (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987). Implicitly, the limited choices of resolution paths between these two agencies illustrate the faith of the current reformers in including the reciprocation of favors of the executives between the CPA and the EY (e.g., Hwang, 1988). This faith in bureaucratic values appears to be a reasonable explanation of this action because in fact CPA and EY executives are both comrades in the KMT power circle. Metaphorically speaking, they are members of the KMT family. It is difficult to find senior officials in the CPA who are not KMT members. As a traditional Chinese proverb states: "When a family is united, everything prospers; When a family argues, everything fails" (adapted from Bond & Wang, 1983:58). The problem is that the bond between the CPA and the EY is too fragile to support such a heavy load forever.

Uncertainty in the Future

Inevitably, the current artificial harmony will become uncertain in the future if the KMT ever steps down from power and if other political parties challenge and thus disavow the political ideology of the Five-Power branches. The political democratization and social pluralism now occurring in Taiwan increase the extent of unpredictability in this area (Metzger, 1991). Another sign is the fact that the major opposition party in Taiwan, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), has consistently criticized the CPA for its failure to keep public officials neutral in political activities. Though facing controversy between factions inside the party, the DPP firmly advocates de jure independence of Taiwan to establish a sovereign state. The DPP will not be trapped by the KMT's political ideology in constitutional design. The DPP has already initiated some studies on possible ways to restructure the relationship between the CPA and the EY.

In the 1992 general election, the DPP won nearly half of the seats in the Legislative Yuan. Some political observers believe that there is a high probability that in a future election the DPP will take over political power and become the ruling party. Then, it is quite possible that there will be improvement or at least some change in the current dual personnel authority system.

Dimensions of Taiwan's Public Personnel Systems

Personnel Institutional Values as Ideal

Many proposals for Taiwan's public personnel reform have been made from systemic perspectives. That is, Taiwan's personnel systems are viewed as unfolding within a particular kind of social, economic, and political context, but there are continued inferences made from other value orientations in comparable systems internationally about the path which personnel reforms in Taiwan are likely to take. On the one hand,

the systemic perspective emphasizes the functional features Taiwan shares with other countries with reference to personnel matters such as techniques and system designs. On the other hand, in the systemic perspective there is greater stress on those structural attributes of Taiwan's systems that are peculiar to Taiwan, for example, the political ideology of and historical retrospection of an independent personnel authority like the EY dating back to the imperial era. While this systemic approach offers comparative information on system designs and operations, it implicitly reinforces the existing paradoxes and thus facilitates further compromise. This perspective does not provide a sufficient view on the "desirable" in the future, nor is it able to catch the essence of conflicting contexts and embodied values and expectations.

Sociologically speaking, institutional values are socially shared cognitive representations of institutional goals and demands (Rokeach, 1979:50). An institution is "a set of institutional norms that cohere around a relatively distinct and socially important complex of values" (Williams, 1951:29). However, as social institutions, personnel systems cannot be expected to transmit or implement the whole array of human values and expectations. In Taiwan, high abstraction of institutional values prescribes the desirable end-state as ideal. Different people from different backgrounds have their own conception of the desirable or what the "ideal" should be. Some institutional values are ranked higher than others. If asked how important the values are to them, people in Taiwan, however, might give very different rankings from a realistic perspective. The desired is not always equal to the desirable.

Based on the four-quadrant value framework described in Chapter II, there are four contrasting values in the institution dimension, namely, employee protectionism, equity, executive leadership, and equality. Personnel institutional values are in contradiction with one another in terms of priority when considering the Taiwan society's attention toward expectation. Two polar value conflicts can be found immediately:

employee protectionism versus executive leadership, and equity versus equality. While representing, to some extent, desirability in a future perspective, these four values are not at all equivalent to each other in terms of their importance from a contemporary viewpoint. Inconsistency between the ideal and reality can only be handled in a balanced mode, as in the traditional Chinese models of order and compromise.

Employee Protectionism Versus Executive Leadership

Primarily, the Taiwan public personnel institution is designed to support the value of employee protectionism, assuming a major responsibility for safeguarding public officials from partisan political abuses. Elaborate procedural safeguards for public officials' rights have been institutionalized. Public officials can sue their agencies to minimize merit abuse and to protect individual rights in regard to personnel functions (Interpretation No. 187, 201, 243, 266). Pay rates must be tied to position so favoritism and nepotism cannot be circumvented. Work assignment must be specified in a description of duties.

The primary concern of the ROC Constitution is the protection of individual rights. The Constitution guarantees to all citizens equal protection under the law, and it prohibits the government from depriving anyone of the right to life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Thus, in its dealing with public officials as employees, the government must be careful of employees' rights as citizens (Cheng, 1990).

Merit/civil service systems are created to reduce the impact of politics on public agencies. Most reformers have supported merit principles to safeguard employee rights. The health of the public personnel system relies on the protection of the public official's rights. But predictably, one's conception of employee rights will differ according to which values are considered either desirable or important. The predominant value as the

ideal end-state will be determined by changes over time in social, political, and legal contexts.

A dominant value of executive leadership demands that the public executives be allowed to control their work force (Elliott, 1985:15-16). The value of employee protectionism mandates that public officials be guaranteed certain rights. These two values clearly collide in practice since the Taiwan performance evaluation system has implied that a public official cannot be permitted to file a grievance or to appeal a performance rating because this rating function is exclusively a management right (Article 17 of the "Performance Evaluation Law"). Public executives can discharge public officials whose performance records fail to meet the basic requirements. It should be noted that this charge needs to be approved either by the CPA or by the MOP of the EY.

However, Grand Justices in the Judicial Yuan have issued a constitutional interpretation, asserting that any discharge of public officials is legal punishment opposed to their constitutional rights of serving in a public position. This interpretation allows public officials to file administrative appeals and grievance claims as remedy (Interpretation No. 243). Thus, any decision on discharging public officials will not be determined only by the executive agencies or the MOP of the EY, but must be made by the Committee on the Discipline of Public Functionaries in the Judicial Yuan. This Committee exercises jurisdiction over cases of legal punishment of all public officials or of cases regarding discharge matters. In this way, the committee not only disciplines public officials but also provides them with proper protection. As a result, discharge of incompetent public officials becomes very difficult simply because their bad performance might not be used against them. Accordingly, ways that the incompetent leave the public agencies are either by retirement or voluntary resignation, but not by managerial dismissal.

Having a control proclivity for seeing personnel practices as protecting employees, Taiwan's public personnelists have spent too much time complying with the mechanical or procedural requirements. Increased concern for protection of employee rights through due process forces them to resort to legal processes. These due process cases increase the time and cost involved in conflict resolution. They also increase the likelihood that personnelists will seek to maintain their flexibility by "netherworld behaviors," such as careful documenting of personnel practices to avoid liability, while they are acting clandestinely to preserve their own flexibility to serve their executives.

Before adoption of Constitutional Interpretation No. 243, employee protectionism in laws and regulations was expressed in abstract terms without substantive content. Rights and obligations of public officials are now specifically defined, while their constitutional rights are stated. Yet illegitimate interventions can easily be found in examination of executive directives and manipulations in personal networks.

Merit abuses are hardly remediable, not because of the lack of appropriate grievance systems or not because of the almost nonexistence of any public official union as a bargaining representative. Abuses exist because if someone files an appeal and grievance change against his/her agency, he/she will be isolated from colleagues and will face retaliation by the executives. Eventually, complainants have to resign rather than endure further interpersonal confrontation. To deal with incompetent subordinates, public executives always transfer them to insignificant positions and then require extra manpower to take over their jobs. The large numbers of willing, qualified, and unemployed applicants available in the society cause a loss of respect by public executives for their subordinates.

To most public officials, employee protectionism is a value most likely found in political propaganda and mandated in fancy legal terms. In reality, the most important

institutional value is executive leadership, although it might not be the most desirable for all public officials--employees.

Confusion Between Equity and Equality

Civil service entrance examinations in Taiwan have been institutionalized as universal requirements for public officials. Basically, these examinations are required not to be set with specific or discriminatory criteria for screening examinees. The Constitution ensures that all ROC citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class, or party affiliation, shall be equal before the law (Article 7). It stipulates that the people shall have equal rights of taking public examinations and of holding public offices (Article 18). The equality value of social representativeness was prescribed in the 1947 Constitution, which requires that examinations be held in different areas with prescribed personnel quotas set according to various provinces or areas. The value of social representativeness was related to the geographical diversity of provinces in mainland China. Since the relocation of the ROC government on Taiwan island, the necessity for social representativeness based on geographic diversity no longer seems legitimate and is deemed not in accordance with the equality spirit of the examination. Reality once again wins over the ideal.

However, the reality has taken a vague form. The equality value is ensured as desirable through the universal applicability of the examination requirement to all public officials. The examination function, being exercised solely by the EY, is separated from executive power and is thereby free from partisan influence. The EY must ensure that examinations are open to all members in the society and that the equality value is prevalent in the personnel institutions.

However, certain provisions of the Constitution consistently reinforce the equity value with preferential treatment. Additional Article 18 requires the state to protect the

dignity of women, safeguard their personal safety, eliminate sexual discrimination, and to further substantive equality between the sexes. The state shall safeguard the rights of the handicapped and disabled to education, training, and employment assistance so as to help them to attain independence and further their careers.

Actually, the notions of equality and equity are always confused and conflicted. Taking affirmative action to correct the past inequality too often results in inequitable treatment (Elliott, 1985). For example, the examination system is supported to ensure equal access to examinations for all applicants. Fairness and openness are strictly demanded in examination processes. However, access to current examinations is limited by setting unequal criteria, such a perfect physical condition and certain educational attainments as qualifications. The examinations are designed according to applicants' varying educational levels. Thus according to the 1993 "Amended Examination Law," civil service entrance examinations are divided into three categories: the Higher Examination, the Ordinary Examination, and the Primary Examination. Accordingly, an examination is held, depending on the levels of educational attainment of entrants needed in the public agencies.

Higher Examinations are divided into Level I, for those holding a Ph.D. degree; Level II, for holders of Master's degrees; and Level III, for holders of B.A. and B.S. degrees; and secondarily for those who have passed the Ordinary Examination and have met length-of-service requirements. Ordinary Examinations are open to graduates of senior high schools or senior vocational schools and secondarily for those who have passed the Ordinary Qualifying Examination. Primary Examinations are open to graduates of junior high schools or entrants with a similar educational background. Promotion Examinations are also available to public officials seeking promotion in rank.

On the surface, the system seems fair and equal. But upgrading education levels in the Taiwan population means that applicants have higher qualifications than those

required in the examinations. As Table 3.1 shows, more than 70 percent of public officials have degrees higher than senior high school graduation. Those who have graduated from universities and vocational colleges comprise almost two-thirds of the total number of public officials.

Table 3.1 Educational Attainment of Taiwan's Public Officials, 1985-1991
(percentage of total)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Doctorate	.62	.67	.75	.82	.90	.98	1.11
Master's degree	2.04	2.18	2.25	2.37	2.44	2.66	2.79
University degree	25.75	26.38	26.71	26.99	27.07	27.71	27.98
Vocational Coll. degree	37.50	38.13	38.84	39.59	40.71	40.33	40.81
High Sch. degree	22.81	22.12	21.55	21.03	20.59	20.61	20.10
Junior Hi. Sch. grad.	5.71	5.31	5.05	4.68	4.21	3.91	3.67
Primary Sch.	4.50	4.24	4.07	3.77	3.41	3.17	2.96
Others	1.06	.98	.78	.76	.67	.63	.58

Source: The Statistics of Public Personnel, Ministry of Personnel,
The Examination Yuan, 1992

Unfortunately, there is no law to prevent anyone who has a higher educational attainment from taking the civil service entrance examination requiring a lower level (Tsai, 1990).

Too often the person having a B.A. degree takes both the Higher and Ordinary Examination. For those temporary hires who seek official status through examination, taking the Primary Examination is a sufficient choice and an easy way, though they may have qualifications higher than senior high school graduation.

Thus examinations for ensuring equality values actually promote inequality. Another example of inequality can be found when examinations intentionally screen out the disabled who might not qualify on the basis of the physical criteria. Many jobs in administrative agencies could be easily modified to accommodate the disabled.

According to Article 17 of the "Welfare Law of the Disabled," in 1991, there should be a quota of 16,000 requiring public agencies to accommodate specific positions for the

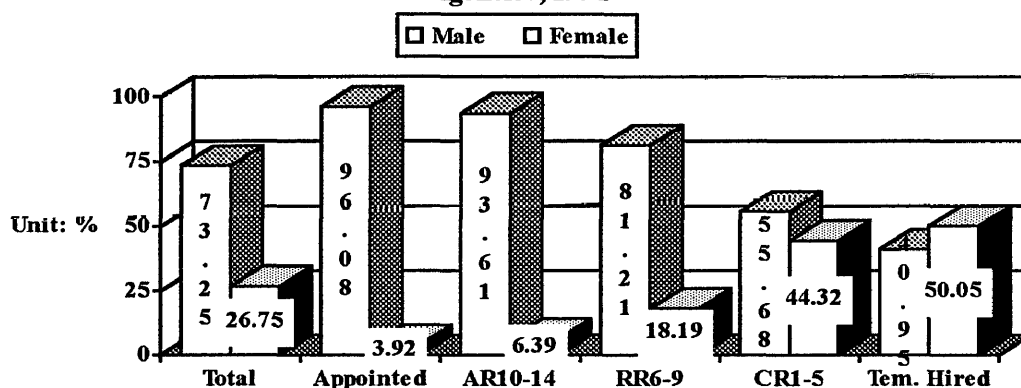
disabled. To date in 1993, only 6,000 disabled persons have been hired on a temporary basis.

To achieve social justice and equity quickly, several proposals have been made requiring special examinations for the disabled. Yet the MOE has both rejected and considered these demands in violation of the equal spirit of the examination institution. The MOE ruled that the merit system emphasizes efficiency, competitiveness, and equality but need not necessarily consider values of social equity and welfare. In this incident, social values such as equity and justice are obviously confused with equality as managerial values.

Yet discrimination against the disabled is quite prevalent in all aspects of Taiwan society. A possible explanation is that the Chinese have historically been socialized to take the inequality between people for granted. While perceiving equality as desirable, the Chinese often do not rank the equality value as having priority in their actions.

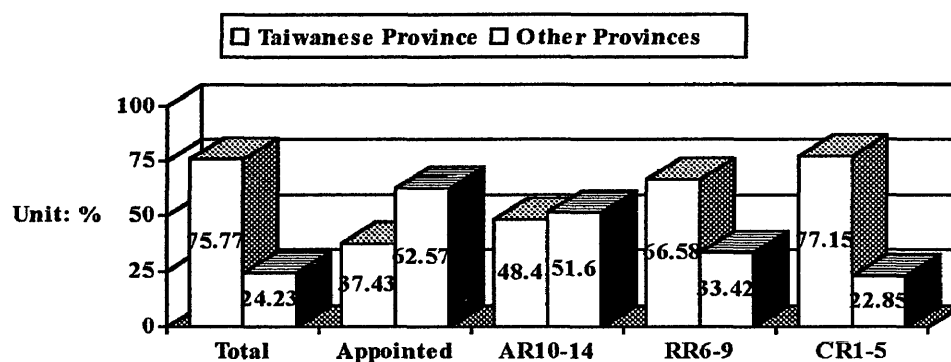
Although the equality value is consistently ensured by law, some statistics reveal the opposite fact. As Figure 3.2 shows, the gender composition of public officials in administrative agencies has been distributed in a skewed fashion. The ratio between male and female public officials is almost 3:1 (73.25 percent for male: 26.75 percent for female). The higher government levels are, the lower the percentage of female public officials becomes (Chang, 1988). Equality between female and male public officials is possible only at lower position levels. Only 3.92 percent of the political appointees and 6.39 percent of senior officials (AR 10-14 in the 14 position scheme) are female. Even though there has been consistent emphasis in the system on equality values, the gender composition at the higher levels in Taiwan's government obviously tell a different story.

Figure 3.2 Gender Composition of Taiwan's Public Officials in Administrative Agencies, 1991



The abolishment of prescribed provincial quotas in examinations is codified in the 1992 Constitutional Amendment. This law apparently reflects the decreasing desirability of social representativeness. As previously noted, the regional composition of public officials in administrative agencies was intended to portray the equity value of social representativeness in administration of public institutions. As Figure 3.3 shows, the composition of Taiwanese public officials is equal to the percentage of Taiwanese compared to the total population in the Taiwan area. Nevertheless, the lower percentage (37.43 percent) of Taiwanese political appointees indicates the necessity for increased political democratization in the future. Promoting Taiwanese senior officials into political positions is utilized for patronage or for political representativeness. Higher political appointed levels are today mostly controlled by the public officials who immigrated from the mainland provinces before 1947.

Figure 3.3 Regional Composition of Taiwanese Public Officials in Administrative Agencies, 1991



Conflicting Values in the Designs of Personnel Systems

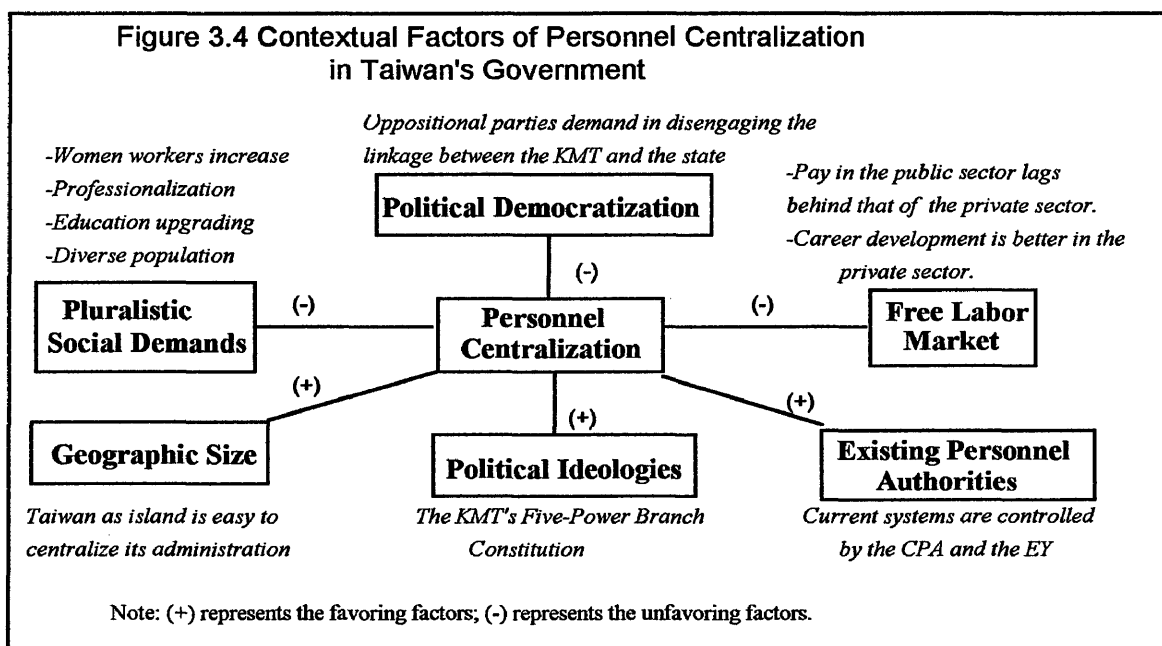
The designs of public personnel systems basically involve four values; merit principles/formalization, economy (cost minimization, efficiency), political patronage, and productivity (utilization maximization). Taiwan's public personnel systems are able to combine these four values to some extent but not completely.

Centralized System Designs for Multiple Values

As Figure 3.4 illustrates, three contextual factors support centralization in Taiwan's personnel systems, with three other factors weakening the continuity of the centralized institutions. Geographic size, political ideologies and existent personnel structures are conducive to centralization. The size of Taiwan, an island, has primarily facilitated centralization. To counteract this trend, pluralistic social demands, political democratization, and a free labor market have gradually limited further centralization.

Any proposals for decentralizing current systems drastically are highly unlikely, unless there is a shift of the political regime. Incumbents in the CPA and the EY, as well as politicians, might desire to maintain the status quo. Both agencies as centralized personnel authorities have achieved great control in monitoring personnel operations and

clarifying communication channels. All of these strengths have been used in support of arguments favoring continuity of the agencies in their present format.



Also, the authoritarian value leads people in Taiwan to believe that decentralization will just make it harder to determine accountability and to establish consistent policies throughout multiple systems; it is thought that decision-making authority will become diverse and weakened. Decentralized systems are considered to generate conflict and uncertainty and to lack efficiency in handling human resources.

In addition, in an extremely decentralized structure, there might be no one making strategic decisions for Taiwan's public personnel as a whole or no one mediating the typical conflicts. People in Taiwan feel more comfortable in the presence of order and hierarchy around them; this need for order is manifested as a kind of psychological complex (Chang, 1989).

Further, more intensive economic development and upgraded education levels in Taiwan have produced a large and highly qualified work force. Productivity, along with

maximizing the utilization of human resources, has become more important than ever before. Accordingly, managerial values such as economy and efficiency have received more emphasis in designing new projects, such as personnel information systems.

Traditionally, Taiwan's central government has been seen as only a single employer among many. The government is able to recruit sufficient numbers of applicants, although pay in the public administrative agencies is considered no better than that in the private sector. A sizable percentage of the Taiwan population, however, still considers government as a desirable employer. Thus, the problem is not a lack of human resources but utilizing them more effectively, along with the use of multiple system designs.

Nonetheless, traditional values of hierarchical order and centralized control have been kept influential in people's minds. Many believe that the values of equity, economy, and efficiency can be realized only through centralized systems and regulation. Thus control of the personnel quota and strategic HRM in each administrative agency is routinely reviewed by the CPA. In order to utilize human resources effectively, and to exercise effective management of personnel expenditure, the CPA takes the following steps: promoting work simplification, implementing personnel quota evaluation, requiring every agency to discharge unqualified employees periodically, conducting strategic HRM plans, and making strict reviews on the basis of the annual preliminary budget with requests for additional quotas by all agencies. However, economy and productivity are still competing with other system values, namely, merit principles/formalization and political patronage.

Merit Principles/Formalization

With the control value prominent, personnel systems are strictly formalized on the basis of merit principles. In other words, the merit system is accepted as the most

desirable form of public personnel administration. Merit principles are codified in the Constitution and in many personnel laws.

According to the Constitution, in the selection of public officials a system of open competitive examinations shall be put into operation (Article 85). No person shall be appointed to a public official unless he/she has qualified through examination. Thus, any appointment of public officials must be approved and screened by the MOP of the EY, the independent personnel authority. It is the MOP's responsibility to ensure the legal propriety of each of these appointments. The MOP must also determine that no one attains his/her rank without going through the proper procedures.

The Constitution additionally requires that members of the EY, including the MOP, shall be above partisanship and shall independently exercise their functions in accordance with law (Article 88). As a symbol of full implementation of the merit system, the Taiwan civil service examination system is characterized by the following standards:

1. The examination function, being exercised by a fourth branch of government, is separated from the executive power.
2. It is free from partisan influence.
3. It is exercised by an independent, permanent, specialized organization--the Examination Yuan.
4. It is exercised solely by the EY at the level of the central government. The functions of the EY also cover personnel employment and personnel management.
5. The examination system is applicable to all public officials, high- or low-ranking, appointed or elected.
6. The system is also applicable to specialized professionals and technicians, of Chinese or foreign nationality.

In sharp contrast to the idea that this branch is "free from partisan influence" is the fact that almost all the senior officials of the EY are active KMT members. As a matter of historical perspective, in ancient China, the civil service examinations were controlled and operated by the Ministry of Rites, which was also under the administrative authority

and ultimately the political authority of the emperors. The examination institution was thus in fact controlled under imperial administrative dominance.

Furthermore, decision-making in personnel systems is so politicized that the meaning of "merit" in Taiwan needs to be redefined. The President of the ROC can issue personnel directives either to appoint or to remove public officials. Since the President is often the chief of the KMT party, appointments of high ranking public officials are often determined on the basis of the KMT's perspective instead of being publicly selected in the administrative structures.

It would appear that the basic personnel laws required for ensuring merit principles and their formalization have been fully established in Taiwan. However, with the exception that the examination law is generally effective, the other laws have not been fully applied pending enactment of their auxiliary rules or regulations because of conflicts in legal interpretation of the laws and regulations.

Shafritz et al. (1992) noted that public personnelists often use such extreme zeal in seeking to achieve their agency's goals that they go beyond the proper range of their discretion. Sterba (1978) recalled the prevalence of "clandestine" management in the imperial Chinese bureaucracy. Such management still exists in Taiwan, because overlapping areas of personnel authority and the complicated personnel laws and regulations enable public personnelists to manipulate laws and practices.

When legislative mandates are viewed as barriers to managerial effectiveness, public personnelists simply intensify the bureaucratic search for appropriate ways of circumvention. Comparing their reasoning with legal deliberation, they perceive authoritarian compliance to public executives as their priority. Problems happen, not because most laws and regulations have not been rigidly enforced, but rather that they have been "tailored" or "fudged on." Ban (1991) referred to this type of manipulation as the informal merit system allowing public personnelists to "play games" with the formal

system. Formalization, or shaping, is often equated to formalism, or adherence to prescribed rules, in the Taiwan administrative system (F'eng, 1981; King, 1992).

Personnel Systems for Political Patronage

Another perspective of personnel systems is basically political. The Chinese believed that examinations are the most efficient way to recruit moral, talented and competent persons into political and administrative agencies. In practice, an examination actually carries out two major purposes. First, there is an administrative purpose. Examination systems are designed to attract and recruit competent personnel into government. Through the outstanding performance and outputs of those personnel, the regime is able to execute its directives. A second and most important purpose is political. Examination is a method to attract intellectuals to work for existent political authority and in turn be able to obtain political career mobility and prestige. The traditional policy for the imperial governments was to use the examination system to gain intellectual support and to ensure that human resources would be utilized and politicized while being solely owned by the authorities.

Thus, through equitable examination systems, intellectuals could participate in politics and share political interests with existent regimes. In addition, talented persons in past regimes were actively recruited for political office. This practice is the major reason that Chinese powerful political parties, even a revolutionary one like the KMT, are able to consolidate dissidents into uniformity and political unanimity. However, these system designs are not without problems, such as having too many qualified people seeking too few positions in officialdom. Facing the issue of too many qualified applicants, governments have been forced to open and invent new positions. Then full employment and staffing usually result in overwhelming redundancy in systems as well as considerable waste of national finances. However, contemporary personnel systems are impacted not

only by political issues. Instead, HRM and the economy themselves occasionally become causes for concern. For example, many over-qualified applicants tend to seek and find positions in public employment, particularly when declining economic conditions cause unemployment in the private sector. Government bureaucracies continually enlarge and spend.

Political ideologies and existent centralized personnel structures are products of political authoritarianism. The KMT has controlled and guided the state not only in the sense that its organizations parallel and oversee state organs but also because officials hold concurrent membership in party and state bodies. Upper level executives are virtually all party members. Rather than the CPA or the EY, it is the KMT on behalf of executive leadership that makes major personnel decisions. Most appointments of senior personnel are made within the KMT's party machine. In the past, the KMT recommended that its members fill all important appointive posts in the government.

Gradually political democratization in Taiwan is generating strong demands for separation between the KMT and the state. Such attempts definitely decrease the probability of political patronage, which has been used solely for the interests of the KMT regime. At the present time under current personnel systems, many people feel powerless to preclude political intervention.

Organizational Actions of Personnel Agencies

Ideally, public personnel agencies should meet multiple expectations and value demands, internally and externally. Accordingly, their action focus must not be limited to a single perspective. From the internal organization perspective, the basic action they would take is to maintain stability in public personnel. Personnel administration is primarily concerned with balancing personnel flow and ensuring the availability of human resources. Public personnel agencies at all levels of Taiwan's government are sharing an

administrative orientation, in which the priority is to maintain personnel stability through personnel administration and a control approach.

Public personnel agencies also have to motivate public officials and enhance morale in order to gain cohesiveness in every organization. From a managerial perspective, public personnel agencies have to coordinate all efforts made by different organizations with regard to personnel information and communication. However, some higher-level personnel agencies have to concentrate their efforts on coping with the institutional changes in dynamic social and political contexts. Public values and demands initiated by some constituents or interest groups certainly signify the desirability and the importance of political responsiveness. Seeing employees as human capital, personnel agencies have to assist public officials to develop their careers in public organizations, rather than merely maintain the employment relationship.

There are eight main functions of the Taiwan public personnel agencies: service, staffing, control, training, information management, assistance, coordination, and protection. However, taking governmental levels into account, the observer notes that the public personnel agencies at different levels have quite different scopes of emphasis on the functions listed above. Compared to centralized agencies like the CPA and the EY, personnel offices not only have had lower levels of jurisdiction but also have handled more technical and administrative matters. The constituent groups they serve are more specific and homogeneous in nature than those of the centralized agencies. Most of the time, personnel offices and departments are not required to make decisions, but instead, pass them on to their supervising agencies.

Certainly, the higher government levels of personnel agencies are, the more value orientations and action focuses they have to adopt. Therefore, the CPA and the EY should expand the scope of their action, both horizontally and vertically. In other words, these centralized personnel agencies have more action focus on personnel politics,

strategic HRM, and personnel management value orientations. In contrast, personnel offices at the lower governmental level put their focus merely on the value quadrant of control-type personnel administration.

Multiple Values of Personnel Operations

Most personnel operations are routine and technical applications. Primary in operation is a professional knowledge base with a rational action orientation. Particularly, when personnel regulations and orders are so complex and diverse, personnel operations should be dealt with in a professional style. Gradually, personnel operations are being professionalized according to the model of managerial thinking patterns.

According to merit principles, public personnelists must perform their duties in a politically neutral mode, which emphasizes apolitical application of administrative techniques and skills. Also, elaborate laws and regulations constrain any attempts at merit abuse.

However, Moody (1992) pointed out that Taiwan's Chinese socio-cultural heritage strongly affects both the extent of political development and the interactions among political elites. Taiwan's formal political systems are relatively recent imports from abroad, grafted into traditional Chinese values of hierarchy, cultivation of personal relationships, and preference for harmony over confrontation. It is still desirable to reconcile personnel appointments with these informal values as well as with constitutional forms. People in Taiwan believe it both important and desirable that political leaders show elaborate solicitude for loyal associates and that their followers in turn should demonstrate their total loyalty.

Currently, the KMT party establishes primacy over the state in most aspects of policy and personnel matters, with major issues in these areas handled by the party's 31-

member Central Standing Committee, which, as previously stated, deliberates and approves important government and party positions. The party forms cell and branch organizations at all levels of the public agencies and other societal sections. Through these branches and cells, the KMT party reinforces political loyalty. As noted previously, it is hardly possible to find public executives who are not KMT party members. Political appointees are recommended and approved by the party committee at the appropriate level, and the actual appointments must be passed upon by the appropriate party organization department. Careers of the party members depend largely on their loyalty to the KMT regimes and at least to political executives. Distinctions in career patterns between political appointees and career public officials at senior levels are blurred (Cheng, 1990:159).

Worse, there is no law to preclude public officials' participation in political activities, and the KMT has successfully stopped the organizing of public officers' unions. To separate the political party from the public personnel systems in Taiwan will be a difficult process. But the extent to which such a separation can be made depends on the nature of political development; however, strong democratic demands will expedite separation of party and state by function and in the career patterns of the political elites. Such separation has already occurred on a limited scale. The party still maintains an extensive network of interlocking relationships with public agencies, and the relationship between the KMT party-state regime and society in Taiwan remains close. For example, state funds have been channeled into the support of party-related activities. And party-owned and operated enterprises of the KMT are specially favored and protected by their comrades in administrative agencies (Chen et al., 1991). Political neutrality might be desirable, but political loyalty is still important.

Until any political democratization occurs, one can assume that political loyalty is an important criterion in the promotion of senior executives rather than solely their

competence and seniority. In a study of political neutrality of Taiwan's government, Lin (1991) surveyed 329 public officials in Taipei metropolitan areas. Of respondents, 55.7 percent said that their operations have had intervention by interest groups. If they do not comply with the demands made by interest groups, more than 50 percent of respondents agreed that their noncompliance would impede the advancement of their careers. Of the probable sources of career impediment, 34.7 percent were identified as from elected representatives, and 61.7 percent were from supervising officials.

If they were to disobey the directives of the supervising officials, 25.5 percent of respondents expected they would lose their chances of promotion, 29.2 percent faced being graded unfairly on their performance evaluation, and 11.8 percent could be transferred. Most important, if they failed to comply with the wishes of their direct superiors, 47 percent of respondents expected punishment from the head of the agency, and 50 percent from their direct superiors.

In October 1993, the MOP conducted a survey of political neutrality in a group of 1025 public officials. Of the total number of respondents, 99.4 percent asserted that public officials should be politically neutral in operations, while 62.5 percent agreed that Taiwan's public officials have not been administratively neutral. The results of this survey are similar to those of Lin's (1991). Apparently, public officials perceive the inconsistency between reality and the desirable. What should be done is not always what has been done.

The constituents in the political context of public personnel agencies come from a broad spectrum in the society: supervisory administrative agencies, elected officials as in the legislature, various interest groups, political parties, the mass media, the general public, and employees and their families. Public agencies are governmental organizations in need of political support to maintain political legitimacy. They should be held politically accountable by outside groups. The problem is that public personnelists are

not necessarily accountable to external groups, and they merely follow the orders of public executives, supervising agencies, and the KMT.

Normally, once certain personnel issues become critical, potential constituents concerned with these issues should be transformed into well-organized interest groups demanding attention to their requests. Constituency effectiveness is measured by the success with which all constituents convey their conception of desirable outcomes compared to the actual delivery offered by the personnel agencies. Yet public officials in Taiwan cannot organize unions to represent their interests. Constituency effectiveness is thus very likely to be measured by the issues-oriented interest groups outside the public agencies.

Thus, since not all agency clients possess the political means to hold public personnelists accountable, they are not all constituents in a real sense. Conversely, most of those to whom public executives are accountable are not constituent groups representing public officials, but instead are external action groups like the KMT and the mass media, representing interests with a stake in the policy process.

Desirable Individual Qualities

One consistent value of Chinese public officials requires them to meet high standards of morality and competency in their conduct and service by observing moral norms and ethical laws of the society. According to the "Service Law of Public Officials," Taiwan's public officials are required to carry out their duties designated by law, attend to their duties on time, obey orders of superiors, give loyal service, observe confidentiality, uphold propriety, and refrain from engaging in certain unlawful acts, such as profiteering, moonlighting, bribery, and corruption. If found to be in violation of the above regulations, public officials bear administrative, criminal and civil liability. This law applies to all public servants who receive compensation from the government. Article 4

of the "Appointment Law of Public Officials" states that in the process of appointing an individual into civil service, any public agency must inspect the quality of the individual with respect to knowledge, competency, experience, physical health, and meeting standards commensurate with the responsibility and requirements of the job.

As stipulated in the regulations on disciplinary action against public officials, if officials break the law, neglect their duties or commit other acts of negligence, the head of the agency concerned must report the case to the Control Yuan for investigation. The case will then be screened by the government employee's disciplinary commission. There are six disciplinary actions which the committee may order: dismissal, suspension of office, demotion, reduction in salary, recording of a demerit, or reprimand. Administrative responsibility is strictly defined and required.

Table 3.2 Standard Form of Performance Appraisal of Taiwan's Public Officials
Representing Desirable Individual Quality

(Four Main Categories (20 items x 5 points per se = 100 points))

WORK PERFORMANCE (10 items): - productive - effective/efficient - logic/systematic - autonomous/proactive - responsible - industrious - cooperative/collaborative - progressive - creative/innovative - helpful/supportive	Subtotal 50
MORALITY (4 items): - honest/faithful - righteous/fair - humble/sincere - endeavoring	Subtotal 20
KNOWLEDGE/EXPERIENCE (3 items): - intellectual - scientific/rational - self-cultivated	Subtotal 15
CAPABILITY (3 items): - accurately expressive - persistent - healthy	Subtotal 15

Source: Personnel Department of Taipei Municipal Government, Taipei, Taiwan, 1992.

The desirable quality of public officials in Taiwan has been formulated into a perfect model. Table 3.2 presents the standard form for performance appraisal of Taiwan's public officials. From this form, it is possible to determine which desirable

individual qualities Taiwan's public agencies are seeking. Based on the point distribution of these four main categories, work performance is ranked first, and following are morality, knowledge/experience, and capability. However, one caution to be observed is that these standards are prescribed abstractly. Most of the time, the performance appraisal on this standard form is subject to the rater's bias and impressions of the rates. With 50 points allotted to this category it carries more weight than knowledge/experience and capability categories combined (30 points).

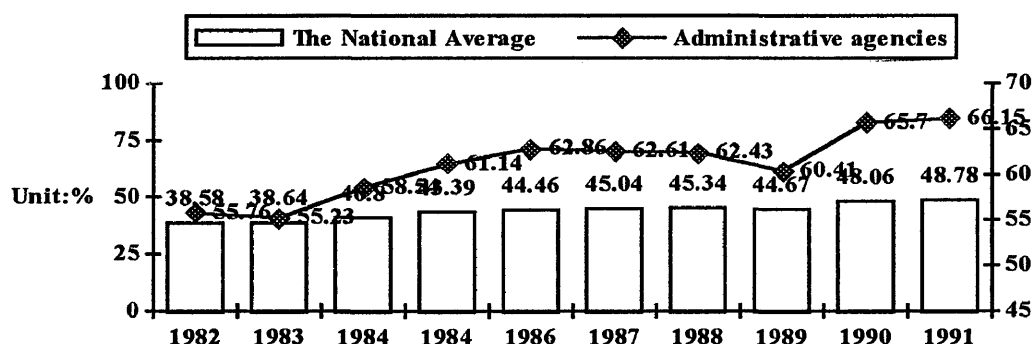
Personnel Practices as Multifaceted Enterprises

Multiple Criteria for Staffing

Staffing of public personnel is conducted through an open and fair examination system designed to select qualified candidates with both potential and competence. No person shall be appointed to a public office unless he or she passes the examination, directed and administered by the MOE under the EY. This is the essence of the so-called "recruitment through examination" policy. Figure 3.5 shows the percentage of examination-qualified appointed in administrative agencies and the national average.

Figure 3.5 shows, the policy of "recruitment through examination" is not equivalent to the policy of "appointment after examination." Compared with the national average, administrative agencies have appointed more examination-qualified persons but not all. Yet more than one-third of personnel in administrative agencies are not appointed by examination.

Figure 3.5 Percentage of Examination-Qualified in Administrative Agencies and National Average of Total Governmental Agencies, 1982-1991



Appointment and promotions must be qualified for appointment of the given official ranks and grades. The three routes to obtain an appointment are as follows: (a) legal passing of examination; (b) legal qualification by evaluation; (c) legal promotion by performance appraisal. However, appointment as a public official is not open to persons who have been found guilty of sedition or treason, persons who have been convicted of corruption, or those who have been certified by a qualified doctor as mentally ill.

Table 3.3 presents four major categories used as criteria for promoting public officials in Taiwan provincial government. Apparently, the most important criterion is performance appraisal (25 percent), reflecting the values placed on competence and talent. The second highest is examination qualification and educational attainment (18 percent), which implies some importance of potential competitiveness. Seniority (15 percent) and general evaluation (15 percent) take the third place in importance. However, using morality and general evaluation as criteria is to give executives greater latitude in appointments. They can equate morality with good impressions. Inevitably, this loophole also implies the probability of enforcing political loyalty in the promotion process.

Table 3.3 Categories as Criteria for Promotion in Taiwan's Administrative Agencies

Four Categories for Promotion	Points Distribution (Total 100)
TENURE AND EXPERIENCE	Subtotal 37
1. Examination Qualification & Degree	18
2. Training and Advanced Study	4
3. Seniority	15
MERIT AND PERFORMANCE	Subtotal 38
4. Research and Development	7
5. Performance Appraisal	25
6. Award and Punishment	6
MORALITY EVALUATION	10
GENERAL EVALUATION	15

Source: Personnel Department of Taiwan Provincial Government, Taiwan, 1992.

Human Resource Planning and Recruitment

From a traditionally administrative perspective, recruitment is the method for balancing personnel flow (supply and demand) in public organizations. Klingner and Nalbandian (1985) argued that recruitment actually involves three additional objectives: (1) recruitment as a tool of social equity, (2) recruitment as a technique for maximizing managerial efficiency, and (3) recruitment as a strategy for ensuring political responsiveness.

In reality, public recruitment in Taiwan has been operated in a way totally in opposition to all of the above four value perspectives. Too often government claims are made that social equity in Taiwan is achieved through the civil service examination system as the basic plan for maximizing the investment in human resources. Actually, in Taiwan, a sizable pool of applicants and strict contextual controls result in recruitment being a flexible managerial practice serving political interests and paying only lip service to the aim of controlling personnel flow. Public recruitment is never really geared for democratic responsiveness of human resources development.

Taiwan's personnel laws clearly require that the selection of public officials through an open competitive examination shall be put into operation (Article 85 & 86 of the Constitution; Article 9 of the Appointment Law). No person shall be appointed to a public office unless he or she passes the examination. The examinations are held by the MOE, but in order to suit the examination to the recruited suitable talents in the right numbers, the CPA inquires yearly of every agency an estimate of the number they need, and then, according to the responses to the inquiry, sends a recruitment plan to the MOE for reference.

The CPA controls and coordinates all manpower plans for all agencies in order to balance personnel flow and to utilize human resources effectively. It prepares the annual recruitment plans according to the personnel manpower needs of all administrative agencies. To ensure the implementation of the policy of recruitment through examination, these plans are then submitted to the MOE for both administering the relevant examinations and for predetermining the accepted quota.

However, producing an accurate projection of new hiring needs based on periodic estimates is rarely a simple task. To begin with, it is not always possible for agencies to predict their needs with accuracy a year ahead of time. A political crisis or a budget cut can drastically affect their recruitment needs, and hence the accuracy of the estimate. The CPA realizes that public executives will tend to overestimate the number of employees they require, because they perceive it better to have too many applicants than too few. Naturally, this inflated estimate conflicts with the need of the central personnel agency to economize on selection costs by reducing the number of applicants to the minimum number needed to ensure that all available positions are filled with qualified applicants. In addition, specialized positions require a greater ratio of applicants for projected vacancies, because generally a higher percentage of applicants is likely to be rejected by

the selecting agency for not meeting the specialized requirements for the specialized openings.

However, a large portion of public officials have bypassed the appointment regulations through temporary hiring, thus not taking the promotional examinations specifically designed for his/her qualification. According to Ban (1991), this is a model for "bridging" a permanent appointment. To avoid a hiring delay, a public agency always hires some candidates on a temporary basis; these are later bridged to a permanent line. This practice might be technically legal, but it abuses the merit values and purpose. Cynically, in Taiwan, this model is often praised as demonstrating the value of managerial efficiency.

Actually, most of the time it is a personal relationship that accounts for the flexibility. The manifestation of managerial efficiency is equal to the ability of executive flexibility to deteriorate the merit system and impede the healthy development of human resource strategies. Public agencies complain that people recruited through the written examinations lack specific knowledge to meet the needs of agencies. The time needed from filing the requirements for extra manpower to appointing someone after examination is more than six months and sometimes even a year. Staffing becomes unstable because people either resign right after they feel unsuited to their job, or they are transferred because of their incompetence. Expanding workloads become a good excuse for public executives to bend more rules in hiring more people, thereby bypassing the examination requirements.

Public agencies always tailor strict qualifications for positions that are urgently needed in order to fill them with some unscreened personnel. Temporary hiring is allowable since most of the agency budgets allow for extra personnel expenditures. In many cases, public personnelists and auditing officials cooperate to ensure temporary hiring approved by supervisory agencies.

Further, some agencies advocate setting preferential requisites of public officials in order to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of personnel management. Yet the term "preferential requisites" is not universally defined. Personnel manipulation is thus quite frequent.

There is no integrated personnel authority handling human resources planning. Until the late 1970s, the concept of such planning, as well as the importance of HR and how resources are utilized, had not been accepted either by the government or the public. How to utilize HR more efficiently and how to implement strategies will remain a problem.

In formulating policy and coordinating programs, labor force statistics are essential. Data are needed to assess changes in the labor force, estimate the demand for manpower, and draw up plans for utilization. HR statistics generally have been available, but the definition of terms has not been consistent, and standard job classifications have not been unified. Data have been collected mainly to meet the budgetary requirements of the agencies preparing them, and few of these agencies were really concerned with HR as such, not to mention that much of the data would be piled up like ordinary paperwork.

Almost all agencies responsible for human resource planning are involved more in research than implementation. Those agencies have concentrated largely on data collection for HR and on making single-perspective projections. Although their research findings are sometimes used for policy references, most of them are ultimately thrown away.

A persistent problem has been the overlapping of authority and responsibilities of HRM assigned to public agencies. Too many agencies at different levels of government consistently claim their jurisdiction over labor administration. They are delaying coordination for strategic HRM planning. There are several such agencies related to HR matters, including the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Department of Manpower of the

Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Education, the Department of Manpower Planning of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, and various departments at the provincial level. The Research, Development and Evaluation Commission (RDEC) plans and promotes research and development of human resources for the Executive Yuan. The Council of Labor Affairs under the Executive Yuan is in charge of the administration of labor affairs. It also has authority to propose policy on employment guidance and labor welfare service. The CPA formulates long-range manpower plans in terms of the current data on population, education, and economic development. In addition, the CPA has worked out a recruitment plan based on the following: the role and function of each agency, working programs, growth of the population and work force, increases in numbers of public officials, and retirement and discharge data. This plan serves as a reference for planning with regard to both education in school and manpower supply and demand.

However, public agencies advocating specialized entrance examinations have advanced strong practical reasons for this innovation. They believe that special examinations could help recruit competent staff while not necessarily struggling with the slow appointing rate and high turnover rate of Higher/Ordinary Examinees. However, the specific requirements often can lead to criticism based on doubts of their neutrality. Official documentation, however, has implied that mistrust of personnel practices has resulted largely from long lasting suspicions regarding political legitimacy in the Taiwan government.

The Use of Performance Appraisal: A Narrow Perspective

Performance appraisal (hereinafter, PA) is both a managerial tool and an administrative instrument. The results of PA can be used for personnel selection, reward,

promotion, training, ounseling, and removal. PA has played an important role in the public service organizations.

In Taiwan, the appraisal process is divided into regular appraisals and year-end appraisals. Appraisal results are intended to be the bases of promotion, training, advanced study, awards, and punishments. The three main goals are to select talented officials, to encourage excellence, and to remove the failures. The current appraisal systems are provided for as follows:

a. Regular appraisal:

The contents of the appraisal, including performance, conduct, and attendance, are evaluated by the direct supervisor and the head of the government body. The promotion and the year-end appraisal shall refer to the result.

b. Year-end appraisal:

By the end of the year, a public official who has served for one year shall receive an evaluation. The year-end appraisal rating shall be ranked into four grades. A(80 to 100), B(70 to 79), C(60 to 69), and D(less than 60). The direct supervisors should give a correct score and grade to their subordinates based on regular appraisal records and performance, their conduct, knowledge, and ability. A public official accorded an "A" gets one salary step forward and one-month salary, a "B" gets one salary step forward, or a one-month salary award for one who has been paid a seniority salary, a "C" gets nothing, and a "D" gets a removal notice.

Most of the criticisms of PA are based on questions regarding the inaccuracy of the rater's capability in evaluation. Other critiques are made on the basis of employees' negative reactions to the punitive nature of PA. Similar to the analysis of Lovrich (1990), in Taiwan, the arguments are divided into two areas of emphasis: one is technique, another is process. Those who are concerned with techniques are aiming toward the perfection and refinement of evaluation techniques (e.g., Shih, 1991). They look for validity, reliability, and objectivity. Another school of thought concerned with process is focusing on how to develop a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the performance appraisal through analysis of supervisor communication and employee

commitment (e.g., Lin, 1989). They look for developmental potentials and humanistic concerns.

The problem shared by these two schools is that they are focusing on only one perspective while ignoring the other. In reality, these two perspectives are not used at all. The appropriate and workable performance appraisal should be used and operated in multiple form if it is difficult to exclude human bias in perception. Too much focus on technique refinement will likely ignore the larger social, humane purpose. Scientific rationality should not replace the concern for the political and democratic purposes embodied in public personnel systems (Johnson, 1992). However, the agencies cannot give up possible technique perfection only for developmental concerns. Facing accountability in the political context, agencies must still pursue valid, reliable techniques to fulfill administrative purposes.

Lovrich (1990) has argued convincingly that by its nature PA is a multifaceted enterprise, namely, (1) PA is a fair test of past performance; (2) PA is a collaborative process--setting goals and inducing commitment; (3) PA is designed for counseling and coaching; and (4) PA is for enhancement of skill and career development.

That PA is a fair test of past performance is the traditional thinking from an administrative point of view. To be fair, validity, reliability, and objectivity must be recognized as needed criteria in evaluation. However, Lovrich (1989) has pointed out that it is quite impossible to exclude human perceptual biases like the "halo" effect, personal bias, leniency/strictness, central tendency, and special group feeling.

In addition, Nalbandian (1981) has noted that the willingness of raters is often ignored. According to his research, raters have good knowledge about their subordinates but fail to evaluate by using scientific measurement. Nalbandian believed that raters have strong tendencies to avoid their duty for evaluation. While favoring the use of PA as a control tool, Taiwan's public managers and executives reinforce Nalbandian's conclusion when they mostly avoid fulfilling their evaluation obligations. A possible reason for this avoidance is that personal harmony and social exchange mechanisms exist in Taiwan's public agencies, based on values firmly rooted in the national culture.

Figure 3.6 Year-end Performance Appraisal of Central Government Officials, Administrators, and Personnelists, 1991

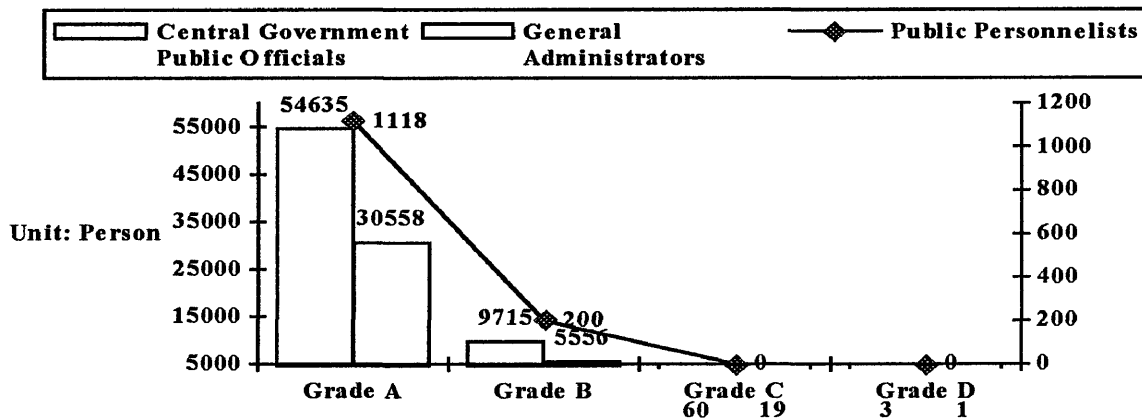


Figure 3.6 shows that in 1991 almost 98 percent of public officials, no matter who was the general administrator or public personnelist, received grade "B" or above on this PA. Does it mean that all public officials in Taiwan are functioning at so high a level? Obviously, the validity of PA is questionable. Yet many studies show that public officials generally advocate the use of PA because they want their performance to be recognized and fairly rewarded. But they also complain about the lack of fairness in the PA system. Is it fair if everyone gets grade "A" or "B"? Contrary to most theoretical writing on PA, PA is used as a formality symbolizing the values of fairness and justice.

Actually, none of the previously discussed four perspectives--have been used in PA in Taiwan. Although PA should be a collaborative process of communication between the raters and ratees, there is hardly any constructive interaction occurring. Most of the time, taking their personal relationships into account, executives and supervisors often avoid really rating the performance of the ratees. Personal ties are the important value, not competency nor any other criteria. Standardized PA forms which use abstract terminology are easily biased and manipulated. PA is never used to detect or prevent job stress. Universal standards or requirements are in fact designed to eliminate individual variation and discourage career development.

Although difficult to debate whether PA has no problems or has negative results, existence of some flaws in administration of ratings is no reason to abolish the entire PA system. Formal PA is a way to meet administrative needs. The important point is that PA is not punitive. In addition, PA should be used from multiple perspectives. McBriarty (1988) found that use of a single, universal PA technique met the need for administrative neatness but not for social and psychological concerns. He called for the reconciliation of technical, social, and psychological concerns in performance appraisal. Finally, PA should be used as a multifaceted enterprise. It is desirable to view it from different perspectives and employ it for different purposes. But how important PA is remains uncertain in Taiwan.

Personnel Expenditures and Financial Concerns

Personnel expenditures often represent a significant portion of organizational overall budget and expenditure. Budget allocations are made in terms of established positions so ceilings can be established to preclude temporary hiring. Given this, there are at least four perspectives on personnel compensation and rewards mainly from the financial viewpoint: (1) balancing the budget as the priority; (2) minimizing costs and

retaining a reasonable size of the organization; (3) exploring sources of external support; and (4) maximizing utilization of human resources as human capital. Table 3.4 lists the financial outlay on Taiwan's government personnel, 1981-89. Costs are shown to be steadily rising.

Table 3.4 Personnel Expenditures of Taiwan Central Government, 1981-1989
(unit: million NT\$)

	Total Expenditure	Personnel Expenditure	% of Total Expenditure
1981	272,381	87,942	32.3
1982	310,445	110,151	35.5
1983	319,517	129,852	40.6
1984	316,192	135,779	42.9
1985	353,871	124,861	35.3
1986	405,720	132,122	32.6
1987	418,962	144,443	34.5
1988	470,255	161,837	34.4
1989	549,200	179,130	32.6

Source: CPA, the Executive Yuan, 1990.

However, Taiwan's public agencies rarely seek to control personnel expenditures. As Table 3.4 shows, between 1981 and 1989 personnel expenditures comprised more than 30 percent of total government expenditures. Comparing the figures from 1981 to 1989, personnel expenditures increased almost two times. Figure 3.6 presents a comparison of numbers of public officials between total government and in administrative agencies. On the average, public officials in administrative agencies represent more than one-third of the total number of government employees. Between 1986 and 1991, government size increased two times. Half of the increases have been made in administrative agencies.

Control of the personnel quota in public agencies is reviewed by the CPA and approved by the Executive Yuan. However, the authority exercised on personnel quotas in the Yuan is fragmentary. Ideally, because the personnel quota is so closely related to personnel expenditure, there should be firm linkages between HR planning, budgeting,

and control of personnel quotas. Unfortunately for consistent control purposes, current HR planning is authorized by the following powerful agencies:

- * the Council of Economic Planning and Development (CPD) and the Research, Development and Evaluation Commission (RDEC) conduct HR planning and propose long-range strategies;
- * the Ministry of Finance handles tax collection in the fiscal administration;
- * the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGAS) is in charge of the budgetary distribution; and
- * the CPA presents the manpower plans and control of personnel quotas and initiates the salary and welfare policies.

Too often there is no consensus among those agencies. Thus HR planning and strategies often do not match the budgetary planning. However, having a sufficient budget to sustain extra hiring means that organizational size is never really economized. An important factor is that paying attention to the demands of elected officials provides decision-makers with their best chances of getting financial and political support they can count on for various policy options of their own.

Three reasons can be identified to explain why public agencies lack both awareness of personnel costs and appreciation of HR. First, public personnel agencies have assumed there is no paucity of public officials because of the growth in population and of the increasing demands of administrative service. Second, they have assumed there is always a qualified pool of applicants willing to enter the public sector. Third, they have assumed there is always sufficient funding or budgeting for extra manpower.

As Tables 3.5 and 3.6 indicate, a high number of applicants have taken the Higher and Ordinary Examinations annually. Yet the qualified ratio is kept competitively low. In 1993, the total qualified ratio for the Higher and Ordinary Examinations is only 4.03 percent, the lowest in the past decade. Availability of sufficient numbers of qualified and willing public official candidates inevitably results in a lack of appreciation of HR and thus of the personnel costs involved.

Table 3.5 Number of Persons Registered and Taking Higher Civil Service Entrance Examinations in Taiwan, 1986-1990

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
No. of registered	26,024	26,584	28,180	33,506	46,615
No. of attended	19,849	20,622	21,189	23,468	33,946
No. of qualified	1,304	1,567	2,284	3,966	4,998
Attended ratio (%)	76.27	77.57	75.19	70.04	72.82
Qualified ratio (%)	6.57	7.60	10.78	16.90	14.72

Source: Ministry of Examination, the Statistics of Examination, the Examination Yuan, 1991.

Table 3.6 Number of Persons Registered and Taking Ordinary Civil Service Entrance Examination in Taiwan, 1986-1990

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
No. of registered	58,042	50,518	36,885	31,393	50,212
No. of attended	44,558	39,628	28,643	21,886	36,223
No. of qualified	1,621	2,514	3,406	5,491	5,737
Attended ratio (%)	76.77	78.44	77.65	69.72	72.14
Qualified ratio (%)	3.64	6.34	11.89	25.09	15.84

Source: Ministry of Examination, The Statistics of Examination, the Examination Yuan, 1991.

Training

Training is often considered correlated with career development. Training and development are widely recognized as key elements in modern personnel systems (Sylvia & Meyer, 1990). A commitment to employee training and career development at all levels of government is explicitly stated in public personnel policies and resource allocation.

According to the "Examination Law," the basic training and practical training for personnel who pass the Higher and Ordinary Written Examinations are handled by the MOE. In-service training is planned and conducted by each separate government agency, which encourages its staff to enroll in the universities to undertake further study. Suitable personnel may be recommended and selected to go overseas for further study to carry out specific research. Separate special arrangements are made for selecting middle and high-

ranking personnel, such as department directors and section chiefs, to go overseas for further study and research.

The training of the civil service personnel is based on the principles of "development level by level" in the training systems, and it is run by individual training institutes. Currently, training and advanced study for public officials are handled by 61 different public agencies. The various training institutes have their own training methods and program designs--without integration and coordination.

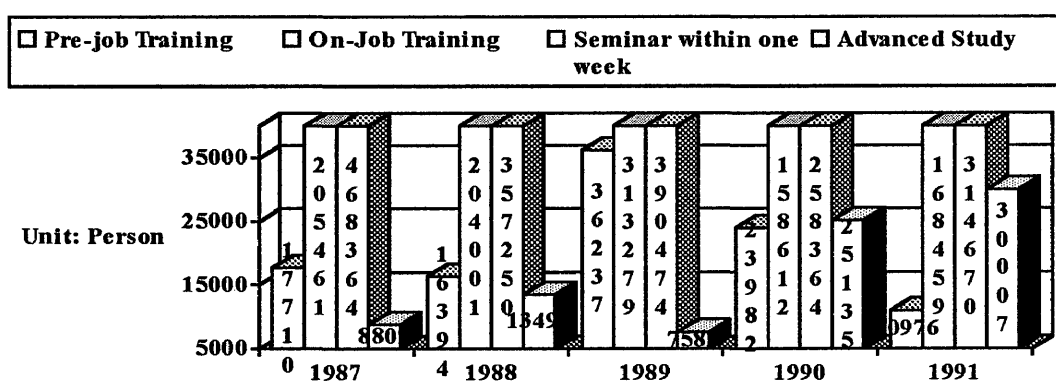
Critics have questioned the benefits of various types of training at the organization level. Some advocates of change in government programs, for instance, argue in part that educational training has little influence upon agencies. Reasons cited are the individual focus of such programs, the delivery of such programs outside the organizational context, and the fact that these programs reinforce existing structures.

The bureaucratic structure of public agencies is another possible impediment to training effectiveness. Basically, training in Taiwan is seen as so unimportant that most activities are conducted as a formality. Reward systems are not tied to the acquisition of skills in the development of subordinates. There is overemphasis on technical rather than managerial qualifications for advancement. Pension systems also discourage the movement of uniformed personnel into general management positions. Also, training and development programs are not integrated into the operating procedures of the agencies.

Figure 3.7 presents the numbers in training and advanced study of public personnel from 1987 to 1991. The most frequent unit of training is the one-week seminar, which is designed for study of specific topics but not for systematic career development. The problem is that most of the participants in seminars are assigned through rotation. Too often this kind of training is a mere token activity. Between 1990 and 1991, the numbers of personnel undertaking advanced study increased significantly. The problem arises of who can be assigned to advanced study. Most advanced study

programs are planned for volunteers who must expend more than several years to complete them. Many executives simply discourage some of their capable subordinates from obtaining the chance to study abroad. But since they are mandated to send someone to participate in advanced study, public executives will assign an individual whom they consider expendable. Sometimes, personal connections are used to get favors from the executives. Inevitably, complaints about the unfairness of choosing those who can leave for advanced study have become frequent (Miou et al., 1989:437-441).

Figure 3.7 Training and Advanced Study of Public Personnel, 1987-1991



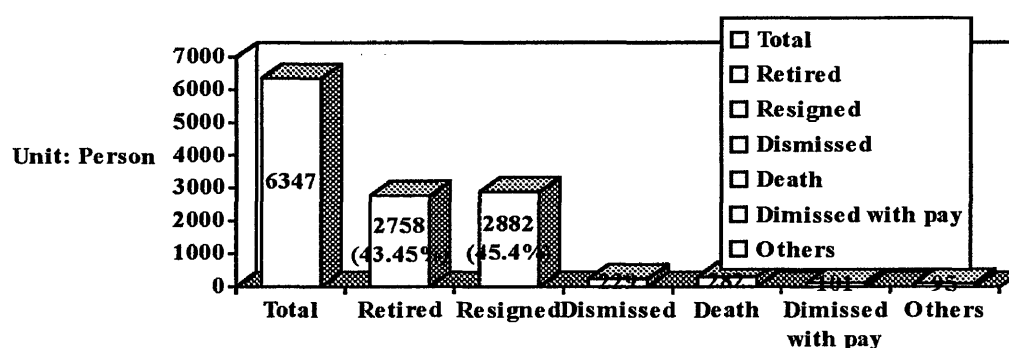
Exit/Turnover

In Taiwan, retirement from public service may be either voluntary or mandatory. Voluntary retirement is approved when the employee has reached the age of 60 and has served in a government agency for at least five years or, for those under the age of 60, if one has served for 25 full years. Mandatory retirement rules apply to an individual who has served in a public agency more than five years, has reached the age of 65, or is mentally or physically unable to continue to fulfill his duties. Public service may be extended for five additional years if the employee is able and willing to work. Pensions are calculated on the basis of base pay and years of service. A pension payment may be

disbursed either in one lump sum, for those who have served from five to 15 years, or on a monthly basis.

Figure 3.8 presents the numbers of persons exiting from public agencies in 1991. The retired and the resigned comprise almost 90 percent of those who leave. High volume of turnover reflects various problems of the public agencies, such as lower pay, low chances to get promoted, and lack of career development (MOP, 1990).

Figure 3.8 Exit/Turnover of Taiwan's Public Officials in Administrative Agencies, 1991



Although the impact of turnover on organization is uncertain and is debated among scholars, there are four contrasting types of exit: retirement, discharge, resignation, and consultation/transfer. These have different effects and values.

Based on the standard employee protection rules, a public official shall not be removed from his/her position unless by law. However, there are four causes for which a public official in Taiwan may be discharged. First, if a public official fails to observe the rules or is delinquent, the case shall be sent, with the evidence, to the Committee on the Discipline of Civil Service under the Judicial Yuan. There the case is deliberated and the individual disciplined. The disciplinary punishments are the following: removal, suspension, degrading, salary reduction, demerit, and censure (Article 9 of the Punishment Law).

Second, if a public official delays in performance of his/her duty, fails to observe the office ethics, is guilty of wrongful behavior, commits bribery, is absent from office without reason, or mars the honor of the State, the public official shall be given censure, demerit, great demerit, or removal.

Third, if involved in the crimes of rebellion or corruption or other criminal conduct, a public official, along with the evidence, shall be sent to the judicial agency by his service agency. Then he or she either will be removed or will be sent to the Committee for the Discipline of the Civil Service. Or some other suitable punishment can be administered resulting from the judgment.

Finally, according to Article 29, the "Appointment Law," public executives can discharge public officials who fit under any of the following three categories:

- i. the individuals who must be discharged because of organization cutback, change, or down-sizing;
- ii. the individuals who are incompetent in the current position and are unable to be transferred; and
- iii the individuals who are physically incapable.

Apparently, discharging the unnecessary manpower and incompetent personnel is a way of rationalizing the organization in accordance with principles of managerial economy. However, public officials who are protected by law may not be discharged simply because of organizational changes and unavailability of positions and jobs. Discharge used as an effective managerial device often conflicts with the values of employee protectionism and the merit principle.

Executive leadership should be held strictly accountable for both personnel actions taken and the results. A more advanced concept of personnel system values and accountability is needed to go beyond the protections inherent in the merit systems by placing the responsibility for effective personnel management directly on the managers, not on the personnel organization (Nigro, 1989). Also, accountability to the citizenry is a

major concern in democratic political systems. From the perspective of the agency, accountability reflects the degree of "answerability" of elected officials and through them, to the general public.

Accountability, in its full meaning, refers to the capacity of elected officials or their delegates to monitor and, when necessary redirect the activities of an agency or one of its subunits. A problem is that there are hardly any public personnel executives who resign because of accountability. Most of the time, people tend to stay at their positions long enough to be able to secure another appointment. Finally, there is no career development consultation. Nor is there transfer for development of another career. Thus exit from public agencies is likely to be simply a matter of leaving or dying.

Chapter IV

CHINESE CULTURAL VALUES IN TAIWAN'S PUBLIC PERSONNEL SYSTEMS

Historically, the centuries-old government bureaucracy occupied a pivotal position. A central principle of the imperial Chinese bureaucracy was that proper "li-cheng" (management of governmental personnel) is the foundation of effective and moral government. Today, by merging modern values of personnel management and strategic HRM, Taiwan's public personnel systems have preserved many of the traditional values of imperial China. Political philosophies of Confucianism, Legalism, and Taoism still prevail. In fact, traditional personnel values related to staffing and controlling the Chinese bureaucracy have been imposed on and are embodied in the core of Taiwan's public personnel systems.

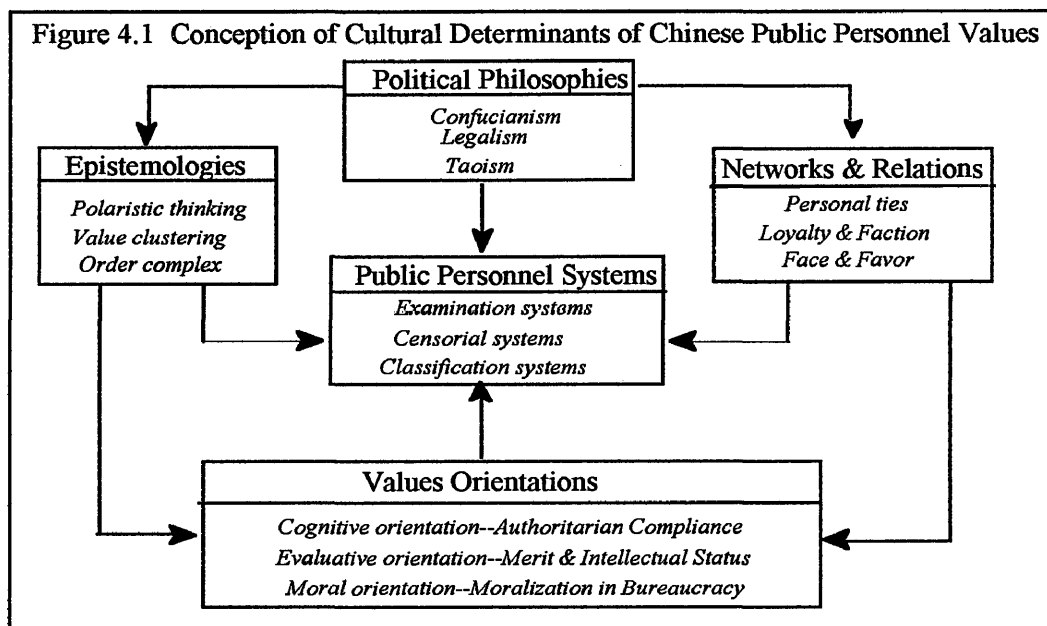
Currently, these traditional values and modern managerial values clash both in personnel institutions and system designs. But the value conflicts are never allowed to surface. They are kept coexisting and then made harmonious. Sometimes, there is no value at all discernible in the ways of operating personnel processes. Paradoxes and ambiguities parallel each other. These dynamics clearly reveal distinctive epistemologies of the Chinese. Chinese polaristic thinking, value clustering, and order complex together have constructed an epistemological system in which value conflict and resolution come

together in a harmonious style. However, value conflicts and any inconsistency between reality and the desirable end-state have not actually been resolved. Instead, they are combined into a larger value conception designed to blur any disputes. As society becomes more complex, numbers of values appear to increase, but hardly any new value predominates. Thus personnel reforms in Taiwan are likely to occur in a gradual, piecemeal, and accommodative mode rather than to be transformative or revolutionary.

Recognizing the impact of major traditional value orientations is helpful in gaining understanding of what the Chinese in Taiwan perceive regarding careers in public personnel. Traditional public personnel value orientations have originated from these three value orientations--cognitive, evaluative, and moralized. Only through study of the interactions of these three value orientations can the motives and expectations of an individual entering and staying in public personnel be inferred.

Furthermore, often missing in analysis of the operations of Taiwan's public personnel are cultural values of social network and personal relation. In general, personal ties, loyalty and faction, and face and favor are all very important components in personnel decisions and practices, although not always desirable. But taken together, these three concepts are fundamental in the informal social mechanism complementary to the formal operation systems.

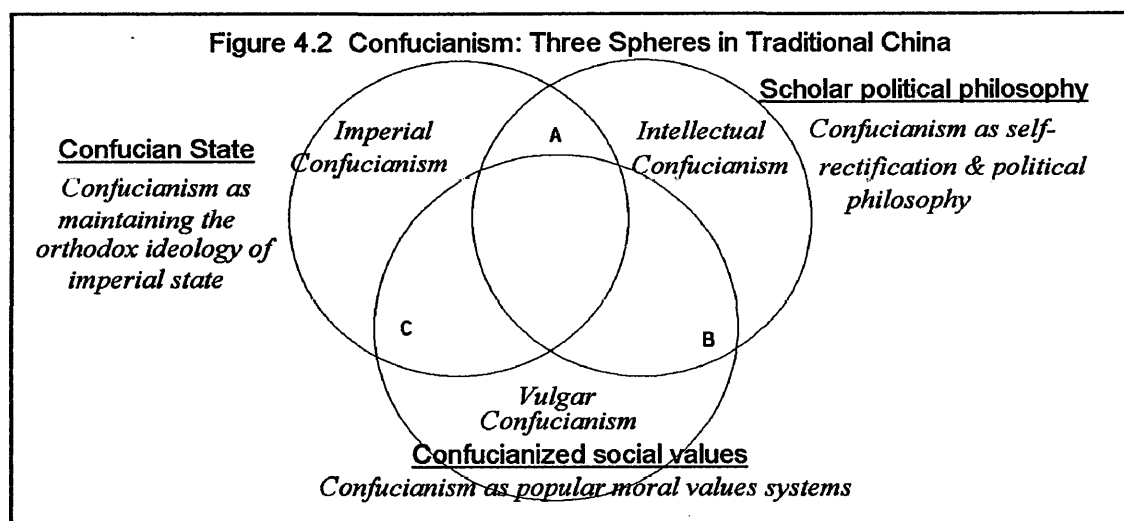
This chapter was designed to provide cultural insights into many deeply grounded structures in Taiwan's public personnel systems. As Figure 4.1 depicts, four major sets of cultural determinants of Chinese public personnel values are political philosophies, epistemologies, traditional value orientations, and networks and relational rules. These factors interactively affect and shape the ways the Chinese in Taiwan perceive their public personnel systems. This chapter addresses the practical effects of the Chinese values in the operations of the public personnel organizations.



Political Philosophies of Public Personnel Systems

Confucianism and the Confucian State

Traditionally China had not accomplished the task of constructing the ideal Confucian state but only the institution of Confucianism as imperial doctrine (King, 1992; Rubin, 1976). Traditional Confucianism is used to socialize the people to conserve an orthodox ideology based on acceptance of the imperial state and the emperor as representatives of Heaven. Scholars agree that Confucianism was rooted in the Chinese mind in various meaningful spheres (de Bary, 1991). Literally speaking, according to Elman (1987), Confucianism in ancient China was conceptualized in terms of three overlapping spheres--concerns of the imperial state, of the intellectual, and of the vulgar. As Figure 4.2 shows, Confucianism can be analyzed from three vantage points: (1) imperial Confucianism as a governance instrumentality; (2) intellectual Confucianism as an ideal authoritarian political philosophy; and (3) vulgar Confucianism as a moral value system.



Intellectual Confucianism was used to instruct intellectuals in how to achieve righteousness for the self in order to fulfill the "Tao" (Ways of Humanity) to succeed in the mission to benefit the world (Hwang, 1986). To intellectuals, Confucianism included both instructions for self-improvement and for following paths of an ideal political philosophy, confirming the divine authority of the emperor.

"Vulgar" Confucianism was practiced through daily routines which are defined by Confucianized social values and norms. Ordinary people could follow these values through familism and lines of authority based on the Confucian hierarchical consciousness (Redding, 1984). The significance of circle "A" (Figure 4.2) is that the imperial Chinese state employed examination systems to recruit intellectuals to work for it and then to reinforce not only administrative efficiency but also legitimacy in governance. In turn, the intellectuals utilized their public posts both to achieve their political ideals and incidentally pursue their substantial material interests.

Many dynasties adopted examination systems to wear away the dissent of intellectuals. Examinations were designed originally to provide a system of high competition and social mobility to prevent a static condition of class control. The promise of careers and success motivated intellectuals to concentrate their energy on

preparing for the examinations. Once having passed, they often had to defend the existent power systems in order to maintain their own privileges as officials. Their outstanding social status enabled this class effectively to defend the legitimacy of the political authorities they were serving. Eventually, the examinations became the most useful control instrument for the political regimes of every dynasty.

The meaning of area "B" in Figure 4.2 is that, in a hierarchy of social authority, sages and virtuous men inspired commoners to pursue their roles and adapt their thinking on the basis of Confucian beliefs. Thus, civilians and commoners could move upward into the intellectual level through persisting in educational endeavors. Area "C", Figure 4.2, depicts the interactive zone between political authority and commoners. The imperial state demanded absolute obedience from commoners and civilians. In turn, the imperial state would assume responsibility to maintain social order and provide for the welfare of its people. In the center of Figure 4.2, Confucianism is shown as equated with a socially moral system maintaining the society in perfect harmony within Confucianism.

Unfortunately, the original intention of building harmony through this interactive model often resulted in undesirable consequences. Imperial China was a static society in which any change was viewed as destructive. The overemphasis on stability was the very reason that traditional China failed to modernize (Lin, 1987). In the name of its honorable status and divine authority, the imperial state of the past thwarted social development merely by maintaining state Confucianism. Once the old imperial state was replaced with a republican state--as in Taiwan--accepting development and change, people's energies soon were directed toward modernization and political democratization. Democratization has broken down the linkages attached to imperial Confucianism. Western-inspired democratic ideals have influenced contemporary intellectuals to modify their authoritarian political philosophy and have strongly motivated the population to accommodate to change.

However, the KMT regime might actually attempt to promote state Confucianism to protect its own legitimacy. While apparently abandoning Confucian ways, the KMT, along with the government, ironically has been most vigorous in official support of the Confucian tradition. The power of intellectual Confucianism has eroded because the politics of status and prestige has been replaced by utilitarian, materialistic values.

Pye (1985) claimed that, to the degree that the status of officialdom has been redefined, Taiwan has moved toward a pluralistic polity and away from a dutiful, disciplined Confucian society which defers to governmental authority. While the government has come to realize that it is not omnipotent, Taiwan's public executives, however, have not developed an awareness of democratic changes in public personnel appointment and recruitment processes. The heavy emphasis in Taiwan on Confucian values is still apparently reinforcing the static nature of a Confucian state, and the result is a refusal to affirm the values of the emerging modern society (Yang, 1992).

As has been pointed out, Confucian thought has a transformative side, calling for the total elimination of selfishness in society while promoting, as well, an accommodative solution (Hwang, 1991). Thus accepting the persistence of some defects while promoting gradual changes, current reform proposals and policies are viewed by some observers as mostly accommodative to the existent conditions (Metzger & Myers, 1991). Like other modern Asian countries, Taiwan's government continues to support Confucian values in moralizing public officials. To a large extent, many personnel practices such as training and performance evaluation still carry a heavily moral--and Confucian--tone.

Moralized Bureaucracy: The Confucian Perspective

Generally, Confucianism was a hierarchical ethical code or code of honor, not a religion or a school of philosophy. Following Mencius, the interpreter of Confucius' thought (390-205 B.C.), most Confucians believed that man's nature is originally good.

For Mencius, government was the means by which the moral rulers cultivated their followers in order to serve the needs of the people. The people were the most important element in a state. The ruler was a servant of the people whose duty to obey him would last only so long as he served them well.

From a political perspective, Bodde (1954) argued that classic Confucian theory was democratic in the sense that it consistently emphasized the ideal of government for the people, and it actually tended to counter absolutism by forming a morally-educated, non-hereditary bureaucracy. Also, a Confucian government was regarded as consisting only of changing leadership, in which a moral ruler would replace an immoral one. However, Confucian theory has been undemocratic in practice because it never recognized the need for government by the people as a whole.

The Confucians therefore declined to magnify the element of law in social control because doing so would cause moral principles to become subject to legal form. They contended that no government is better than the men who run it, and hence the moral training of such men should be the most desirable value. Also, they strongly advocated benevolent paternalism as a basic principle of managing public personnel. However, their assumption turned out to be wrong because a moralized bureaucracy as a ruling group, often lacking external controls and checks on its power, can never be wholly committed to its moral ideals. Even in ancient China, except at the level of the scholar-official class itself, no external control existed to monitor the continuity of morality in the bureaucracy.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the noble Confucian ideal of moralized bureaucracy has too often degenerated into a government by the privileged. Thus scholars and opposition parties in Taiwan have pointed out that the KMT regime nominally proclaims the people's welfare as their highest moral aim, while at the same time insisting that the achievement of this aim relies on its effective control of public

personnel. Too often, bureaucracy--intended to be a moral force--has become an immoral instrument serving the interests of an authoritarian regime.

The KMT could function with extraordinary effectiveness as long as it remained a Confucian state, politically, culturally and economically. Actually, current Taiwan public personnel systems are constructed in a way similar to those of the Confucian state in the imperial era. The KMT controls most aspects of public personnel authority. Thus, although the Confucian state as such may no longer exist, its ideas, ideals, and institutions continue today, in countless subtle ways, to influence the public personnel systems.

Anti-Professionalism in Imperial Bureaucracy

A main characteristic of imperial Chinese bureaucracy was its non-professionalism, or "generalist ideal." (Balazs, 1964) A scholar's special field of knowledge and personal qualities were considered not necessary to equip him for public posts. The personnel needs of governmental agencies might be specific and finite, but potential candidates tended to be unclassifiable and not limited. Contrary to the general assumption that functional-specialization was always a necessary feature of bureaucracy, the generalist often held a position superior to that of the specialist in the historic Chinese bureaucracy.

One of the most important characteristics of Max Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy is functional specificity, but the Chinese patrimonial bureaucracy represents a totally opposite situation (King, 1992:68). Following ideas of intellectual Confucianism, Chinese traditionalists believed that man is an end in himself, not the means to an end. Realistically, as generalists, the Chinese bureaucrats viewed holding office as a means to an end, the path of merit status (Bodde, 1954:57). Consequently, as J. R. Levenson (1959) noted,

One of the outstanding all-pervasive values of Confucian culture was its anti-professionalism. The Confucian ideal of personal cultivation was a humanistic amateurism and Confucian education perhaps supreme in the world for anti-vocational classicism, producing an imperial bureaucracy, accordingly, in which human relations counted for more than the network of abstract assignment. (p.262)

Confucian knowledge mostly emphasized the proper ordering of people and their activities as a means of achieving the main administrative goals, tranquility and harmony in an extensive empire (Bellah, 1970). Administrative skill was equated with mastery of the basic principles of social relations, with the bureaucrats playing the roles of coordinator and regulator of these relations. When the goals or values are diffuse and the official's duties are of a multi-functional character, it was thought that generalists seem more capable to handle such situations. Generalists could not be measured by the order-result criterion. Additionally, using the qualifications of the generalist as standards for ranking classification gave much latitude in promoting bureaucrats. This consideration seems to explain the characteristic emphasis in the Chinese bureaucracy on the generalist's "knowledge."

Peng (1987:167) contended that the factors encouraging amateurism in ancient Chinese bureaucracy were not simply cultural, but also social and administrative. Administratively, the generalist bureaucrats chose to handle technical problems by means of an informal organization consisting of administrative specialists. The society of ancient China was economically self-sufficient and structurally homogeneous; therefore, administration of a relatively single agrarian society, did not require specialized knowledge.

At the present time, Taiwan is in transition toward a pluralized society, which requires sophistication in the governmental service and initiative by the society. Transition raises the issues not only of technocratic versus populist government, but also

of the effects on administrative efficiency of different modes of politicization. However, the process of professionalization, too, remains problematic in Taiwan. In the 1990s, Taiwan will be democratized first by parliamentary party politics. Eventually, Taiwan will need a neutral, professional public personnel system to maintain administrative continuity (Wang, 1991). Economically, public personnel must be professional enough to shift from centralized control of human resources to indirect regulation. Politically, the system must be neutral in order to serve whatever political power wins an electoral majority. This development seems unlikely in the near future. Democratization will require the separation of the KMT and both the state and public personnel systems. However, because current public personnel are part of the KMT's authoritarian advantage structure, it is not surprising that the KMT is reluctant to relinquish its supporters.

The Legalist School and Administrative Control

The administrative concepts of "legalism" run counter to the humanist mainstream of Chinese tradition, mainly, Confucianism. Legalists asserted that the state, as embodied in the person of the ruler, is the hub of a philosophical system oriented towards control and regimentation, in which moral issues are ineffective and irrelevant. Legalists' concepts and ideas have persisted and have been transformed into a system of administrative control of bureaucratic behaviors, based on legalistic conceptions of law.

Legalist thought is in fact authoritarian. Its methods ostensibly follow the law, but implicitly they elevate the ruler. Historically, the Legalists promoted reform from the perspective of the ruler's interests. But Legalists also recognized current realities and, consciously or unconsciously, were flexible with regard to the trends of the future. Basically, the pragmatic orientations of the Legalists represent a force to transform the personnel systems.

Although the laws were extreme and brutal, according the Legalists, their ideas that law should be codified and applied equally to all and that self-interested bureaucrats should be controlled and punished have been institutionalized over centuries into a censorial system. The problem for most imperial authorities was that the Confucians did not really deal with the idea of punishment, and their ideal of law was a moral system that incorporated disputing parties in social resolution rather than in judicial settlements (Fingarette, 1972). To control and administer the vast empire effectively, the rulers had to rely on the Legalist conception of laws, upholding the malevolent bureaucratic assumption of innate human malevolence in forming the administrative control institution.

Malevolent Bureaucracy: The Legalist Perspective

Legalist thought regarded human nature as originally evil. Although a Confucian, Hsun Tzu (340-245 B.C.) took a pessimistic view of human nature. For him, man is naturally selfish. Benevolence and righteousness do not spring on their own accord from human nature. Rites, social norms, law, and government exist because of human malevolence. Hsun Tzu's concern was with "the transformation of nature and the promotion of artificiality." He defined human nature and artificiality as what man knows about but cannot achieve.

Apparently, Hsun Tzu's view of human nature sharply differs from what Mencius and most Confucians have pictured it to be. Hsun Tzu believed that the virtue of men is the result of cultivation. He argued that if men give in to their inborn impulses, they inevitably will conflict with one another. Thus, virtue is not innate; it is only through moral discipline that men learn to modify their nature and to develop morality. The only path to moral discipline is education.

In summary, Mencius emphasized righteousness; Hsun Tzu, propriety and formality. Mencius focused on morality; Hsun Tzu, legal control. While the ideal social

order of Mencius was democratic, that of Hsun Tzu seems to have been authoritarian. Mencius believed that to educate was to nourish the mind and liberate innate virtue; to Hsun Tzu, to educate was to discipline and remold human nature.

A pupil of Hsun Tzu, Legalist Han Fei Tzu (d. 233 B.C.) differed radically in his view of human nature. He was the consummate representative of the Legalist school. Whereas Hsun Tzu and Confucians remained optimistic that people could become moral through learning and persuasion, Han Fei Tzu was cynical and depended on the legal use of reward and punishment (Lu, 1989). He and many other Legalists believed that virtue and kindness are insufficient to end the taking of spoils but not ending disorder; only the strict exercise of power can prohibit violence and strengthen control of the state. This "malevolent" assumption is made applicable also to management of the bureaucracy.

In Chinese terms, a "chih-tu" refers only to a "rational institution" which is desirable and possesses moral values (Ch'ien, 1982). If lacking moral characteristics, an institution should be a "fa-shu," which is equated to a method, a device, or an arrangement for convenience. In designing government, Confucians tended to set up "rational" institutions to moralize the bureaucracy, while the Legalists promoted the pragmatistic use of convenient arrangements to control the bureaucracy. The term "rational institutions" might connote that public agencies represent the public interest. However, in reality, institutions often were "arrangements" to serve the selfish interests of the authorities. According to Han Fei Tzu, the intelligent ruler is like a being from Heaven because he acts fairly and impartially in accordance with law. This is what is meant by the so-called "functions of fa" (law).

In practice it is not easy to discern whether or not a personnel institution is created to serve the public interest and whether it is really a "rational institution." This concern is basic in analyzing reasons why people argued for the dual authority of the Taiwan public personnel system. Since, according to the Legalist, an institution or

arrangement should never come into existence unless it also serves the ruler's interests, in Taiwan the CPA was created as a flexible personnel arrangement for both the Executive Yuan's convenience and the KMT regime's interests. The creation of the CPA was never begun with the intention to create a "rational" institution. Ironically, the creation of the Examination Yuan might be considered a "rational" institution, but its purpose is more idealistic than pragmatic. Legalist value orientations may be deemed an ancient relic of the past in the analysis of executive leadership today.

Law and Punishment Emphasis: Censorial Systems

Paradoxical system designs incorporating both Confucian morality and Legalist flexibility could be found in the censorial systems, established as early as the Ch'in (221-206 B.C.) and the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) dynasties. In those dynasties, a group of officials called "yu-shih" carried out the censorial functions. Traditionally, their surveillance functions had been divided between two groups of officials: remonstrators ("chien-kuan"), who were responsible for denouncing errors of the emperors; and censors ("yu-shih"), who were responsible for impeaching wayward officials. This division of functions was done away with by the Yuan dynasty (1271 A.D.-1368 A.D.), which concentrated all surveillance functions in the hands of censors.

Hucker (1959) pointed out that censorial systems were of crucial importance in the relationship between the bureaucracy and emperor. The censorate systems actually combined and institutionalized Confucian values and Legalist form. Surveillance of the bureaucracy is Legalist in origin and spirit, and remonstrance to the throne originated in Confucian moral concerns. Legalism meant insistence on rigid conformity to law in bureaucracy, whereas Confucianism specified that the "Tao" (proper way) and the welfare of the people took precedence over the ruler's will and the power of the state.

Then the censorial system was separated from the executive functions of the government and given increased powers of supervision and control. Traditionally, censors ("yu-shih") could investigate matters of law and also of morals as well as the unlawful actions of officials and also their private lives--their investigative powers extending into retirement. Censors could impeach persons not only for proven unlawful activities, but also on suspicion or before any anticipated commission of unlawful acts. Even the actions of the Emperor could be censured.

After the Sung dynasty (960-1280 A.D.), the Confucian side of this balance was weakened and the Legalist strengthened; the remonstrance function was made merely an appendage of the surveillance function. The content of remonstrances came to stress "Legalist" values: the safety of the state, the strength of the dynasty, and the authority of the ruler rather than the welfare of the people. Surveillance itself became more Legalist than ever. More and more obviously the Censorate was an arm of the monarch against the rest of the bureaucracy.

In the Ming dynasty (1344-1668 A.D.), censors were in charge of surveillance of all personnel and operations of the entire government. They also had powers of instituting and directing preventive, corrective, and punitive measures. The broad scope of these censorial responsibilities is reflected in the various appellations given the censors: "the ears and eyes of the Emperor" ("T'ien-tzu erh-mu"). Their combined function as remonstrators was suggested by the name "straight pointers."

While no longer serving as informants and spies for the authorities, the censorial systems have been symbolized as part of the control power in Taiwan government. The situation now is not so different from the historical control of the bureaucrat's behavior. Current civil codes of Taiwan public officials mostly reflect the control emphasis of the traditional censorial system and administrative laws on bureaucrats' deportment.

The design of the Control Yuan definitely reinforces the purpose of controlling public personnel through systematic prevention and disciplinary mechanisms. The Control Yuan is empowered to institute impeachment proceedings against a public official, if it deems that individual to be guilty of neglect of duty or violation of law. If the case is passed in the Control Yuan, it goes to the appropriate authority for action: the Committee on Discipline of Public Functionaries in the case of a civilian. The Control Yuan can also investigate the operations and installations of the Executive Yuan and its subordinate agencies. It then proposes corrective measures, which will be examined by relevant committees and referred to the ministry or commission concerned.

Thus the formal aspects of the control system have been developed to a fairly high degree in the Taiwan public personnel systems to assure uniformity and coordination of official action. There are elaborate codes and regulations. Though not compatible with Western legal codes in terms of precision and objectivity, these laws provide a formal framework to assure uniformity, coordination, and predictability of administrative actions.

Contemporary studies of Taiwan public administration display a general appreciation not only of the importance of law but also of administrative objectivity as a condition for the successful functioning of law. But in practice, the bias, arrogance, and temperamentalism--so characteristic of network and relational rule and, in effect, contrary to rational administrative requirements--have marred the actions of many officials.

Government of Men Versus Rule by Law

In regard to public personnel and government, the values of the Chinese are deeply affected by two traditional political philosophies: government of men and government by law. The first is mostly Confucian and Mohist (based on the philosophy of Mo Tzu who preached universal, equalitarian love, ca 400 B.C.); the second, Legalist.

In the context of philosophies, the inactive political philosophies of Taoism also have from time to time, played an alternative role.

A major view of government, based on the traditional political philosophies of Confucians and Mohists is called the "government of men." Confucian government took "Chun-tzu" (the "superior man"), as its essential element. Confucianists, in fact, believed all government must preceed from the superior man. The scholars as the superior men of the time, prepared themselves for government service by a thorough study of the classics and by putting into practice the Confucian principles of self-cultivation, family discipline, state order, and world peace.

While Confucian tradition emphasized the importance of getting good men in office, Mo Tzu emphasized the "worthy man" in organizing the government (Schwartz, 1985). Appointments to all public personnel should be made to those judged worthy. Whether order or disorder would prevail in the society depended upon the character of the persons who served in the government and did the governing. This is the point that Mo Tzu stressed and where he agreed with the Confucians.

Nonetheless, there were differences between the Confucians and the Mohists. The Confucians' "superior man" gathers about him the social elites; his value-orientations focused on the ethics of clan-law society. The Mohists' "worthy men" mostly came from the commoners class, their value orientations centering on the spirit of service and practical techniques. Confucian men stressed the motive behind the deed; Mohist men valued the effectiveness of an action. Hence, although they were in agreement in looking upon man as the instrument of government, they differed in their conception of the man to whom they would entrust government.

The second conception of government is called "government by law," represented by the Legalists. The Legalists proposed ways of government by setting up laws. Han Fei Tzu noted: "A law is that which is recorded on the registers, set up in the government

offices, and promulgated among the people." (Han-fei-tzu, p. 38) Through these laws the people are instructed as to what they should and should not do. Once the laws are promulgated, the ruler must keep a close guard on the conduct of the people. Because he possesses authority, he can punish those who violate his laws and reward those who obey them. By so doing, he can successfully rule the people, no matter how numerous they may be. Since the ruler rules his people with law and authority, he needs not have either special ability or high virtue, nor need he, as the Confucians maintained, set an example of good conduct, or rule people through his personal moral influence.

The Legalists held punishments and laws to be the essential element in governance, and thus they were directly opposed to the government of men advocated by Confucians and Mohists. Reward and punishment are what Han Fei Tzu called "the two handles of the ruler." Their effectiveness derives from the fact that it is the nature of man to seek profit and avoid harm. Legalist thought strongly emphasized that a government of righteous men cannot be depended upon, and need not be; that the most sound and dependable government, contrarily, is one of clearly articulated laws and rigid regulations, severe punishments, and heavy control.

Only the anarchists, the Taoists, took a negative attitude, opposed to both Confucian and Legalist conceptions. Taoists, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, ridiculed benevolence and righteousness, the Confucian virtues and turned away in disgust from laws and regulations. They renounced wisdom and advocated limitation of desires, they esteemed neither virtue nor ability, and held as their ideal a government of "nature" and of "inaction" (wu-wei). Table 4.1 is designed to show graphically points of comparison of ways to curb arbitrary treatment. A similar aim makes the moral tone prominent as well in the operation of Taiwan's system of formal rules.

Table 4.1 Comparison of the Governance Conceptualization Between
Four Major Schools—Confucian, Mohist, Legalist, and Taoist.

	Polity	Principle	Ideal Governing Methods
Government of Man —Confucian Perspective	Confucians —the "superior man"	<i>Jen</i> --"broadly extending succor to the masses", "establishing others; advancing other"	-Nourishing and teaching; rectification; -Moralized bureaucracy and benevolent ruler
Government of Men —Mohistic Perspective	Mohists— the "Worthy"	Universal love, Mutual benefit	-Elevating the worthy in government -Condemnation of warfare, Economy of Expenditure -Governing equally; in pursuit of peace
Government of Law —Legalistic Perspective	Law and legal institutions	Laws, Methods, "Fa-Su," Power, Authority	-Clearly articulated laws, strict regulations; Severe punishments, heavy penalties, -The strong State, the supreme ruler
Non-Governing —Taoistic Perspective	The <i>Tao</i> (the cosmic, mysterious, ultimate, absolute principle underlying form, substance, being, and change)	Non-action ("wu-wei"), <i>Tao</i> does nothing, yet all things are done in conformity with it. <i>Tao</i> deals with the flux of nature as a whole.	Overthrow obstruction and anxiety in mind -An age of perfect virtue (naturalness or spontaneity -Rely on spontaneous nature -Small states with few people

Confucian political theory emphasized moral and intellectual attainments as prerequisites for good government, preferred persuasive to compulsive measures and viewed the conduct of the state in terms of interpersonal relationships rather than impersonalized bureaucracy. It viewed the world of man as a reflection of the natural order. All these factors combined in China to make the law subsidiary to flexible custom and moral tradition--what the West would call "natural law." (Potter, 1992) One can

venture to say that the Chinese conceive no law in the Latin sense of the term. No equal rights of individuals are guaranteed by law. There are only duties and mutual compromises governed by the ideas of order, responsibility, hierarchy, and harmony.

In the Chinese conception, the law stresses negative inhibition of offense more than positive direction for correct action, thus leaving much room for non-legal judgment. Gaps abounded in both the negative and positive aspects of the laws. Gaps permitted a certain amount of arbitrary action and personally motivated favor and social changes. Moral norms helped to curb arbitrary treatment; a similar aim makes the moral tone prominent in the operation of formal rules in Taiwan public personnel systems.

The need for standardization in personnel administration leads to the development of a personnel system based on a set of formal rules. But formal rules and impersonality were not characteristic of the traditional Chinese social system, which was based on the dominance of order and personal relationships. Because of its functional importance in Taiwan society, the system of informal norms has played a prominent, and often contradictory, role in bureaucratic conduct. While formality and impersonality are recognized as basic in the performance of public officials' duties, formality and impersonality are seriously disrupted by the constant pressure of the officials' informal relationships, social and personal.

Since the law cannot specify every single action taken in the conduct of an office, it is necessary to supplement the law with the moral conscience of the official. Both this basic intention, unexpressed in the letter of the law, and the considerable latitude that exists for interpretation give the moral norm its primary importance (Moser, 1982). With reference to the broader issues of devising a normative system to attain the organizational goals of order and stability in public agencies, Taiwan public officials have tended to rely on the moral norm as the mainstay, with formal law as supplemental.

The law cannot take into account either special circumstances or the situational context of an act. Thus the functional values of the general social system require a modification of the formalistic principles. Since legal interpretation of an act in isolation from its context can have a disruptive effect on a social order in which personal relations and networks are dominant, some adjustment is necessary. In Taiwan, most legal actions have involved members of the same group, and any strict application of the personnel law was considered likely to disturb that healthy functioning of personnel, essential to the public personnelist's goal of maintaining harmony in organizations. In order to foster healthy social relations that are basic to harmony, the situational orientation has become the most important factor: public officials make the law flexible enough to meet specific conditions as well as diverse needs.

Although laws are seen as distorted by personal relations, people can go about dynamically violating the laws. What is overlooked is that the laws would not be enforced anyway, even to the extent expected. Continuously and flexibly making adjustments can indicate tendencies toward deviancy from the law. Further, the intrusion of individual goals into the operation of the law is inconsistent with the formal public purpose of the bureaucratic apparatus. Thus violations of the law, strictly interpreted, are actually the result of the personal obligations imposed on officials by the general society (Li, 1981).

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen believed that establishing a powerful, unified government that is in accord with the moral will of the people brilliantly avoided two Western problems: the excesses of individual freedom and the control of the state by special interest groups, as opposed to "the people as a whole." (Yu, 1989) Simply stated, Dr. Sun's concept involved using unselfish political power to solve Taiwan's problems by putting government in the hands of "good persons" who would transcend selfish, particular political interests.

This concept leads the KMT today to reinforce democracy under its authoritarian control in the Taiwan unified society. This dominance of the ruling party over "the people" is also basic to Dr. Sun's concept of "government by all the people." In the Confucian view, individual conscience and the sovereign state merge only when the latter has fully implemented absolute moral values, an ideal that Confucians perceive as unrealized in the present.

It must be emphasized that the political philosophies of Confucianism, Legalism, still affect the values of the Chinese in Taiwan. Like all societies, Taiwan entered the period of modernization with a culturally incompatible heritage of public personnel values. Anyone trying to build a sovereign state enjoying public support would have to invoke the old inherited values and show that the government is or can be in accord with them. But a choice has had to be made about how to integrate these values. This choice has become crucial for the Chinese in Taiwan struggling to accommodate or transform their value orientations.

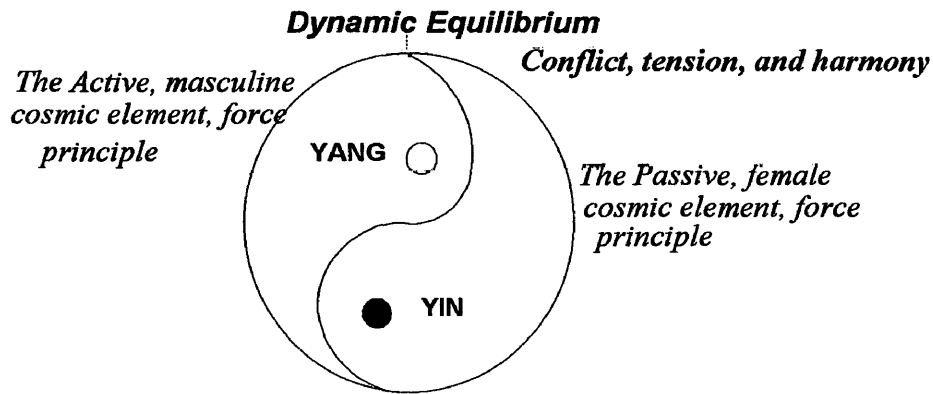
Epistemologies of the Chinese:

Polaristic Thinking, Value Clustering, and Order Complex

Polaristic Thinking

The Chinese cosmology assumes that creation took place when the void of the universe differentiated itself. Metaphysically, the Chinese believe that the existence of the world is to be viewed in polarities (Schwartz, 1964). The differences among everything in the world are to be explained in terms of polarities in principles, in powers, and in values. Polarities carry within them the characteristics of contrast, complementation, and mutual dependence. Taken separately, each component exists; added together, they vanish, or coalesce into a zero which is absolute yet is "Tai Chi" (the Ultimate Void) pregnant with creativity. (see Figure 4.3)

Figure 4.3 Chinese Dualistic Philosophy -- Universal as Ultimate
Void (T'ai Chi) Revolving Yang and Yin Toward Equilibrium



"Tai Chi" may resolve itself in any number of ways, and consequently the universe is filled with all kinds of existence. To account for change, certain principles are recognized. The Ultimate Void polarizes formally into Yin and Yang. The Yin principle is static, conservative, replenishing, and usually referred to as "feminine." The Yang principle is dynamic, progressive, consuming, and usually referred to as "masculine." In any given situation, relative dominance or recession of the principles determines the form of change.

Since these elemental influences are interrelated, their equilibrium is dynamic but also tends to restrain any excess of either on the part of one or more of them. Points of highest ascension and lowest depression are also points of reversion. Confucians asserted that all--the universe, human society, individual life--must move toward harmony and unity. Extremism of any kind invariably brings disaster. Thus the Chinese consistently strive for moderation ("Chung Yung") and follow the "Doctrine of the Mean" (Fung, 1948). The universe is thought of as an ever-changing generative unity. Thus opposition and complementation imply polarity in name but not in essence. Interactions between the

polarities reflect only the harmonious status and holistic nature of all events in the universe.

From a psychological perspective, the Chinese are preoccupied with the syntheses of extremes (Wu, 1985). Typically, the Chinese strongly emphasize the need to control value conflict in order to achieve a harmonious way of life. In Taiwan's public personnel systems, the contemporary obsession with the synthesis of dialectical values is but a modern expression of this persistent cultural preoccupation with universal unity, harmony, balance, and moderation.

Traditional values and modern values have been polarized in many sectors in Taiwan society (Brindley, 1989). In the public personnel systems, value conflicts arise in a polaristic way between employee protectionism and executive leadership, between equity and equality, and between reality and the desirable. Many paradoxes are constructed by way of polarity (Schwartz, 1964). Cheng (1977) has listed some of the polaristic structures characteristic of Chinese thinking patterns:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| • Inner/Outward | • Literary/Quality | • Self/Other |
| • Knowing/Action | • Justice/Benefit | • Heaven/Man |
| • Humanity/Justice | • Humanity/Wisdom | • Rites/Justice |
| • Tao/Instrumentality | • Thinking/Learning | • Law/Rites |
| • Middle/Harmony | • Change/Tranquility | |
| • Metaphysics/Reality | • Essence/Application | |
| • Reasons/Desires | • Self-Cultivation/Managing State | |

Realistic values often parallel theoretical values in speaking and cognition, but never in action. Conflicting values are arranged opposite one another but are spread within multiple polaristic structures. The Chinese are socialized to treat conflict and competition as processes of harmony. Confucians asserted that reality is comprised of harmony, while conflict belongs to disorder and chaos and is a process for change and

development. Once one realizes life is moving toward harmony, he/she ultimately resolves conflict into harmony. Conflict or competition thus becomes the means of development and advancement.

Value Clustering

Brindley (1989) analyzed interview findings to prove that people in Taiwan are able to mix traditional values with modern values. However, he failed to explain how these two seemingly conflicting value sets coexist without immense clashes.

In discussing the Chinese mind, Munro (1977) found that Chinese thinking patterns are often non-linear, general, intuitive, holistic, and moving like a circle centered on the targeted issues. From an epistemological perspective, the Chinese construct their values and value orientations by a kind of "clustering." Munro (1977) argued that they habitually cluster their components of values into a single value. Many people believe Taoist Chuang Tzu's statement that true knowledge is great knowledge, "embracing and regarding all things as one." In the doctrine of the equality of all things, unity, identity, and syntheses are glorified, whereas the particular, the concrete, and the specific are devalued.

In contrast, Western thinking patterns are said to be logical, analytical, specific. Western theorists such as Parsons (1962) and Rokeach (1973) asserted that man possesses the capability of logical deduction in value analysis. They believed that values could be differentiated into three components: cognitive, evaluative, and behavioral. Individuals will strive to maintain consistency among these three components.

L. Abegg (1952) claimed in a metaphor that the Western pattern of thought is directed like an arrow aiming at the target point, while the barbs in the arrow symbolize dialectic argument. Western thinking patterns generally are said to be logical, inductive, and deductive. In contrast, traditional thinking patterns of the Chinese are like

enveloping or encircling movements. Viewing "Tai Chi" as a dynamic equilibrium, Chinese thinking patterns are holistic but vague and intuitive. In resolving tension and conflict into one value, the Chinese can intentionally obscure the rational/logical distinction by creating a delicate balance of coexistence.

Munro (1977) claimed that the Chinese habitually mix knowing, feeling, and the urge or drive to act by internalization of values. The Chinese believe that knowing something implies both understanding and acceptance simultaneously. Mental events such as knowing and feeling and urges or drives are closely associated. Knowing overlaps affection to a large extent, and thus, prompts action. There is an intimate connection between knowing and having an inclination to act. Statements about positive purpose or meaning are equivalent to statements about correct motives.

In the mind of the Chinese, knowing involves both fact and value. Value is considered meaningless except in the dimension of fact as the reality. Feelings of approval or disapproval are also intimately related to facts. The impulse to act follows loosely not only approval or disapproval but also acceptance or rejection. When making "factual" statements, the Chinese actually are making evaluations which cluster cognitive, affective, and behavioral elements. Thus, Rokeach's (1973) conceptual distinction between instrumental values and terminal values is not in accord with the Chinese conception (Wei, 1992).

According to Bloom (1979), despite Chinese grammatical precision in expressing both the degree of likelihood of the premise of implicational statements and the distinction between if-then and if-and-only-if-then interpretations of the relationship of the premise to its consequence, there is no simple lexical, grammatical, or intentional means in Chinese to signal the following: (1) that a given statement is intentionally counterfactual, or (2) that it is intended to be entertained and then interpreted as an exercise in hypothetical theory construction. Bloom believed that the Chinese language

lacks any grammatical device for signaling directly what in English is called the counterfactual/theoretical mode.

Since the linguistic apparatus for signaling the counterfactual/theoretical mode is missing, the Chinese apparently lay great emphasis on reality-centered values in action. They are oriented to practicality in order to survive first and prosper later. In fact, pragmatism is characteristic of many aspects of life in Taiwan, including religious beliefs, which are tempered by practical needs. Chiu (1992) stated that in Taiwan religions basically exist to serve either fundamental survival or the materialistic needs of the people. Pragmatism can account for this discrepancy between the cultural ideal and actual behavior. Public personnelists often surrender their responsibility on important issues to the authoritarian order merely because their careers depend on personal relationships and subjective criteria. In balancing the consideration of law and the directives of powerful executives, public personnelists might consider their compliance to their superiors as pragmatic.

Paradoxically, the uncertainty of identification stems as much from the Chinese refusal to be overpositive about anything as from realism. Because metaphysics precedes logic, the Chinese are distrustful of too much logic. They believe that man should not be too sure of his assumptions, for nature abhors extremism.

Since the Chinese are accustomed to value clustering in epistemology, the coexistence of conflicting values is found frequently. Conflict and confrontation are defined away and reduced to order to reach harmony. Since value conflicts never reach extreme deadlock, people might not perceive the existence of value conflicts. Thus dialectics of harmonization accompany the order complex in resolving conflict through creation of multiple polaristic structures. Value conflicts in one polar dimension are often harmonized in another. Cheng (1977) concluded that the paradox in the balance between

conflict and harmony actually reflects the distinctiveness of this element of Chinese culture, the dialectic of harmonization.

Uncertainty Avoidance and Order Complex

Most Chinese social behaviors can be explained by the cultural concern for harmony-within-hierarchy. As noted, the Chinese have long valued order and harmony, regarding disorder and confusion as socially unacceptable. Structurally, an orientation such as this causes Chinese society to respect the orderly and predictable hierarchies in social relationships. Confucianism was advocated by rulers in many dynasties not only because it emphasized the duty of officers to serve with total loyalty but also because its ideology was congruent with the hierarchic Chinese civilization.

A fundamental Confucian assumption is that man exists in relationship to others (King & Bond, 1985). The Western conception of individualism is alien to Chinese values of man's social behavior, in which man is viewed as a relational being, socially situated and defined within an interactive context (King, 1985). In the Confucian tradition, certain relationships were accorded a position of paramount importance. These were the so-called "Five Cardinal Relations" ("wu lun"), namely, those between sovereign and subject, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. Like the order of nature itself, the relationships were constructed in hierarchical patterns (Fairbank, 1966). In each case, the senior member was entitled to a wide range of prerogatives and authority compared to the junior.

Harmony would be achieved if each member in those relations was dutiful in following the requirements of his or her role. Failure to follow the dictates of proper roles and behaviors could imperil the relationships and disrupt the harmony of society (Wright, 1962). This potential for disharmony is particularly great since the cardinal relationships involved subordination to superiors and considerable inequalities of power.

Abuse of one's superior position put the opposite party in serious jeopardy. The remedy for this possibility was to inculcate and enjoin a morality of compassion and righteousness upon those in command. Further, violations of these moral prescriptions by superiors constituted justification for rebellion.

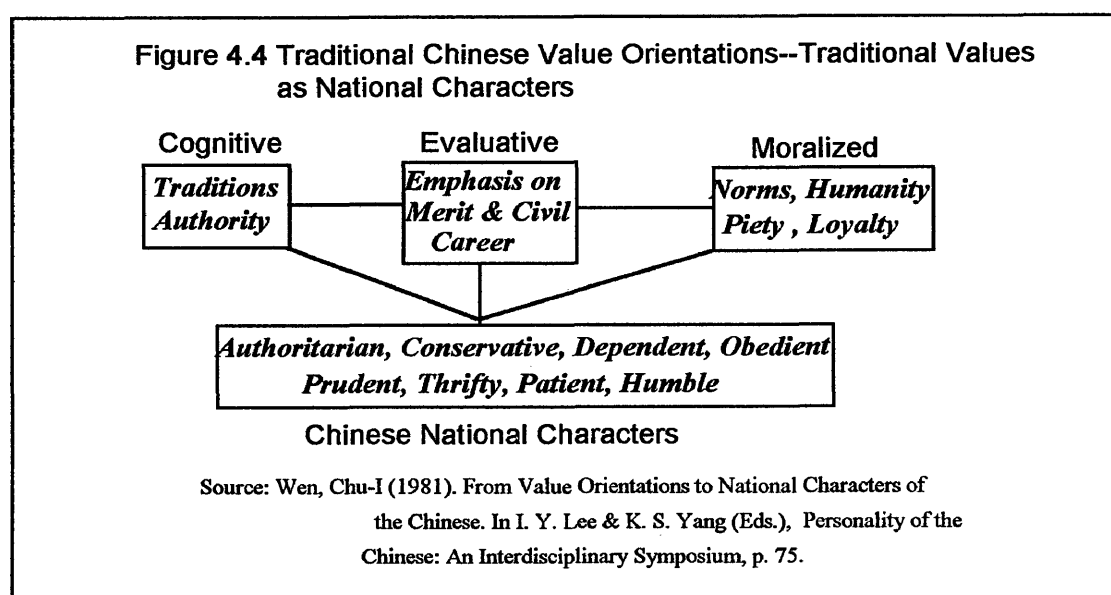
In sum, the essential aspects of Confucianism in constructing a Chinese social psychology are the following: (a) man exists through, and is defined by, his relationships to others; (b) these relationships are structured hierarchically; (c) social order is ensured through each one's respecting the requirements of the role relationship.

Schwartz (1987) maintained that the Chinese culture endorses a universalistic belief in political-societal order centered on a universal kingship. Being empowered by a heavenly mandate, emperors had established a centralized bureaucracy to maintain this order. Thus, imperial courts held all jurisdictional claims on an exhaustive list of aspects of people's life. Pye (1992:87) asserted that whenever a dynasty fell, the Chinese suffered great anxiety over the lack of a single, central authority and feared that their society was on the verge of being torn apart by power struggles and collective objectives. Individual accomplishment and success were considered aimed only toward fulfilling the needs of family.

Bond and Wang (1983) argued that Chinese people have been preoccupied with a concern for maintaining social order. This order was created through the hierarchical structuring of relationships underlying Confucian political philosophy. Each individual or group was obligated by responsibilities but, in return, enjoyed access to prerogatives proportionate to rank. Consensual acceptance of this differential access to resources prevented any competition for resources from tearing the social order apart.

Three Traditional Values Orientations of the Chinese: Cognitive, Evaluative, and Moral

Taiwan scholars have contended that the Chinese national character traits originated from interactions between three value sets--cognitive, evaluative and moralized. As Figure 4.4 shows, traditions and authority of hierarchical structures impose cognitive values.



Traditionally the people placed high value on merit and careers in government. Education and skills training were promoted. Confucianism with its cardinal social relationships, was a means of socializing the people to accept moral values as norms of conduct. These three value sets have collectively influenced and formed the Chinese national character. According to Wright (1962), thirteen approved attitudes and behavioral patterns of the Chinese were codified from the Analects of Confucius:

- Submissiveness to authority (parents, elders and supervisors);
- Submissiveness to the mores and the norms ("li");

- Reverence for the past and respect for history;
- Love of traditional learning;
- Esteem for the force of past example;
- Primacy of broad moral cultivation over specialized competence;
- Preference for nonviolent moral reform in state and society;
- Prudence, caution, preference for a middle course;
- Noncompetitiveness;
- Courage and sense of responsibility for a great tradition;
- Self-respect with some permissible self-pity in adversity;
- Exclusiveness and fastidiousness on moral and cultural grounds;
- Punctiliousness in treatment of others.

In general, in the Confucian system, moralized values are neither specified nor concrete. Cognitive consciousness refers only to sensing existence of authority in the environment. In the culture, important and useful indicators would be evaluative, part of the so-called "calculative rationality." People in the Confucianized society have used calculative rationality to socially exchange their resources (Yang, 1957). These social exchange behavioral patterns became the models for instructing people how to interact with others (Hwang, 1987). The resources being exchanged were called "favors," in Chinese, "renqing."

Cognitive Orientation: Authoritarian Compliance

Ranis (1989:1445) has stated that authoritarian compliance led the Taiwan people to think of themselves as having certain obligations to the state, to feel the need to reach a consensus and not make too many unreasonable demands on the government. Redding (1990) analyzed cultural determinants of individual Chinese values, in terms of four major types of variables--social structures, fundamental belief/values, rules for action, and

relation rules. Taken together these variables determine the cognitive form of individuals. Similarly, Spiro (1961) had offered three possible ways that a culture affects individual behavior:

- (1) through the external pressures of social structures, institutions and norms;
- (2) through internalization of cultural and social values into individual value systems; and
- (3) through shaping a part of super-ego in individual value systems leading to shame and guilt.

Wen (1972) claimed that in the social and cultural context which traditionally emphasizes authority and conformity, the Chinese are socialized to cultivate authoritarian personality traits. Chinese characteristics related to the authoritarian structures include the following:

- deference to heaven, the emperor, an elder persons of higher social status,
- respect for past knowledge and experience,
- conformity to existing social norms, and
- emphasis on group reputation and benefit, with de-emphasis on individuality.

In Taiwan, through social conditioning, traditional values are transmitted through obedience and dependence training, cooperation emphasis, and respect for authority in order to ensure the continuity of socially oriented achievement motivation. The aim is to maintain stable and predictable behaviors, existing social structures, and hierarchical authority systems.

Socialization in Taiwan emphasizes dependence training, obedience training, cooperation, and a parent-centered orientation. Socialization, in fact, is an important transformative process for all parents worldwide to cultivate in their children the cognitive and behavioral patterns consistent with the society. Child training in Taiwan, as would be expected, proceeds in an authoritarian, collectivistic pattern.

Problems in authoritarian training were identified by Yang (1986), who argued that the low level of social principles of the Chinese reflects their deference to authority and unconditional acceptance of traditional norms and values, including their unconditional submissiveness to authority. Research findings show, he asserts, that the Chinese are quite conspicuous because of their deferential attitudes toward whomever or whatever they consider an "authority."

The "Five Cardinal Relations" ("wu-lun") are the matrix of the hierarchical social structure in which each individual learns from early childhood the proprieties of moral conduct and ritual forms (Bellah, 1970; Yang, 1959). Of the five cardinal relations, three exist within the family, the most significant being the relationship between father and son. Ruey (1967) believed that these five cardinal relations as social dyads served a means of social control in Chinese society. Pye (1992) has pointed out that both the authoritarian personality and order inclination of the Chinese are influenced by family structure and childhood socialization. Confucianism placed the family at the core of society's various relationships, social and political (Lin, 1988).

The government has often been projected as the patriarchal family. The virtue which justified this authority of the government was a projection of family ethics. Thus there could never be a government of laws as practiced in the West, but only a government of men as in families (Lee, 1954:4).

Most of the literature depicts Confucianism as both a social theory and a social force molding the Chinese into group-oriented or, more specifically, family-oriented and socially dependent beings (Solomon, 1971). Although this view might have sociological truth, recent societal developments in Taiwan have brought about greater tolerance for individualistic orientations (Young, 1992). Also, from a sociological view, King and Bond (1985) have suggested that the Confucian paradigm of man has the theoretical thrust, as well as a built-in structural imperative, to cultivate persons into relation-

oriented individuals who are not only socially responsive and dependent but also capable of asserting a self-directed role in constructing a social world.

Influenced by Confucianism, the Chinese believe in the malleability of human nature. When coupled with the belief in malleability, the tendency to associate knowing the distinction between value-laden feelings and urges to act leads to a particular conception of the role of the government (Munro, 1977).

The primary role of government was seen as cultivating the peoples' minds. Confucians insisted that the main task of government should be to maintain the moral tradition. Writings on the obligations of government consistently emphasized "chiao" (educating) and "hua" (transforming) to strengthen social order and morality. Indeed, the basic policy of government was to let society operate spontaneously by strengthening these social values. Therefore, in traditional Chinese society, the main regulatory force was basically the moral order, not the formal law or a highly specialized system of administrative controls. In contrast to democratic theory, this assumed the obligation of cultivation; today it reinforces authoritarianism in the public agencies.

In his survey of personality traits of 578 Taiwan civil servants, D. F. Lin (1980) found that respondents have the authoritarian personality (to a moderately high degree) and show a moderately low degree of individual modernity. He pointed out that authoritarian personality negatively correlates with individual modernity ($r = -0.72$). The finding implied that enhancing individual modernity would diminish the influence of authoritarian personality on administration. His findings revealed also that the older public officials having longer tenure, lower educational levels, and occupying higher positions, are more likely to have an authoritarian personality. Male public employees who are younger, have shorter service time, have higher education, and hold lower positions will show a higher degree of individual modernity. The relation between age and authoritarian personality is not linear but curvilinear.

Evaluative Orientation: Merit and Intellectual Status Emphasis

The Chinese have a deep-seated conviction that promising youth should study to become government officials, for this is the way they can "spread fame, honor parents, glorify ancestors, and enrich descendants" (Peng, 1987). The people, too, are socialized to believe that the best scholars should become public officials. Historically, the "literati" (the scholars) were highly respected, but the most esteemed of all pursuits was that of the scholar-official. This role combined literacy, integrity, and a capacity for applying the moral principles of the classics to governance of the state. An intellectual was respected, not because of his scholarship, but because he had the potential of becoming a public official. This is a direct heritage from the Confucian tradition.

For Confucians, the key to career opportunity was education, and the purpose of education was two-fold: to perfect the self and to obtain a position in government. A good Confucian always sought the opportunity to govern in the hope of applying his knowledge to the real world (Hwang, 1991). Passing civil service examinations was essential to office-holding, and the examinations were open to all. Although not every successful candidate received an official assignment, examination credentials were sufficient for honor, privilege, and sometimes, even riches. Indeed, the Chinese character for "official" is derived from the character for "literati."

Although in Taiwan the public has criticized the KMT party as overlapping with the government, public employment is generally considered honorable and largely profitable. Political discontent does not focus on public employment as a source of political issues. To some extent, it is safe to say that intellectual Confucianism still affects and shapes people's thinking on government. Thus the Confucian advocacy of leading roles for intellectuals operated not only in traditional Chinese societies but also persists in modern Taiwan society.

Taiwan's public officials and the general public have taken a paradoxical stand on how public personnel systems are constructed and what values they embody. From a political-psychological perspective, they view public personnel systems with mixed feelings. On the surface, people generally despise and ridicule public bureaucrats as being authoritarian, corrupt, and coercive. Realistically, however, people in Taiwan still desire and value positions in government as a path to fame and wealth (Yeh, 1992; Wen, 1992). Entry to civil service by means of the examinations is still seen as one of the major career choices.

Consequently, too many applicants for the Taiwan civil service will seek whatever governmental posts are available to them, regardless of whether or not the openings are appropriate to their professional background or intellectual capability. It is certain that when holding jobs unrelated to their academic qualifications, even the most intelligent people are inclined to become frustrated. However, current system designs have failed to take into account the current oversupply of applicants. Too many highly qualified people are seeking too few posts in the public personnel systems. Facing this problem of too many qualified applicants, government endlessly opens and invents new positions. Such employment and staffing policies have usually resulted in overwhelming redundancy in personnel systems and waste of public finances.

It is not that jobs in business and industrial sectors have not been consistently promoted as desirable alternative careers for intellectuals. Intellectuals no longer insist that if they do not work as public officials or literati they are condemned to lose their dignity and self-esteem. However, many over-qualified applicants continue to enter the civil service examination with advanced educational degrees (Tsai, 1990).

Politically, public personnel systems have been considered an allocation system of political status awarded to bureaucrats and politicians. In some ways, competitive examinations have offered well-deserved opportunities to scholars to move into these

political circles. Through political responsiveness and representativeness, public personnel systems can be a vehicle of governance promoting the democratic ethos. However, using the public personnel systems as the instrument for achieving democratic ends is quite a new and even uncommon conception to most people in Taiwan. Rather than recruiting through examination, the people very likely believe that government intentionally recruits intellectuals who are not incumbents into politics to share political interests with the politicians. The people's perspective on personnel politics focuses narrowly on political patronage and factionalism, not on democratic responsiveness.

Eventually, to improve the quality of bureaucratic recruits and enhance administrative efficiency, government must modify the traditional idea that the best scholar must become a public executive. If governmental positions were not so widely regarded as the major route to prestige, then fewer people would seek such jobs; superfluous, overlapping organizations could be eliminated; the personnel numbers of the various agencies could be reduced; and abuses with regard to the advancement of personnel and administrators could be removed. However, the increased numbers of candidates taking the civil service entry examination each year reveal clearly some of the difficulty in transforming cultural values clustered about this merit system inherited from ancient times.

Moral Orientation: Moralization in Behavioral Requirements

Historically, the Chinese government persistently valued functional qualities higher than moral qualities as standards for bureaucratic behavior, establishing a polarity between moral values and efficiency values for office (Liu, 1959). Tension developed between the moral orientation of the "literati" in confrontation with the practical needs of the modern state as a power structure.

As noted, Confucianism is a morally-oriented body of thought, whereas the state is a power structure. The Confucian emphasis on moral qualities is more applicable to social relationships of primary groups than it is to the impersonal and complex political institutions of the state, which are never predominantly moral, are in many respects amoral, and in some respects immoral. However, over the years, Confucianism adapted itself to political realities. To a considerable measure, it succeeded in effecting a fusion of its theories, particularly the Confucian moral emphasis and normative values with the laws and practices of the state institutions (Chu, 1961). This fusion has not always been stable and was never total. Also, this tension between Confucianism and the state has always existed. Creel (1960) argued that Confucians with strong moral orientations even shown anti-nationalism to some extent.

Contrary to the conventional Confucian explication, the best public official is not altogether affectionate (warm and human) and effective. The desirable official should convert his morality into practical and reasonable considerations which he then uses to restrain and offset the functional severity of a strong and assertive mode of administration. Thus, it is paradoxical that leniency and mildness are desirable in administration in so far as they are practical, but strict enforcement of the law is called for when moral measurements fail. Strictness might not be harshness nor are moral measurements not just and fair. Moral qualities are often contradictory to functional qualities in performing tasks of administration. Moral virtues may be necessary conditions to a good official, but they are not sufficient.

What is desirable is not always what is most important. In choosing between morally superior officials with little administrative ability and morally average officials with superior administrative ability, most Chinese would probably prefer the latter. The problem is that they never openly admit this preference. At least they pretend that morality takes precedence over efficiency/effectiveness. The tendency has been

consistently to relax the moral standards of Confucianism where they have conflicted with pragmatic standards (de Bary, 1991). Similar to the problem of balancing moral qualities and functional qualities is reconciling moral qualities and political realities.

From the historical point of view, in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) officials were rated according to their administrative performance, but not their morality. This system gave little recognition to moral qualities as such. On the other hand, there were the "Six Rules," injunctions against types of illegal and immoral behavior:

- (1) the illegal use of power to oppress others;
- (2) illegally exploiting the people for selfish gains;
- (3) injustice, undue severity, and other conduct tending to cause unrest among the people;
- (4) favoritism and nepotism in appointing subordinates;
- (5) permitting relatives to interfere with functions of government, and
- (6) collusion in corrupt practices with subordinates or influential persons.

The early T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) system gave much fuller expression to the Confucian moral values. It evaluated officials according to four "general merits" and a "specific merit." The former included virtue and righteousness; purity and caution; justness and fairness; and sincerity and diligence. The specific merit was ability to perform the specific duties of an office. Actually, the four general merits which embodied the Confucian moral values were never more important than the pragmatic specific merit. Only officials with the specific merit received a high rating. Functional qualities were thus seemingly valued above moral qualities.

Generally, a public official received "moral discipline" if he had committed no misuse of authority and no impropriety. Among all requirements, the greatest emphasis was placed on a record free from corruption and penal offenses. That is, although the

moral values were emphasized, the emphasis tended to carry a negative connotation. In fact, moral codes largely implied the absence of immoral behavior.

Over time, the Confucian emphasis on moral qualities became a form of negative injunctions designed to establish certain minimum standards of morality and conduct. There was little encouragement either of the moral qualities or of the moral leadership in politics which are emphasized in Confucian political theory (Miou, 1992). Although Confucian moral values have been embodied in Taiwan public personnel institutions, the theoretical moral standards of Confucianism were still compromised by realistic considerations to a greater degree than is admitted in the civil service laws. King and Bond (1985) agreed that an important aspect of Chinese culture is revealed in the seemingly oppressive Confucian cultural ideal. But this ideal is not to be found in actual behavior among the Chinese; Confucian conformity to cultural norms is nothing more than superficial conformity.

The Confucian orientation of the civil service rating system became much weaker in the rating system during the Ch'ing period (1644 A.D.-1911 A.D.). That system combined a Confucian orientation with a practical regard for administrative performance. The Ch'ing ratings were based on four major criteria: integrity; ability; diligence in administration; and age. Integrity largely meant the absence of corruption and other immoral behavior, but officials with a high rating in integrity also had to have high ratings in the other three items before they qualified as first-rate officials.

Moral values, accepted as the standards of bureaucratic behavior by the scholar-officials, helped to encourage good conduct and to restrain bad conduct, especially from the moral perspective. Yet there have been practical limitations. When theoretical schemes are applied without regard to realities, they lead to conflict and confusion, and eventually to hypocrisy and apathy. When theoretical standards have appeared to be depreciated, some orthodox moralists have become dissatisfied, and from time to time

have made new demands to restore the theoretical standards so as to apply morality more earnestly. Thus the inconsistency between theory and practice appears endless.

Social Integration and Networking in Public Personnel

Because the Chinese bureaucracy was interpreted as rule by men, not by law, personal relationships have always been highly valued. From top to bottom, there existed many close personal ties among public officials. Inevitably, formalistic impersonality and other rational requirements of ideal bureaucratic behavior have come under pressure from the general social system. The result is that informal and personal patterns of behavior are developed within the formalistic conception (Yang, 1959).

The Chinese rely on non-kin networks because this approach works. Networks are fundamental to how Taiwan's public personnel systems are linked to their contexts, providing a socio-cultural infrastructure for informal contacts with formally inaccessible enemies and friends. Networks are important in understanding how conflict is resolved and faction is organized within the government and the state. Networks provide the informal links between formally separate agencies. Networks are also essential to the Chinese thinking about personnel politics such as political patronage, favoritism, and nepotism. This emphasis on informal organization reflects a continuing discrepancy between formal institutions and actual processes, and it fosters distinctly Chinese concepts of authority and democracy.

Most Taiwanese scholars have recognized the principles of formalistic impersonality as requirements for the operation of government. The guide for an official's behavior is considered to be this principle of impersonality. But to remain impersonal, the official has to resist continual pressure from a society in which personal relationships are important and are the only means the people have for getting things done. The average official is unlikely to be able to resist this pressure. No matter how he/she reacts, the

public official frequently finds that stressing the principles of impersonality and of conformity to formal rules will conflict with bureaucratic ethics which always echo the point of view of the authorities.

The development of the informal personal factor in bureaucratic behavior, despite official recognition of the impersonality principle, may be regarded as a response to three factors: organized pressure from social groups, where relationships were completely personal; the informal personal relationship as a socially accepted operational value; and structural gaps in the bureaucracy. Thus the official is in incessant conflict between two incompatible systems, to both of which he/she owes loyalty. They are incompatible not only in goals (one public, the other private) but also in operational norms (one formal and impersonal, the other informal and personal). Additionally, the importance of interpersonal relationships in Chinese society and politics leads to the necessity for precautions against ascribing a role to legal institutions in motivating or influencing behavior (Pye, 1981).

The problem is that there are no formal rules against favoritism and nepotism in Taiwan's government, most likely because of the recognized importance of personal relations to the social order upon which stability of the state rests. On the whole, the incongruity between the personal networks and concerns of the state stands unresolved.

In Chinese political culture, the leader defines the ideology and the ideology legitimizes the leader. Followers must commit themselves to leaders so long as the leader's ideology works, in exchange for which the leader supports the followers only so long as they remain loyal. The informal personal relationship as a system of prevailing approved operational values in Taiwan society has intruded into the formalistic and impersonal system of public personnel administration in two ways: through the inertia of habit and through the adaptability of the informal norm to the personal aspect of bureaucratic office. The relatively flexible informal norm of personal relations has been

more adaptable to the operation of the elements of status than the rigid norm of formalistic impersonality.

In a highly status-conscious society like that of Taiwan, the informal norm of personal relationship is likely to be operative on all levels of public personnel activity. The personal connection leads to success where the formalistic impersonal procedure has proved impotent. All rational public officials have sought to evade the formalistic structures and to place their confidence in personal relationships. The lower-level bureaucracy was more influenced than the upper by personal influences, because of the absence of formal legal requirements for operation in the lower posts. Among such levels the informal personal ties fully reinforced themselves. It can be said: Where the law does not regulate, "guanxi" (personal ties) precedes everything. Thus, the practical costs from traditions and structural constraints are inherently rooted into interpersonal behavioral patterns. As Pye (1985) noted

...in Asia the politics of status defined the people's sensitivity to the essence of personal relations and also produced elaborate calculations of mutual obligations. Because the notion of relationships is inherent in the concept of status, the politics of status became in practice a highly personal form of politics...Paradoxically, in the politics of status the issue of corruption is always present. (p. 48)

Personal Ties ("Guanxi"): The Chinese Cultural Phenomenon

"Guanxi" (personal ties) is primary in understanding Chinese behavior in the various areas: social (Fried, 1969; King 1987), political (Jacobs, 1979; Hwang 1991), and organizational (Walder, 1983). The Chinese cultural norm of "li" (courteous ritual) directs that an individual interact with people across different "guanxi" in accordance with the various standards of social exchange. Thus the manipulation of personal ties has long been a strategy for attaining desirable social goals in Taiwan society.

The continued reliance on "guanxi" in personal relationships suggests the range of general assumptions about inequality, which leads to the general opinion that those

outside certain groups receive different treatment. Unfortunately, personal relations, the most important factors in social dynamics, are often neglected in indigenous Taiwan studies (Tsao, 1988).

In Taiwan's government, personnel decisions often focus on personal closeness rather than individual competency and other professional qualifications (Liang, 1984:123). Personnel actions operate under the dynamics of social exchanges between public personnelists and other groups of individuals, and between public executives and their subordinates (Hwang, 1988). As increased societal complexity permits expanding into diverse and broad relationships beyond those of kinship and community, informal and subjective relational rules may have to give way to formality and objectivity. Until this really happens, informal personal ties remain the most significant determinant of personnel actions and practices.

Loyalty and Faction

Faction in Taiwan's government also reveals distinct characteristics of personnel politics (Tien, 1989:166). Factionalism is fostered by the strong affective social ties among Chinese. Such ties can be described as "personalistic, particularistic, non-ideological ties between persons--based on a commonality of shared identification" (Jacobs, 1976:81). The shared identification may derive from similar background elements such as place of residence, surname, family relationship, marriage, schools, or places of work. The influence of relationship ties depends on the affective content of mutual sentiment in personal networks. In Taiwan, mutual obligation requires reciprocal favoritism and thus provides an important attitudinal basis for political patronage in government. Factions often recruit supporters on the basis of personal relationships such as friendship, sworn brotherhood, party memberships, and marriage. Factions also enlist

supporters by calling for the repayment of obligations for past favors rendered by powerful and influential faction leaders.

Although social relations on Taiwan are conducive to political patronage, they are not the only explanation for the evolution of factions in Taiwan's government. Tien (1988) argued that such factors as a need for security, affective familism, an elitist structure, and corporate institutions may also account for the strength of patronage. The Chinese tend to establish personal relationships to satisfy both self-interest and survival needs. Desire for security may be related to the socialization pattern of Chinese children, which stresses the threats of insecurity and dangers within human relations and hence the need for protection against these dangers.

The reason why the Chinese rely with reluctance on contractual relations but confidently on personal ties may be found in the Chinese cultural and behavioral characteristics. Factionalism will remain an important factor in Taiwan's government for the foreseeable future partly because of the public officials' close relations with each other, their superiors, and the KMT party. Most promotions go to those people who have good relations with their superiors. Loyalty is the first consideration in personnel selection. Capability and competency are secondary criteria for promotion. A problem is that this system of favoritism or nepotism is operated like the traditional social exchange mechanism of face and favor, which is never publicized to outsiders.

Favor and Face:

Social Exchange Dynamics as the Causes of Merit Abuse

It is widely believed that Chinese are deeply influenced by vulgar Confucianism, which emphasizes familism, self-control, social reciprocity, face values, and cognitive traditions (Redding, 1984). These vulgar Confucianized values are inculcated from childhood to the stage of adult socialization, and most people more or less conform in

their behavioral patterns with these values. At any given level of functioning of an organization, however, people expect the leader to adopt a more authoritarian approach (Redding & Wang, 1986). Subordinates appreciate this approach to the extent that it is leavened with compassion ("renqing").

There are two main areas where the significance of face is noteworthy. One is in social relationships between colleagues. In the informal organization, face is an important value, used to keep interpersonal relationships smooth and balanced. The other area is negotiation. Face is salient in the personnel function where it mediates the personnel needs, on the one hand, between the general public agencies and public personnel agencies, and, on the other hand, between public executives and their public personnelists as staff. Predictably, where scientific personnel measurement is applied, face is seen as distinctly irrelevant. Yet strictness in personnel techniques is hardly emphasized in diminishing the importance of face as favor between public personnelists and other parties.

Some results from these interactions are undesirable morally but quite adequate socially. For instance, the emphasis on group identity and social reciprocity leads personnelists to avoid aggressive actions toward or conflicts with others. If certain demands are acceptable within the range of the law, most public personnelists would offer no resistance to the parties who are making the demands. This is so-called "face work." (Goffman, 1972) Interpersonal harmony, as previously noted, is valued as the most important virtue in public organizations. Thus public executives and influential people, in effect, determine the careers of public personnelists, not the laws or regulations. Public personnelists always inform certain public officials beforehand about unpublicized personnel decisions concerning their promotion and demotion decisions. They claim that doing so can increase personal closeness, although this practice is in violation of confidentiality and fairness standards in personnel management.

In some ways, harmony contributes certainty and thus promotes organizational stability. However, too often, it also restricts the scope and magnitude of managerial discretion concerning personnel matters. For example, temporary hires and the incompetent cannot be discharged because their discharge will cause confrontations and thus disrupt existent harmony.

In fact, the Chinese civil service examination was designed to retain neutrality and fairness in order to recruit competent and moral bureaucrats. However, once an individual has qualified through examination, his behavior is directed with only vague moral values, not with concrete or specified behavioral guidelines. Doing favors for one's own groups and friends through harmless administration is to follow the informal relations rule in the vulgar Confucianism sphere. However, from the standpoint of the intellectual Confucianism sphere, this administrative conduct is amoral and unscrupulous. What then should be the final criterion?

As mentioned earlier, there are three value sets forming the Chinese national character--cognitive, evaluative, and moralized. Moralized values are neither specified nor concrete. Cognitive consciousness consists only of sensing the existence of authority in the appropriate contexts. The most important and useful indicators should be the judgment values, so-called "calculative rationality." People living in a Confucianized society, however, use calculative rationality to socially exchange their resources. These social exchange behavioral patterns become the models for instructing people how to interact with others. The resources being exchanged are called "favors," in Chinese terms, "renqing" (Hwang, 1987).

Whether to give "renqing," or favors, depends on what kind of relationships exist between giver and taker. If harmony is the important social requirement, then Chinese are able to transform, with these confines, the potentially personal into favorable resources. Social interactions occur with "face" consciousness. Exchange of favor is

measured in terms of "mianzi" (face work). Ample favors given by public personnelists to petitioners such as public officials and public executives are valued as "enhancing face." Contrarily, refusal will mean "losing face."

Many Taiwanese scholars have worked within this practical framework in explaining the social exchange behaviors in Chinese society (Hwang, 1989; King, 1987). In the case of public personnelists, it is important to know how they go through various psychological processes in judging what kind of relation exists between them and the petitioner. If the relation is instrumental for some purpose, public personnelists might make a decision on the basis of equity rule. In public organizations, supervisors might make objective performance evaluations of their subordinates who do not relate to them. If the relation is expressive either of family tie or of personal tie, the decision needs to be made in terms of the family "need rule." If superiors fail to comply, a dilemma will follow. If the relation is mixed, then calculative rationality based on the "renqing rule" would be the cost-effective criterion for action.

Although empirical evidence to prove existence of face and favor is lacking, public personnel actions and practices often can be found to follow this model. The concept is useful, particularly in understanding how Taiwan's public agencies operate their personnel functions after entry by examination. Jacobs (1980) and Huang (1991) successfully used the face, favor, and relations model in analyzing political interactions at the local level in Taiwan. Taiwan politics generally operates through the interactions of "guanxi" (relations). Huang (1991) asserted this theoretical model indeed was valid in understanding Chinese social interactions.

Hwang (1987) developed a conceptual framework for Chinese power games to integrate such indigenous Chinese concepts as "guanxi" (relationship), "renqing" (favor), "mianzi" (face), and "bao" (reciprocation). His model conceptualizes the two parties in a dyadic interaction as petitioner and resource allocator. Because of the relation-oriented

character of the Chinese, when a petitioner asks a resource allocator to distribute a certain kind of social resource under his control, the resource allocator will first consider the relationship ("guanxi") between them and then adopt appropriate rules of social exchange to interact with the petitioner. According to Hwang's model, interpersonal relationships in Chinese society can be classified into three types on the basis of their expressive and instrumental components:

- (1) Expressive ties--The "need rule" is that family members with working abilities have the responsibility to strive for resources to satisfy the legitimate needs of each member.
- (2) Instrumental ties--An individual may establish temporary and anonymous relationships with other people solely as a means to attain his or her personal goal. The rule for social exchange with a person in this type of relationship is the equity rule, whereby a constant ratio is maintained between the inputs and gains of each party.
- (3) Mixed ties--The "mixed tie" is a kind of interpersonal relationship in which an individual is most likely to play the power games surrounding "guanxi".

When a resource allocator is asked to distribute the resource under his/her control in such a way as to benefit any other in the social network, he/she has to take the rule of "renqing" (favor) into account and consider the following factors: (1) the cost of paying out the resources; (2) the affective component ("ganxing") between them; (3) the probability of reciprocation from the petitioner; and (4) the social evaluations of other people in the same social network.

The face-and-favor model offers a realistic approach to understanding the inner mechanisms of Taiwan's public personnel systems. In fact, it could be assumed that there are at least two interpersonal behavioral patterns functioning as social exchanges. Examination operates through the equity rule existing in the public personnel system,

while other personnel functions may be conducted through the face-and-favor and relations model. In any case, this Confucianized system is under the control of something that the individual does not have much power to change. Basically, the system is intended to be manipulative. John K. Fairbank (1957) described it as follows:

Among the bureaucracies of history, the Chinese has been distinguished by the way in which the twin institutions of squeeze and nepotism reinforced each other. The former operated through forms of politeness rather than secrecy. Junior officials in the course of their duties gave their superior the customary gifts-- Nepotism supported the "squeeze" or "leakage" system, by giving an added sanction for personal arrangements contrary to the public interest. (p. 98)

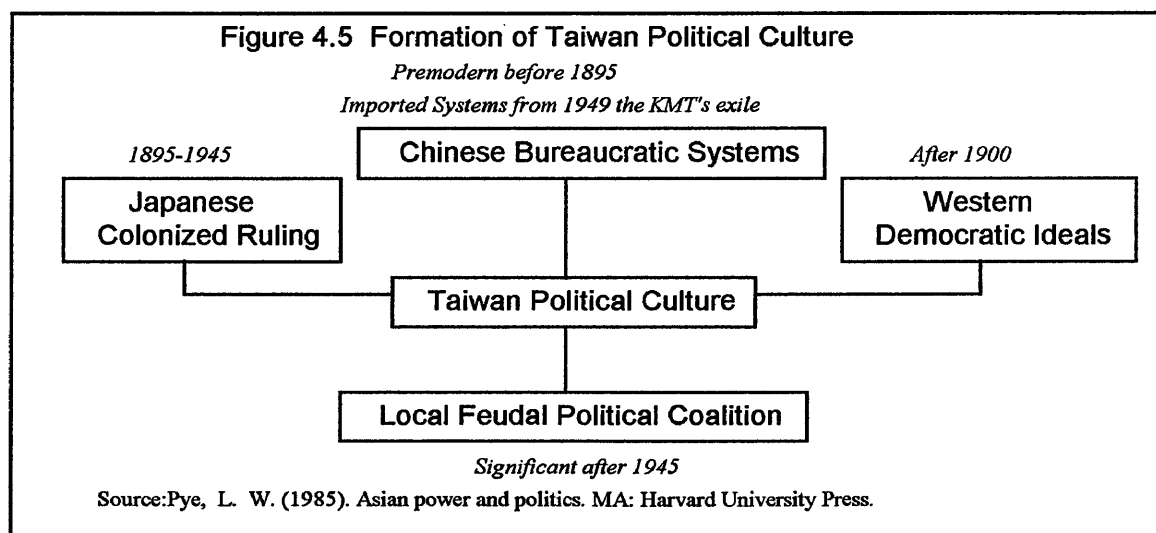
However, the costs from traditions and structural constraints are deeply rooted in interpersonal behavioral patterns. As Lucian W. Pye (1985) noted,

...in Asia the politics of status defined the people's sensitivity to the essence of personal relations and also produced elaborate calculations of mutual obligations. Because the notion of relationships is inherent in the concept of status, the politics of status became in practice a highly personal form of politics....Paradoxically, in the politics of status the issue of corruption is always present. (p. 48)

Impacts of Modernization and Democratization

Pye (1985:39) considered that paternalism is the cardinal feature of Asian politics. Asian paternalistic power is based on the overriding concern for unity and for holding the national community together. Paternalistic authority, especially in the Confucian cultures, can demand conformity on the basis that everyone should be willing to make sacrifices for the collective good. In terms of political development the demand for unity and conformity has been translated into unquestioning patriotism. Figure 4.5 portrays the pattern of development of Taiwan's political culture, which was synthesized from major historical system, and then incorporated local elements. Pye argued that paternalism alone was not enough to account for the totality of the Taiwan's system.

As Figure 4.5 shows vertically, Chinese bureaucratic systems like examinations and hierarchy and centralization are dominant in Taiwan political structures. Local feudal political coalition has the effect either to support or exploit political interests through election. Horizontally, experiences derived from Japanese colonized rule (1885-1945) and Western-inspired democratic ideals (especially from the U.S.) influence how people in Taiwan perceive their politics. Similarly, Copper (1990) argued that the Taiwan political culture has its origins in the Chinese bureaucratic system, local family rule, and Japanese feudalism, with some influence from aboriginal tribalism. Today it is influenced by an economic system based on a free market, an increasingly pluralized society, and reforms of an authoritarian system. Recent trends favor the growth of a democratic system.



Metzger (1991) argued that reconciliation of the Taiwanese vision of nationhood, with a commitment to the pluralism required by modernization, was realized by the ideology that evolved in Taiwan under KMT rule. He has seen a mix there of five main "outlooks": Sunism (the KMT doctrine), a "petty bourgeois" outlook, modern Confucian humanism, Chinese liberalism, and a version of the latter aiming to establish Taiwan as an

independent nation. The overall emphasis, according to Metzger, has been on accommodative, not transformative change.

Many Taiwanese scholars have consistently criticized traditional value orientations. Charges include that people were insufficiently focused on instrumental rationality, thereby neglecting logic, epistemology, the differentiation of topics, factual accuracy, practical efficiency, natural science, and the innovative acquisition and application of new information. Instrumental rationality in this context refers to the kinds of logical calculations typical of modern science and technology, as well as of managerial and strategic HRM aimed at realizing the widespread modern goal of increasing economy and effectiveness, while minimizing the costs. Basing a society on instrumental rationality means basing it on a decentralized, pluralistic way of choosing among the options of which economic deals to close.

Values orientations are in a state of confusion owing to the fact that most Chinese have wrongly conceived of modern values as incompatible with China's traditional culture (Yang, 1992). Taiwan's strategies stress the development of governmental capacity and a form of nonpolitical participation in technological or economic developments. People are mobilized in the implementation of policies formulated by the party elites, rather than in the making of policies. Pragmatism teaches the Chinese that individuals should mind their own business in the context of a stable political environment, while not becoming politically, ideologically or religiously attached to "vague" theoretical values.

In the next chapter, the results of a survey questionnaire are presented. Public personnel respondents dealt with questions probing their value orientations in areas of public personnel functions related to their duties as Taiwan's public officials. In the case of these Taiwan's public officials, pragmatic orientations, personal relations, and safety concerns were always the priority values when they surveyed their value orientations.

When asked for their value orientations concerning government operation, public officials provide positive answers. They would not overreact to any survey questions and remained cautious. Surveys in their agencies are required to be kept confidential, and results may not be published without prior screening. Most significantly, a surveyor might not be allowed to conduct any survey if he/she did not have personal relationships with incumbent officials at higher governmental levels. In short, permission to conduct research on public agencies and officials is granted through the favor mechanism and some face work. It appears that traditional values orientations have never faded away but still prevail in Taiwan's public agencies.

Chapter V

METHODOLOGY, QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS, AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

Research Design

One major objective of this research was quantitative study of the values orientations of Taiwanese public personnelists, with a view to improving future personnel practice and policies. Specifically, the study included a questionnaire survey on value profiles and orientations of public personnelists, given the Taiwanese context of mixed Chinese political philosophies, epistemological patterns of polarity, and the cultural order complex. The quantitative research was designed not only to verify the viability of the four-quadrant value framework presented in Chapter II, but also to supplement the qualitative analyses in Chapters III and IV.

Qualitatively speaking, in previous chapters the researcher has shown that conflicting contexts of Taiwan's public personnel systems are clustered into a large, abstract value-system, which makes it difficult to clarify specific directions for future action and practice. As previously noted, the Chinese construct their values primarily in a polaristic style aiming at ultimate harmony--individually, collectively, and socially. In Chapter II, the study has differentiated between aspects of value as the "desirable" and as the "desired." In the present research, "desirability" and "importance" are both proposed

as measures of values respectively. Thus the "desirable" connotes future direction and theoretical, normative expectation of end-states, while the "desired" presents contemporary value intensity for practical choices of actions and rational evaluations. Thus, respondents were instructed to indicate both how desirable and how important they believe the value items to be. If there should be inconsistency discovered between desirability and importance, the survey responses might at least be useful for both short-term decision-making and long-term strategies.

The epistemological limitations of this study must first be acknowledged. The study represents pursuit of "espoused theory," which may not be "theory in use." Nevertheless, the researcher has attempted to check the congruence of these two in light of the other data supplied, and to challenge any deception during the survey process.

In addition, by taking time into consideration, the researcher could compute the weights of value desirability (WD) by multiplying desirability and importance of each value item when used in the comparisons of social values at different times. The values having the higher WD would reflect the more persistent and important value, given the time-bound contexts. Thus, it was possible to conduct the analysis of value change longitudinally.

This study has conceptualized a four-quadrant value framework--personnel administration, personnel management, personnel politics, and strategic HRM--associated with five personnel value-dimensions as levels of analysis. These five value-dimensions include institution, system design, organization action, operation, and individual quality. The values orientations of public personnelists can be determined by their assigned WD over six personnel activities--staffing, recruitment, performance appraisal, financial concern, training, and exit/turnover.

By means of comparison among four values orientations and profiles, different types of values orientations of Taiwan's public personnelists could be seen to have utility

for future applications, such as organizational practice, communication, selection, and training. The WD for these five value-dimensions and six personnel practices could be converted into a ranking order for reference in future action and practice. Yet the answers to questions of what values orientations public personnelists hold might be too abstract for practical use. Answers to questions concerning future expectations, organizational goals, stakeholders (constituents), personal qualities, and entry motives are also imperative for drawing guidelines for practice as well as for policy. Although exploratory in nature, the survey in the present study was designed to cover values in multiple aspects and on multiple levels.

Research Questions

The present research explores the values orientations and related values of public personnelists with reference to various aspects of Taiwan's public personnel systems.

Ten research questions were posed as follows:

1. What values orientations do Taiwan's public personnelists hold with reference to personnel systems, in terms of dimensions and personnel practices?
2. Which dimensions of public personnel systems do they perceive (1) desirable or (2) important, or both (1) and (2)?
3. Which personnel practices do public personnelists consider (1) desirable or (2) important, or both (1) and (2)?
4. What future expectations of public personnel systems do personnelists have?
5. In what goals of personnel organizations do personnelists believe?
6. What stakeholders as constituents do they consider (1) desirable or (2) important, or both (1) and (2)?
7. What individual qualities do they rank highest in the standardized performance appraisal?

8. What were the motives of public personnelists affecting their entry into this field?
9. Do public personnelists have the same or different values orientations on research questions No. 1 - No. 8 in terms of demographic variables such as gender, rank, age, educational level, governmental classification of their agency, and tenure?
10. Is there any inconsistency shown between the rating of values as desirable and/or important? Is a value rated as desirable in theory always rated important in practice?

Assumptions of the Study

Although making an exploratory study not designed to confirm any hypothetical constructs, the researcher conducted the survey on the basis of three assumptions by which the research design was justified. First, because the Chinese habitually seek for harmony and mediation and avoid uncertainty and confrontation, they will probably rate the value items more positively than negatively. Several previous value studies conducted in Taiwan have in fact shown the positive inclination of the Chinese (Chen, 1989; Hwang, 1992). Occasionally, when survey statements were phrased negatively, the Chinese respondents tended either to skip those questions or to avoid giving negative answers, responding with more positive ones. Given this finding, responses in the value scaling (1-5) in the study would be expected to be the generally more positive numbers. However, in the study, negative connotations remain in the semantic scaling, that is such phrases as "Must Not," "Should Not" in desirability and "Not Important" in the measurement of importance. This strategy is a safeguard against probable over-rating when respondents rate rather than rank in measurement.

Second, because the Chinese typically cluster values, old and new, the value items had to be preset according to logical levels of analysis and divided into distinct aspects conceptually. The researcher intended to construct each set of questions in a prescriptive range which insures that respondents will answer fully and be able to focus on each value within a specific dimension or practice or relevant aspect. To some extent, the logically prescriptive design might be considered arbitrary. However, it was designed to assist the Chinese respondents to avoid any confusion due to their own thinking patterns, which are often vague, holistic, and intuitive.

Third, the researcher has assumed that an investigation focused on Taiwan's public personnel systems by means of study of value perspectives of Taiwan's public personnelists can be successfully pursued by use both of qualitative inquiry and quantitative measures. A possible limitation of the study is that targeting public personnelists as a subject group might result in finding value congruency, or similar types of values orientations, owing to their functional homogeneity--in spite of demographic variables. The researcher is prepared to admit that research results and findings of the study might be viewed as "tentative," but useful in recommendations for future consideration. Concrete verification must probably wait until the comparative study of values orientations among other public service groups is provided.

Single-item Measurement Within Multiple Dimensions

Conceptual diversity and theoretical fragmentation have blocked progress in values research. Most of the established measures of values have not been consistent in interpretations with the notion of "conceptions of the desirable." Although Kluckhohn (1951) clearly defined the conception of the "desirable," the listed elements that have constituted that domain could relate to almost anything from individual philosophies of life, interpersonal values, and the individual's world view. Adequate measurement has

been made difficult by the inability to specify the elements of the values domain to assure systematic item-sampling. The result has often been the adoption of piecemeal approaches in which few dimensions have been measured, with little justification in terms of their relative importance.

Further, operational difficulty has resulted from the lack of appropriate levels of abstraction or item-sampling. Values have been widely accepted as general rather than specific. However, it has never been made clear, whether values are to be inferred from responses to specific attitude statements or derived more directly from responses to general values orientations. The study asks: At what point on the specific-general continuum did values become values orientations? Another concern is the empirical problem which remains: How can the researcher determine the specific value emphasis of public personnel systems? Admittedly, the values perspective is useful to complement other approaches, but there is a need to know what values with respect to public personnel/HRM are being dealt with.

The use of single-item measurement continues to be a popular option for researchers who seek economy in their value measures. Concerns about single-item measurement arise in connection with Rokeach's Value Survey (RVS) because each value is assessed only by one- or two-word items headings (e.g., EQUALITY) with one or two phrases in brackets underneath (e.g., [brotherhood, equal opportunity for all]) (Braithe & Law, 1985). According to psychometric theory, no single item is a pure measure of the construct of interest, since each reflects errors, with some attributable to other irrelevant constructs and some to random fluctuations. The researcher maintains that constructs are best measured by a number of different items that converge on the theoretical meaning of the construct while diverging from the irrelevant aspects that are being unconsciously evaluated. The problem is that theorists like Rokeach (1967) departed from this tradition

with his reliance on abstract concepts that are highly ambiguous and open to a variety of interpretations.

As Gorsuch and McFarland (1972) postulated, Rokeach opted for single-item measures because of economy. His RVS offers a wide coverage of items using a simple rank-ordering procedure; the simplicity has facilitated its use in a variety of research contexts. Multiple-items, on the other hand, lengthen and complicate the measurement procedure enormously, and the flexibility of the measurement can be lost. Overriding the issue of cost is the more fundamental criterion of validity. The question is whether single items are as valid as multi-item scales?

Actually, the problem is that the use of single-item measures is likely to magnify errors further in cross-cultural value inquiry. Except for its efficiency, the single-item measure presents the danger of incorrectly inferring cultural similarity or dissimilarity because the survey contains only a single response to a highly abstract concept. In addition, Rokeach's identification of the 36 most important terminal and instrumental values has been criticized as arbitrary and subjective. Rokeach (1973:30) admitted that his overall procedure was "an intuitive one." The difficulties of transporting value constructs across cultures and of obtaining equivalent measures are legendary. Translations are generally possible, but comparable and accurate interpretation is less assured.

Further, Rokeach (1973) argued that a conception of human values is guided by five assumptions about the nature of human values:

- (1) The total number of values that a person holds is relatively small;
- (2) All men everywhere possess the same values to different degrees;
- (3) Values are organized into value systems;
- (4) The antecedents of human value can be traced to culture, society and its institutions, and personality; and

- (5) The consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might observe.

Rokeach's assumptions (4) and (5) are generally accepted in the present study. However, assumptions (1), (2), and (3) are misleading because they express a cultural universal which is in need of further testing. Rokeach's (1973) assumption that values are necessarily few in number might be true, since in the long run, an unlimited list of values would probably be meaningless. Yet Ng (1982) argued that it would be unrealistic to insist that all the values which are worthy of comparison are exactly the same as those in the RVS. Several cross-cultural studies have established that the value-dimensions and numbers of values in the RVS are neither comprehensive nor exhaustive (Hofstede & Bond, 1984; Bond, 1988; Lee, 1991). A study designed for surveying Chinese values confirmed the potential of the instruments developed outside a Western cultural tradition for opening up an oriental dimension as a new theoretical perspective (The Chinese Cultural Connection, 1987).

However, the present study argues that single-item measures in multiple dimensions provide a strong basis for inferring value differences. The value questions involving multiple dimensions might serve as a safety buffer to obtain thorough information on the value systems of the respondents. Therefore, the author of the present study proposes a new value measurement specific to Taiwan's public personnel systems. While economy is taken into account, time and comprehensiveness are two basic considerations. Larger numbers of questions in the survey would inevitably justify applying single-item measurement. The weakness of single-item measurement would be compensated for with added content in value items and could be double-checked through multiple levels of analysis. The following problem arises: how to present the survey in a clarified mode? It is crucial to consider whether the logical construction of the survey questions and the semantic presentation in translation could be adequately managed.

Survey Design and Questions

The quantitative part of the study is based on a values questionnaire survey of Taiwanese public personnelists conducted in May 1993. The survey instrument included a self-administered questionnaire with opportunistic random distribution to collect information for identifying public personnelists' values orientations, value profiles, and related value conceptions.

The final questionnaire packet included a soliciting letter to respondents and eight sets of questions. The letter indicates the purpose and importance of the study and asks for cooperation. The questions are designed to elicit respondents' perceptions of the desirability and importance of the following: (I) a total of 20 values divided into four values orientations within five value-dimensions, (II) a total of 24 values divided into four value profiles within six personnel activities, (III) eight future expectations divided into four values orientations, (IV) twelve personnel organizational goals, (V) ten items on constituents, (VI) twenty on individual qualities, (VII) seven on motives for entry, and (VIII) eighteen demographic profiles. (See Appendix C for the complete text of the survey questionnaire.)

Part I is designed to solicit information on respondents' beliefs about values associated with current personnel systems. The values are classified in five related dimensions and are to be rated on a five-point scale in terms of desirability and importance. Each dimension comprises four contrasting values in accordance with those of four types of personnel values orientations. A total of 20 values have been arranged in accordance with the graphic illustration in Figure 2.11 in Chapter II. The questions are followed, as necessary, by a brief introductory statement and instructions for the respondents to rate both perceived desirability and importance of the values according to

the five-point scale. It should be noted that respondents were professionals familiar with terminology related to their positions in Taiwan's public service.

Dimension 1. Personnel Institution Values

1. Employee protectionism (Personnel Administration-type, PA-1)
2. Equity (Personnel Management-type, PM-2)
3. Executive leadership (Personnel Politics-type, PP-3)
4. Equality (Human Resource Management-type, HRM-4)

Dimension 2. System Design Values

1. Merit principles/Formalization (PA-1)
2. Economy, Efficiency/Cost minimization (PM-2)
3. Political patronage (PP-3)
4. Productivity in HR/Utilization maximization (HRM-4)

Dimension 3. Organizational Action Values

1. Organizational stability/Maintenance (PA-1)
2. Motivation/Internal cohesion, Morale (PM-2)
3. Political responsiveness (PP-3)
4. Employee career development (HRM-4)

Dimension 4. Operational Values

1. Political neutrality (PA-1)
2. Professionalism/Rationalism (PM-2)
3. Political loyalty (PP-3)
4. Constituency effectiveness (HRM-4)

Dimension 5. Values for Individual Qualities

1. Administrative responsibility (PA-1)
2. Managerial adaptability/Flexibility (PM-2)

3. Accountability (PP-3)
4. Strategic vision/Creativity (HRM-4)

The questions in Part II are arranged in a mode similar to that in Part I. This section asks about values orientations and values of respondents related to six major personnel practices. Respondents are instructed to indicate how they perceive the desirability and importance of four specific values in each personnel activity. At the outset, each personnel activity is preceded by a short paragraph defining the scope and focus of the question. For example, with regard to training in public agencies, the following introduction is included:

Training is often considered to be correlated with career development, but different values perspectives have different emphases. Please rate the desirability and importance of the following four types of training:

1. Pre-job orientation and knowledge training (PA-1)
2. Socialization after appointment (PM-2)
3. On-the-job training (PP-3)
4. Whole-career retraining (HRM-4)

A total of 24 values are assigned to indicate the public personnel values orientations of respondents. Therefore, the significance of four-value orientations can be inferred from the mean of cumulative six WD from six personnel activities.

Part III instructs respondents to indicate how desirable and important they consider the following eight value statements regarding future expectations. Note: These items were derived from several studies of Taiwan's public personnel (Hsu, 1988; RDEC, 1988; MOP, 1990). Since there are too many values from ten to thirty, the numbers of values had to be pre-screened and limited for convenience in analysis. Thus, following the four-quadrant value framework, each values orientation was allocated two values. The first two are in the quadrant of personnel administration; items 3 and 4 are in

personnel management; and the others are distributed in the same pattern. Items in the list of future personnel actions and practices include

Future expectations in the personnel administration quadrant--

1. institutionalizing and legalizing the rights and obligations of civil servants;
2. establishing public personnel institutions and systems in terms of constitutional integrity;

Personnel management quadrant--

3. working toward highly efficient, economically concerned personnel management;
4. equity, fairness, and openness in personnel changes;

Personnel politics quadrant--

5. responding to executive leadership by advising flexibility in personnel decisions and actions;
6. serving proactively toward a democratic ethos and societal changes;

Strategic HRM quadrant--

7. creating human resource strategies for employee career development;
8. safeguarding equal access to civil service employment and examination for all citizens of Taiwan.

The questions in sections IV, V, and VI included measures adapted from existing studies. For example, questions in Part III concerning personnel organizational goals and in Part IV about constituents are adapted from England's (1967) Personal Value Questionnaires (PVQ), Schmidt and Posner's (1982, 1983, 1986) AMA Survey, and Posner and others' (1987) managerial value survey. The factorial validity of England's PVQ was supported and modified by Posner and Munson's (1981) analysis. However, several value items from Posner and others' (1987) survey were modified to fit into the

contexts of Taiwan's public personnelists. For example, the value of profit maximization in their study is not at all important for public service. Most important, organizational goals in the present study concentrated on personnel functions and activities, rather than on general functions. A total of twelve major goals of personnel agencies in Taiwan were selected from the 1992 official documents of the CPA of the Executive Yuan (CPA, 1992). The lists of personnel organizational goals included the following:

1. High productivity--in human resources (HR), manpower planning;
2. High morale--employee motivation;
3. Efficiency--personnel cost-minimization;
4. Good organizational leadership--personnel as instruments for advising executives;
5. Employee career development--career planning, advancement, training, consultation;
6. Organizational stability--personnel maintenance;
7. Service to the public;
8. Service to public employees--compensation, benefit, safety;
9. Personnel functions, activities, routines;
10. Public employee protection--individual rights, obligations, grievances, due process;
11. Personnel collaboration--interorganizational communication;
12. Organizational growth/expansion--attracting, recruiting, and selecting new staff members.

Part V concerns the ten most significant and relevant stakeholders, or constituents, of Taiwan's public personnelists. They are employees, the mass media, colleagues, families of employees, immediate supervisors, the individual employee,

interest groups and political parties, the general public, supervisory agencies, and elected officials.

Questions relating to individual qualities in Part IV were derived from the "Performance Appraisal Graphic Chart of Taiwan Public Personnel Administration," a standard form issued since 1987 by the MOP of the Examination Yuan, Taiwan. Twenty personal qualities are classified under four major categories: work, virtue, knowledge, and capability.

Part VII sought to determine why respondents wanted to become public personnelists. The items were selected from several studies of Taiwanese public officials concerning career choices, turnover, and job satisfaction (RDEC, 1988; Chen, 1989; MOP, 1990). The seven most frequently mentioned entry motives were as follows:

1. Obtaining sufficient pay,
2. Pursuing a stable life,
3. Establishing good interpersonal relationships,
4. Promoting the self to higher social status,
5. Endeavoring to achieve self-actualization,
6. Fulfilling family expectations, and
7. Serving the public.

Finally, selection of demographic items in Part VIII included in the survey were influenced by Posner's (1992) study of individual differences as a moderating influence on person-organization value congruence.

Rating Procedure and Ranking Comparison

Although data of value ratings are more prone to social desirability effects and are more problematic in predictive validity than data based on ipsative value rankings (Feather, 1973; Rankin & Grube, 1980; Ravlin & Meglino, 1987), the researcher argues

that measures reflecting the broad-based conceptualizations of values orientations have the advantage of facilitating intersubject comparison, which ipsative measures or rankings lack.

Rokeach (1973) claimed that the ranking technique is uniquely suited to the measurement of values because of the inherently comparative nature of values. Rokeach insisted that values are often thought to be inherently comparative and competitive, and thus the choice aspect of the ranking task fits in nicely with this conceptualization. Rokeach (1989) also maintained that a methodological challenge is to measure values in a manner that will actually reflect the phenomenological reality of people engaging in value-choice behavior. He pointed out, too, that value priorities can be more directly inferred from value-rankings than from value-ratings. The researcher agreed with this viewpoint.

However, empirical evidence suggests that the rating technique may be just as effective as the ranking method (Alwin & Krosnick, 1985). Ratings and rankings have produced similar results in terms of ordering the relative importance of value choices in the aggregate, but they are dissimilar with regard to latent structure. Although rating may give rise to problems of overrating, center-tendency, and underrating, its variance will still capture the essence of the values themselves. In addition, using multiple-dimensional analysis can help to enhance the variances in values orientations between groups.

Alwin and Krosnick also argued that the ranking approach has at least three significant practical drawbacks when used in survey research. First, rankings are often difficult for respondents to make, demanding considerable cognitive sophistication and concentration. This is particularly a problem when the list of concepts to be ranked is lengthy. Given the context of the Chinese tendency to cluster their values, it appears better to use rating than ranking. Second, the use of ranking techniques is often time-

consuming. Finally, the sum of the ranks for any individual respondent equals a constant, so there is a linear dependency among the sets of ranked items. The ranking technique forces value-choices to be generally negatively correlated, whereas the rating approach encourages positive correlations. Rankings may impose the necessity for making somewhat artificial contrasts as well as seeing logical contrasts in the list of ranked qualities. As a result, the latent variable structures for the ranking measures are lost.

Further, Ng (1982) noticed two other drawbacks of applying ranking methods. First, the ranking procedure is often contraindicated for those respondents whose value systems are already fully hierarchic. Another problem is that the underlying assumption of a values hierarchy may be invalid in cultures where a fully developed values hierarchy allows for the clustering of two or more values in the same rank. The most serious limitation of the ranking procedures in research is the problem of interdependence, which is linked to the ipsative of ranked data mentioned above. Within one set of value items in a survey, the ranks are interdependent and are void of meaning outside the given set. Many theorists have believed that this assumption presupposes a cultural universal which needs to be tested. The application of the ranking procedure precludes any testing of the assumption; for such testing, either tied ranks must be allowed, or a rating procedure should be used. Thus, according to Ng (1982), if the choices have to be made between the ranking and rating methods for cross-cultural value research, the psychometric superiority of the rating method over the ranking method would be sufficient recommendation that the rating procedures should be chosen.

Statistical Instruments

In the present study, the researcher has used descriptive statistics (means, numbers, percentages, standard deviations) and comparison statistics (*t*-test, *F*-test, and ANOVA). ANOVA is employed to reveal statistically significant differences between

each of the groups regarding each value item and each survey question. The *F*-test and *t*-test are used for simple statistically significant differences on previously designed questions for the general survey, except for the values orientations and profiles. The *t*-test has been applied only to the analysis of variance between males and females regarding seven sets of questions. Values of each table with the columns are either statistical means or *F*-values (probability of ANOVA). Significance of differences between mean scores is set below 5 percent of chance (probability of significance, $p < .05$, $< .01$, $< .001$). The highest mean in each column is in bold print; the lowest in italics.

Desirability (D) and Importance (I)

Using a Likert-type rating scale, respondents of the value survey were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt each value should exist within their work environment and how important that value is in practice. Values are operationalized both as the desirable and as the desired. "Desirability" means the ideal or the normative purpose, theoretically and conceptually. "Importance" means the institutions, goals, and operations actually conducive for implementation in personnel management. Questionnaires comprised 101 value items that respondents rated on a five-point scale.

First, respondents indicated how desirable they believe the value is or what extent of the "oughtness" they think the value item implies. Their answers indicated the extent to which they believed each value should exist within their work environment. The rating scale of desirability was defined by labels reflecting five levels of desirability:

1 = Must not

2 = Should not

3 = May be or May not be

4 = Should

5 = Must

The rating scale of importance was also assessed on a five-point Likert semantic scale according to how important respondents thought items were to themselves as a group or to their organizations as a whole. The ranking was set into five levels:

1 = Not Important

2 = Somewhat Important

3 = Important

4 = Very Important

5 = Most Important

Relatively speaking, desirability carries the notion of "oughtness" and the nature of ideology and norm along with the future orientation as the theoretical direction. Importance as the "desired" connotes a contemporary action orientation and practical inclination for making choices regarding evaluation and activity.

Computation of Weights of Desirability (WD)

Mathematically, the desirability of value represents the direction of values; and the importance, the intensity of values. On the basis of the conceptual framework, four public personnel orientations (Administration, Management, Politics, and Human Resource Management) can be measured through the computations of means of weights of desirability in each orientation.

The Weights of Desirability (WD) equates the relevance of (the desired) value to the actor and multiplies the desirable to indicate how the value affects his/her decision.

Compute

$$W_i = D_i \times I_i$$

Where

W = weights of desirability (WD) for each value (Max. = 25)

D = desirability of values (values of the desirable in five-point scaling)

I = importance of values (values as the desired in five-point scaling)

$i = 1$ to 101 value items

Computation of Four Contrasting Values Orientations

Let A_i = WD for Four Public Personnel Values Orientations

Where

A_1 = Personnel Administration values orientations (PA-1)

A_2 = Personnel Management values orientations (PM-2)

A_3 = Personnel Politics values orientations (PP-3)

A_4 = Human Resource Management values orientations (HRM-4)

Compute

A_1 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_1+W_5+W_9+W_{13}+W_{17}$)

A_2 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_2+W_6+W_{10}+W_{14}+W_{18}$)

A_3 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_3+W_7+W_{11}+W_{15}+W_{19}$)

A_4 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_4+W_8+W_{12}+W_{16}+W_{20}$)

Where

Maximum of $A_i = 125$

(adjusted into a 100-point scale) $\times 100/125$

$i = 1$ to 4 (types of values orientations)

Let B_i = WD for value Profiles in Six Public Personnel Practices

Where

B_1 = Personnel Administration type (PA-1)

B_2 = Personnel Management type (PM-2)

B_3 = Personnel Politics type (PP-3)

B_4 = Human Resource Management type (HRM-4)

Compute

B_1 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_{21}+W_{25}+W_{29}+W_{33}+W_{37}+W_{41}$)

B_2 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_{22}+W_{26}+W_{30}+W_{34}+W_{38}+W_{42}$)

B_3 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_{23}+W_{27}+W_{31}+W_{35}+W_{39}+W_{43}$)

B_4 = Mean of the Sum of ($W_{24}+W_{28}+W_{32}+W_{36}+W_{40}+W_{44}$)

Where

Maximum of $B_i = 150$

(adjusted into a 100-point scale) $\times 100/150$

$i = 1$ to 4 (types of values orientations)

Computation of the WD of Five Value-Dimensions

Let K_i = WD for Values in Five Personnel Value-Dimensions

Compute

K_1 = the Sum of ($W_1+W_2+W_3+W_4$)

K_2 = the Sum of ($W_5+W_6+W_7+W_8$)

K_3 = the Sum of ($W_9+W_{10}+W_{11}+W_{12}$)

K_4 = the Sum of ($W_{13}+W_{14}+W_{15}+W_{16}$)

K_5 = the Sum of ($W_{17}+W_{18}+W_{19}+W_{20}$)

Where

Maximum of $K_i = 100$

$i = 1$ to 5 (values dimensions)

Computation of the WD of Six Personnel Practices

Let J_i = WD for Values in Six Personnel Practices.

Compute

J_1 = the Sum of ($W_{21}+W_{22}+W_{23}+W_{24}$)

J_2 = the Sum of ($W_{25}+W_{26}+W_{27}+W_{28}$)

J_3 = the Sum of ($W_{29}+W_{30}+W_{31}+W_{32}$)

J_4 = the Sum of ($W_{33}+W_{34}+W_{35}+W_{36}$)

J_5 = the Sum of ($W_{37}+W_{38}+W_{39}+W_{40}$)

J_6 = the Sum of ($W_{41}+W_{42}+W_{43}+W_{44}$)

Where

Maximum of $J_i = 100$

$i = 1$ to 6 (personnel practices)

Questionnaire Translation into Chinese Version

Closely related to the cross-cultural validity of a measurement instrument is the problem of its translation from one language to another. It is apparent that previous investigators of Chinese values have not paid enough attention to this problem. With very few exceptions, most past studies, in translating a written text into Chinese, have not used a back-translation check. As a result, the linguistic equivalence of the original and Chinese versions of the text cannot be guaranteed. To avoid this problem, K. S. Yang (1986) suggested that future research should employ back-translation for adapting foreign instruments for use with Chinese subjects.

Because of the possible language barriers, translation of the questionnaire in the study has been assisted with by the following persons:

Professor Shoei-po Lin, Ph. D. (public policy, the University of Pittsburgh), Department and Graduate School of Political Science, National Taiwan University;

Professor Kwang-kuo Hwang, Ph. D. (psychology, the University of Hawaii),

Department of Psychology, National Taiwan University;

Mr. Liang-wen Tsai, Executive Secretary of Authorized Rank, The Examination Yuan;
and

Ms. Shu-an Wang, MPA, the School of Public Administration, The University of
Southern California, Public Personnelists at Recommended Rank, Department of
Personnel, Taipei Municipal Government.

Professors Lin and Hwang have checked the wording and the syntax of the Chinese translation according to their respective fields of specialization. Both professors hold Ph. D. degrees from well-known universities in the United States. Mr. Tsai and Ms. Wang have advised on the final wording of the questions to render them compatible with vocabularies and practical experience of Taiwan's public personnelists.

Pretesting and Modification

The original questionnaire in the English version included a soliciting letter and ten sections of major questions, covering the following values dimensions:

1. Basic information about respondents and their organizations;
2. Twenty public personnel values classified according to four values orientations:
Personnel Administration (PA-1),
Personnel Management (PM-2),
Personnel Politics (PP-3),
Human Resource Management (HRM-4);
3. Six sets of values related to personnel actions and practices--staffing criteria, recruitment, performance appraisal, personnel expenditure/financial concerns, training, and exit/turnover;
4. Expectations of eight future personnel actions and practices;
5. Twelve personnel organizational goals;

6. Ten desirable and important constituents and clients;
7. Twenty personal qualities;
8. Entry motives of public personnelists.

Two master's degree candidates, students at the Graduate School of Political Science in the National Taiwan University, were asked to fill in the questionnaire on April 28, 1993. They devoted ample time to completing the questionnaire. Concerning the time parameters, Professor Lin suggested that the basic information in the first part should be moved to the last section to let respondents concentrate on answering the value items. Also, he advised rephrasing the questionnaire into more readable Chinese.

After further translation work, the author of the study conducted another pretest with public personnelists from the Taipei Municipal Government with the assistance of Ms. Wang. Three public personnelists, including Ms. Wang, were asked to respond to the survey on May 2, 1993. They spent forty-five minutes in completing the questionnaire. Their comments were that the questions required too much time and that respondents were distracted, and even lost their patience, in the process of answering. They advised streamlining some statements, either to save time or improve the questionnaire. In response to this constructive criticism, the basic information was moved to the last section. As a result, the time needed to answer was on average reduced to 30 minutes.

Sampling and Data Collection

Simple random cluster sampling was used because sampling of individuals in personnel agencies is administratively difficult and easily rejected. The researcher randomly selected a group of public personnelists from all possible personnel who might be willing and able to take part in the survey. This method pre-supposes that the population of public personnelists is organized into pre-matched clusters. Though it

might not be mathematically efficient, the researcher considered that this method would be appropriate in collecting data in Taiwan. In Taiwan without any personal relationship, personnel executives might reject the request of anyone seeking to conduct a survey in their agencies. The study, in fact, depended on some personal networks of the researcher to get official approval to conduct an on-site survey in personnel agencies.

Data Collection and Agency Contracting

The survey was conducted so that respondents would include public personnelists from all four governmental classifications in Taiwan:

- 1 = Ministry (The Examination Yuan, the MOP, the MOE)
- 2 = Central Personnel Agency of the central government (The CPA)
- 3 = Personnel Department at municipal and provincial levels (Taiwan Province, and Taipei Municipal Government)
- 4 = Personnel Offices for functional divisions (e.g. the Personnel Office in the Ministries of the Executive Yuan)

Basically, the sample was representative. Respondents from seven organizations at the four different governmental levels participated in the survey. One pervasive problem was that Taiwan public officials consciously protect their own organizations. Above and beyond that consideration, the respondents were being asked to provide value inclinations. For those reasons, all respondents were guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity. Their organizational titles were kept anonymous and identified only by code number. They were as follows:

Table 5.1 Number of Questionnaires Distributed and Returned

Title-Code	Level	Distributed	No. Back	Invalid	Useful
1. Agency #1	1	220	165	18	147
2. Agency #2	2	110	69	15	54
3. Agency #3	3	60	51	9	42
4. Agency #4	3	60	20	2	18
5. Agency #5	4	51	51	1	50
6. Agency #6	4	70	60	1	59
7. Agency #7	4	20	15	0	15
Total		591	431	46	385

In all, 591 survey questionnaires were distributed and 431 returned; among those returned, 385 were useful and valid. In this case because of bureaucratic realities, the survey was made difficult by the problems of getting respondents to answer. Several executives of personnel agencies have in the past rejected random sampling and censuses. Executives from Agency No. 2 and Directors from Agency No. 3 have allowed sampling in their organizations--only at their own convenience. The surveys in Agency No. 5 and Agency No. 6 at the personnel offices level were conducted on site. The rest depended on opportunistic sampling. The survey was conducted from May 4 to May 22, 1993.

The number of employees of Agency No. 2 was 236. The Agency agreed to the distribution of only 110 questionnaires. The return rate from Agency No. 4 was the lowest (33 percent, 20 out of 60) compared to the higher return rates of other agencies. The reason was that questionnaires were distributed through personal channels, rather than through official ones, which were often approved in other agencies.

Coding and Statistical Programming

Total cases numbered 385, with 101 variables of desirability, 101 variables of importance, and 18 variables of demographic information. A total of 84,700 numbers were needed to code. The Statistical Package of the Social Sciences (SPSS) was chosen for coding and calculation. The raw data were coded into the SAS computer system. Six basic analytical variables were coded as follows:

1. Sex (1 = Male, 2 = Female)
2. Governmental Classification (1 = Ministry; 2 = Central Agency; 3 = Department; 4 = Offices)
3. Age (1 = 20-30; 2 = 31-40; 3 = 41-50; 4 = 51-60; 5 = 61 & above)
4. Rank (1 = Authorized rank; 2 = Recommended rank; 3 = Commissioned rank)
5. Educational Level (1 = Graduate degree; 2 = University bachelor's degree; 3 = Police and Military academy; 4 = Vocational college; 5 = High School and below)
6. Tenure (1 = fewer than 3 years; 2 = 3-5; 3 = 6-10; 4 = 11 or more)

Demographic Information of Respondents

Table 5.2 presents the demographic information on a total of 385 respondents. Respondents had tenure as public personnelists for more than five years (66 percent), held positions at Recommended rank (55.6 percent), held a university degree (50.4 percent), and their ages ranged between 31 and 40 years. Males and females were represented almost equally (200:185). According to 1992 personnel statistics issued by the MOP, the average age of public personnelists is 43.35, higher than the 39.77 of the total number of Taiwan's public officials (MOP, 1992). Of public personnelists, 74.35 percent have degrees higher than those of the vocational college. This age and educational information is partly consistent with the raw data presented here.

Table 5.2 Demographic Information of Respondents (N = 385)

	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
By Governmental Classification		
-1. Ministry Level	147	38.2
-2. Central Personnel Agency	54	14.0
-3. Personnel Department	60	15.6
-4. Personnel Offices	124	32.2
By Age		
-1. 20-30 yeras old	81	21.0
-2. 31-40	203	52.7
-3. 41-50	76	19.7
-4. 51-60	16	4.2
-5. 61 and above	9	2.3
By Rank in Positions		
-1. Authorized Rank (AR-1)	31	8.1
-2. Recommended Rank (RR-2)	214	55.6
-3. Commissioned Rank (CR-3)	140	36.4
By Gender		
-1. Male	200	51.9
-2. Female	185	48.1
By Educational Level		
-1. Graduate degree	59	15.3
-2. University graduation	194	50.4
-3. Police and Military Academy	20	5.2
-4. Vocational College	92	23.9
-5. High School	18	4.7
-6. Junior High School and Below	2	0.5
By Tenure (Years of Service)		
-1. Fewer than 3 years	71	18.4
-2. 3-5	57	14.8
-3. 6-10	118	30.6
-4. 11 and more	139	36.1

Considering the normal distribution and taking into account economy of analysis, the researcher has recoded two variables, that is, educational level and age, in the SAS program. Table 5.3 shows the recoded results for age and educational levels.

Table 5.3 Number of Respondents and Percentages by Age and Educational Levels After Recoded in SAS Program

	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
By Age		
-1. 20-30 years old	81	21.0
-2. 31-40	203	52.7
-3. 41-50	76	19.7
-4. 51 and above	25	6.5
By Educational Level		
-1. Graduate degree	59	15.3
-2. University graduation	194	50.4
-3. Below university	132	34.3

Findings

Differences Between Desirability and Importance

The *t*-tests between the desirable values and the important values to the total respondents in seven sets of questions were statistically significant (two-tail probability, $p < .0001$). All value items have their means on desirability higher than those of importance on a five-point scale. This finding implied that most of the values are viewed as desirable, normative, and theoretical, but not actually important in practice. Nevertheless, it revealed that desirability and importance ratings at least reflect different aspects of values in the conceptions of Taiwanese public personnelists.

Table 5.4 shows desirability and importance of 20 public personnel values as rated by all respondents. Obviously, values of personnel politics-type values orientations (item 3, 7, 11, 15, 19) were much lower than other values. "Executive Leadership" was rated as the least desirable ($M = 3.30$) and important ($M = 2.72$) value in personnel institution. The most desirable and important value was "Equity" ($D = 4.62$, $I = 4.31$). Values considered most desirable and important were the first and second value items in each

dimension. That is, public personnelists have strong inclinations toward favoring personnel administration-type and personnel management-type values orientations.

Table 5.4 Desirability and Importance of Five Public Personnel Values Orientations Registered by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Public Personnel Institution Values					
1. Employee Protectionism	4.61	.636	4.17	.840	11.65 ^d
2. Equity	4.62*	.646	4.31*	.778	8.18 ^d
3. Executive Leadership	<i>3.30*</i>	.909	<i>2.72*</i>	1.073	14.68 ^d
4. Equality	4.29	.826	3.80	.979	12.71 ^d
Personnel System Design Values					
5. Merit Principles/Formalization	4.34	.744	4.02	.907	8.61 ^d
6. Economy, Efficiency/Cost Minimization	4.18	.771	3.80	.924	9.86 ^d
7. Political Patronage	3.52	.890	3.01	1.109	13.45 ^d
8. Productivity in Human Resources/ Utilization Maximization	4.31	.699	4.00	.858	8.54 ^d
Personnel Organizational Action Values					
9. Organizational Stability/Maintenance	4.26	.783	3.98	.888	8.31 ^d
10. Motivation/Internal Cohesion, Morale	4.36	.748	4.06	.884	7.85 ^d
11. Political Responsiveness	3.79	.950	3.46	1.125	8.37 ^d
12. Employee Career Development	4.24	.740	3.90	.959	8.96 ^d
Operational Values					
13. Political Neutrality	4.48	.736	4.22	.881	7.16 ^d
14. Professionalism/Rationalism	4.31	.697	4.04	.854	7.51 ^d
15. Political Loyalty	3.90	.768	3.54	.951	9.52 ^d
16. Constituency Effectiveness	4.20	.853	3.90	.985	7.74 ^d
Values for Individual Qualities					
17. Administrative Responsibility	4.21	.720	3.89	.935	8.92 ^d
18. Managerial Adaptability	4.21	.664	3.93	.849	8.41 ^d
19. Accountability	3.42	.966	3.07	1.189	9.02 ^d
20. Statagic Vision/Creativity	4.19	.714	3.95	.887	6.53 ^d

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items.

d. Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

*. The highest mean was presented in bold type; the lowest was in italics.

Table 5.5 presents values profiles on six personnel activities rated by the total number of respondents. The most desirable and important value was "Competency/Proficiency" in staffing criteria. Similarly, most of the personnel politics-related values were rated lower than the related values of the other three values orientations. Not unexpectedly, the least desirable and important value selected was "using performance appraisal for political selection and appointment" (D = 2.96, I = 2.63).

Table 5.5 Desirability and Importance of Six Public Personnel Actions & Practices
Rated by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Staffing Criteria:					
-Seniority qualification	3.75	.815	3.25	.927	12.08 ^d
-Competency/proficiency	4.56	.647	4.33	.802	7.04 ^d
-Political loyalty	3.75	.822	3.41	.983	8.98 ^d
-Potential competitiveness	4.26	.685	3.97	.901	7.38 ^d
Recruitment as:					
-for balancing personnel flow (supply/demand)	4.09	.721	3.88	.831	5.77 ^d
-for ensuring managerial efficiency	4.12	.723	3.90	.883	6.25 ^d
-for enhancing political responsiveness	3.51	.938	3.15	1.103	9.42 ^d
-for maximizing investment on human resources	3.99	.752	3.75	.955	5.89 ^d
Performance Appraisal as:					
-fair tests of past performance	4.04	.970	3.76	1.147	7.22 ^d
-a collaborative process between managers & employees	3.48	.927	3.13	1.142	9.32 ^d
-for political selection & appointment	2.96	1.115	2.63	1.241	8.15 ^d
-for employee career development	3.71	.960	3.38	1.185	7.67 ^d
Personnel Expenditures & Financial Concerns:					
-balancing budgets as the priority	3.57	.924	3.26	1.042	8.40 ^d
-minimizing cost & rationalizing organizational size	3.92	.849	3.67	.994	6.71 ^d
-exploring external supports	2.97	1.076	2.72	1.226	6.20 ^d
-maximizing utilization of human resources as human capitals	4.06	.810	3.78	1.093	6.83 ^d
Training:					
-pre-job orientation	4.15	.814	3.79	.973	10.39 ^d
-socialization after appointment	4.09	.794	3.80	.941	8.55 ^d
-on-the-job training	4.24	.725	3.95	.880	8.67 ^d
-whole career retraining	4.23	.739	3.91	.959	8.61 ^d
Exit/Turnover through:					
-retirement	4.34	.728	4.10	.919	7.33 ^d
-dismissal/layoffs	3.47	.927	3.07	1.074	10.18 ^d
-dismissal/resignation	3.55	.812	3.16	.985	9.70 ^d
-career consultation & transfer	4.15	.799	3.91	.961	7.33 ^d

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items.

d. Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

* The highest mean was presented in bold type; the lowest was in italics.

Respondents also considered "Exploring external supports" in personnel expenditures and financial concerns as least desirable ($M = 2.97$) and important ($M = 2.72$). Specifically, they rated as desirable and important "ensuring managerial efficiency" in the recruitment section; fair tests of past performance in performance appraisal;

maximizing utilization of human resources in financial concerns; on-the-job training in training; and retirement in exit.

Table 5.6 presents desirability for and importance of twelve values for future personnel actions and practices in the opinion of total respondents. The *t*-values between desirability and importance of these twelve values were statistically significant. Respondents believed that the most desirable and important future personnel actions were "Asserting equity, fairness, openness in personnel changes." Rating negatively, they considered the value of "Serving proactively toward a democratic ethos and societal changes" neither desirable ($M = 3.78$) nor important ($M = 3.41$) in future personnel action and practice.

Table 5.6 Values for Future Personnel Actions and Practices
Perceived by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
-Institutionalizing & legalizing the rights & obligations of civil servants	4.45	.728	4.28	.826	4.88*
-Establishing public personnel institutions & systems in terms of constitutional integrity	4.35	.717	4.19	.847	4.65*
-Working towards highly efficient, economic concern, personnel management	4.39	.700	4.16	.815	6.73*
-Asserting equity, fairness, & openness in personnel changes	4.52	.641	4.31	.824	7.17*
-Responding to executive leadership by advising flexibility in personnel decisions & actions	3.98	.848	3.69	1.108	8.54*
-Serving proactively toward democratic ethos & societal changes	3.78	.867	<i>3.41</i>	1.053	9.28*
-Making human resource strategies for employee career development	4.14	.740	3.86	.944	7.16*
-Safeguarding equal access to civil service employment & examination for societal members as a whole	4.29	.746	4.02	.943	7.95*

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items

-The highest mean was presented in bold type; the lowest in italics.

* Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

With regard to personnel organizational goals, the value of "Public employee protection--individual rights, obligations, grievance, and due process"--was rated highly desirable and important. (See Table 5.7) The least desirable and important goal of personnel organization was "Service to the public."

Table 5.7 Desirability and Importance of Personnel Organizational Goals
Rated by Total Respondents (N =385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
-High productivity in human resource/manpower planning	4.24	.741	3.99	.887	6.64*
-High morale/employee motivation	4.30	.718	4.05	.860	7.17*
-Efficiency/personnel cost minimization	4.16	.780	3.85	.959	7.67*
-Good organizational leadership--personnel as instruments for advising executives	4.00	.808	3.67	.949	8.42*
-Employee career development--career planning, advancement, training, consultation	4.16	.742	3.89	.997	6.88*
-Organizational stability--personnel maintenance	4.01	.712	3.70	.936	8.20*
-Service to the public	3.92	.858	3.60	1.051	7.69*
-Service to public employees--compensation, benefit, safety	4.28	.740	4.04	.951	6.14*
-Personnel functions, activities, routines	4.08	.713	3.83	.906	7.01*
-Public employee protection--individual rights, obligations, grievance, due process	4.40	.671	4.14	.921	6.99*
-Personnel collaboration/inter-organizational communication	4.04	.685	3.74	.930	8.12*
-Organizational growth/expansion--attracting, recruiting, selecting new staff members	4.02	.750	3.73	.917	7.73*

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items.

- The highest mean was presented in bold type; the lowest in italics.

* Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

Concerning the stakeholders, or constituents, respondents rated "Employees" as their most desirable and important constituents. "Interest groups and political parties" were the least desirable and important stakeholders. (See Table 5.8) They also perceived the following stakeholders as important: "My Supervisors" ($M = 3.68$), "Colleagues" ($M = 3.64$), and "Supervisory Agencies" ($M = 3.54$).

Table 5.8 Desirability and Importance of Constituents
Answered by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
-Employees	4.18	.821	3.97	1.006	6.26*
-Mass Media	3.28	.955	2.89	1.116	10.36*
-Colleagues	3.90	.828	3.64	1.019	7.55*
-Family of Employees	3.26	.961	2.86	1.133	9.88*
-My Supervisors	3.91	.917	3.68	1.078	6.65*
-Myself	3.72	1.003	3.45	1.205	6.60*
-Interest Groups & Political Parties	2.78	1.133	2.49	1.219	7.23*
-The General Public	3.61	1.012	3.32	1.157	7.55*
-Supervisory Agencies	3.77	.851	3.54	1.043	6.89*
-Elected Officials	3.11	1.088	2.92	1.220	4.89*

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items.

- The highest mean is presented in bold type; the lowest in italics.

* Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

Table 5.9 presents the desirability and importance in the total respondents' perceptions of twenty personal qualities in performance appraisal. The "Righteous/Fair" virtue was considered the most desirable and important personal quality, or trait. In contrast, the "Creative/Innovative" characteristic was rated the least desirable and important personal quality.

Table 5.9 Desirability and Importance of Personal Qualities
Answered by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
WORK ITEMS:					
-Productive	4.35	.685	4.11	.833	7.90*
-Effective/Efficient	4.31	.635	4.06	.791	7.97*
-Logic/Systemic	4.20	.617	3.89	.828	9.62*
-Autonomous, Proactive	4.27	.661	3.98	.855	8.30*
-Responsible	4.36	.645	4.07	.869	8.45*
-Industrious	4.27	.666	3.99	.848	8.31*
-Cooperative/Collaborative	4.26	.655	4.01	.815	8.23*
-Progressive	4.16	.682	3.84	.881	9.10*
- <i>Creative/Innovative</i>	<i>4.11</i>	.686	3.77	.930	8.97*
-Helpful/Supportive	4.21	.742	3.91	.920	8.66*
VIRTUE ITEMS:					
-Honest/Faithful	4.37	.750	4.19	.891	5.58*
- Righteous/Fair	4.54	.695	4.39	.825	4.74*
-Humble/Sincere	4.18	.682	3.93	.889	7.95*
-Endeavoring	4.14	.732	3.88	.903	8.05*
KNOWLEDGE ITEMS:					
-Intellectual	4.21	.649	3.99	.794	7.63*
-Scientific/Rational	4.30	.641	4.07	.846	7.53*
-Self-Cultivated	4.22	.695	3.94	.865	8.62*
CAPABILITY ITEMS:					
-Accurately Expressive	4.28	.654	4.01	.834	8.24*
-Persistent	4.25	.713	4.04	.865	6.77*
-Healthy	4.11	.727	3.84	.886	7.37*

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items

- The highest mean is presented in bold style; the lowest in italics.

* Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

Table 5.10 shows the desirability and importance of entry motives as perceived by the total respondents. Respondents rated "Pursuing a stable life" as the most desirable and important value motivating their entry to service as public personnelists. In contrast, they considered the motive "Serving the public" as low on the list of desirable motives, while "Fulfilling family expectations" was lowest of all in importance.

Table 5.10 Desirability and Importance of Entry Motives
Rated by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Desirability ^a		Importance ^b		<i>t</i> ^c
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
-Obtaining sufficient pay	3.99	.835	3.65	1.055	9.21*
-Pursuing a stable life	4.13	.759	3.88	.928	8.14*
-Establishing good inter- personal relationship	3.94	.788	3.62	1.001	9.73*
-Promoting the self to higher social status	3.63	.894	3.28	1.082	9.59*
-Endeavoring to self- actualization	3.94	.843	3.65	1.030	7.80*
-Fulfilling family expectation	3.63	.891	3.23	1.097	11.08*
-Serving the public	3.90	.846	3.62	.977	8.63*

a. Desirability rated: 1=Must Not, 2=Should Not, 3=May Not or May, 4=Should, 5=Must.

b. Importance rated: 1=Not Important, 2=Somewhat Important, 3=Important, 4=Very Important, 5=Most Important.

c. The *t*-test between desirability items and importance items.

- The highest mean is presented in bold type; the lowest in italics.

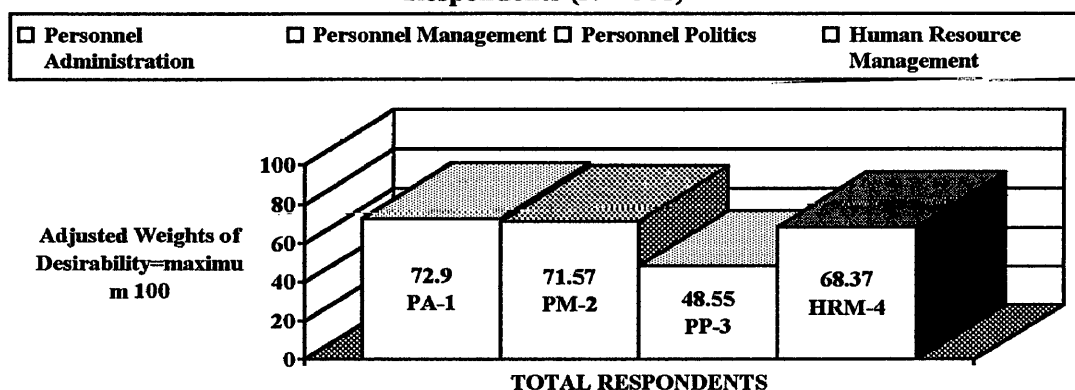
* Two-tail probability, $p < .0001$

In sum, total respondents rated desirability higher than importance in the rating of each value item. The differences between desirable and important values were statistically significant. Public personnelists generally believed that most values should be considered desirable, but only in theory or words, not actual practice.

Four Values Orientations and Value Profiles

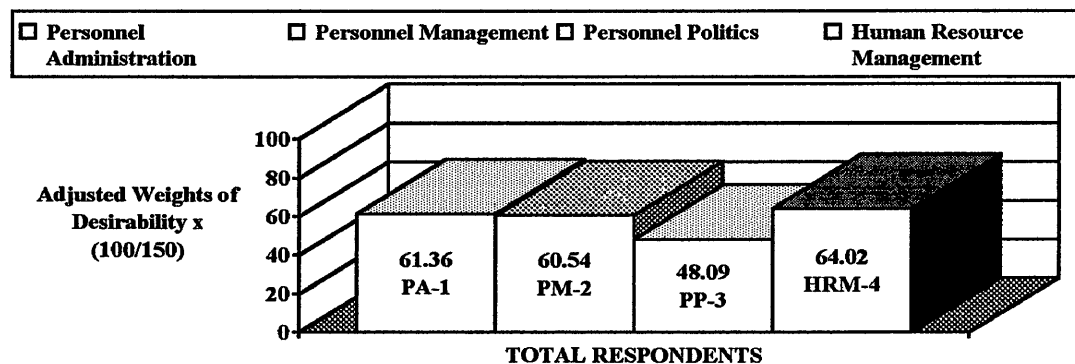
Figure 5.1 portrays four public personnel values orientations--administration, management, politics, and HRM--of the respondent sample with regard to five personnel dimensions: institution, system, organization, operation, and personal quality. Weights of value desirability have been adjusted into a 100-point scale. The rank order of these four values orientations is as follows: Personnel Administration (PA-1), Personnel Management (PM-2), HRM (HRM-4), and Personnel Politics (PP-3).

Figure 5.1 Public Personnel Values Orientations by Total Respondents (N = 385)



With regard to six personnel activities, the rank order of types of values orientations of total respondents is HRM, Personnel Administration, Personnel Management, and Personnel Politics. (See Figure 5.2)

Figure 5.2 Value Profiles of Public Personnel Actions and Practices Rated by Total Respondents (N = 385)



The rank ordering in types of values orientations and values profiles, as shown in Table 5.11, is not affected by gender, rank, and age, but is strongly influenced by tenure, only partially by governmental classification and educational level. Basically, men and women of different ages and different ranks, have some patterns of values orientations similar to those of total respondents. For example, they all rated Personnel Administration-type (PA-1) as their most persistent values orientation and Personnel Politics (PP-3), the least.

**Table 5.11 Variables and Patterns of Values Orientations
and Profiles Comparing to Those of Total Respondents**

	Types of Value Orientations on five value dimensions	Types of Value Profiles on six personnel activities	Statistical difference between/among groups (<i>F</i> -test)
Gender	Same to total respondents	Same to total respondents	No difference
Rank	Same	Same	No
Age	Same	Same	No
Educational level	Same	Different	Partial difference
Governmental classification	Same	Different	Partial difference
Tenure	Same	Different	Significant difference

Table 5.11 presents the comparison of values orientations and profiles of total respondents and variable groups. In terms of educational level, the only difference was found in the values orientation of personnel politics. Public personnelists who have graduate degrees were most likely to advocate political values in public personnel, compared to other public personnelists with lesser educational attainment.

Table 5.12 Public Personnel Values Orientations by Educational Level

	Graduate	University	Below University	<i>F</i> -Sig.
PA-1	94.07	89.78	91.78	.363
PM-2	89.63	88.16	91.3	.409
PP-3	67.29	59.16	59.98	.040*
HRM-4	87.29	83.95	86.88	.363

* $p < .05$

Public personnelists of the central personnel agency have strong personnel management values orientations compared to others in different agencies, while all have their value profiles focused on human resource management. Particularly, public personnelists in personnel departments have tended to distance themselves from personnel politics. Their value profile on personnel politics was the lowest (aggregate WD = 67.17 on 150 scale).

Table 5.13 Value Profiles for Six Personnel Practices
by Governmental Classification

	Ministry	Central.	Department	Offices	F-Sig.
PA-1	88.07	95.78	92.35	94.97	.055
PM-2	86.44	97.35	87.93	94.56	.003**
PP-3	70.86	76.65	67.17	74.10	.106
HRM-4	91.19	98.50	97.23	100.13	.035*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Most significantly, tenure played an important role in differentiating the values orientations among public personnelists. Table 5.14 reveals that public personnelists having served three to five years have the lowest personnel management values compared to the other three groups. This group also has the lowest weights of desirability with reference to the four values orientations taken together. According to several turnover studies of Taiwan's public officials, employees who have served three to five years appeared most likely to leave the public agencies (Liang, 1984; REDC, 1988; MOP, 1990). To some extent, the lowest desirability rating of that group who had served three to five years is consistent with those findings. However, the general values orientation maintained is a personnel administration type.

Table 5.14 Public Personnel Values Orientations in Five
Value-Dimensions by Tenure (Max. WD = 125)

	Less than 3	3-5	6-10	11 or more	F-Sig.
PA-1	92.72	84.63	94.14	90.40	.040*
PM-2	90.73	81.07	92.96	89.29	.004**
PP-3	66.16	54.88	60.84	60.18	.037*
HRM-4	90.56	79.30	87.31	83.83	.013*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

In Table 5.15 it is shown that, compared to each other, four tenured-related groups have different value profiles. Junior public personnelists who have served fewer than three years rated human resource management and personnel management values orientations higher than did the other two. Senior public personnelists with tenure of 11 years or more were more likely than others to maintain personnel administration as their

values orientation. Although it is optimistic to say that public personnelists generally believed in human resource management values orientations in actual practice, senior officials might not agree. Value conflicts between the junior officials and their senior counterparts would conceivably occur.

Table 5.15 Comparison According to Tenure of Value Profiles of Six Personnel Activities

Less than 3 yrs. Different from total respondents	3-5 yrs. Same as total respondents	6-10 yrs. Same as total respondents	11 & more yrs. Different from total respondents
HRM-4 PM-2 PA-1 PP-3	HRM-4 PA-1 PM-2 PP-3	HRM-4 PA-1 PM-2 PP-3	PA-1 PM-2 HRM-4 PP-3

Five Value-Dimensions of Public Personnel

As Figure 5.3 shows, public personnelists as a whole generally are concerned with personnel operations. Personal qualities have the lowest priority in gaining their attention. Their values are also focused on the dimensions of organizational actions and institution.

Figure 5.3 Weights of Desirability of Five Value-Dimensions Rated by Total Respondents (N= 385)

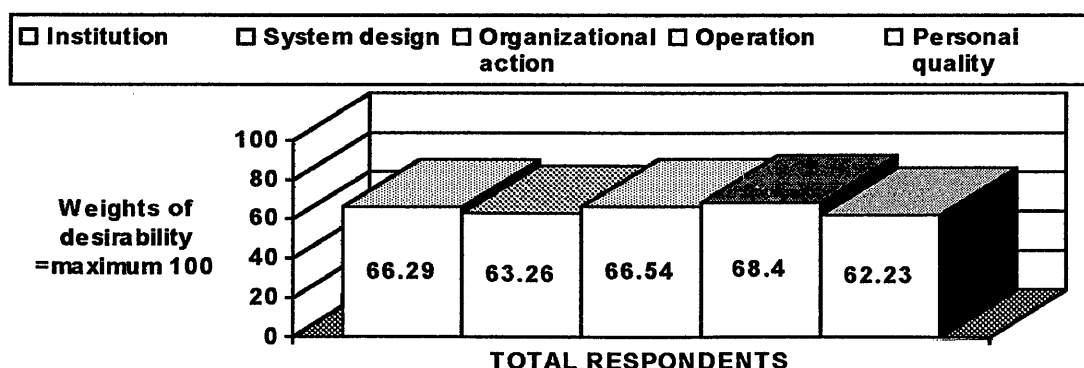


Table 5.16 presents the weights of desirability for five value-dimensions of public personnel systems in responses of male and female officials. Like total respondents, men

and women were similar in weights of desirability with respect to these five dimensions of public personnel systems. While the differences between them were not statistically significant, the rankings of their weights of desirability on these five dimensions were different. Male and female public personnelists together agreed that personnel operation was their first concern. However, male respondents were more likely to rate personal quality as a least value emphasis, whereas female respondents considered system design as their last priority.

Table 5.16 Weights of Desirability of Five Value-Dimensions by Gender

	Men	SD	Women	SD	t-value
Institution	66.95	14.97	65.59	14.27	.91
System Design	63.54	17.55	62.95	16.56	.34
Organization Action	65.08	19.30	68.12	17.93	-1.60
Personnel Operation	67.94	16.96	68.89	16.76	-.55
Personal Quality	61.07	17.98	63.49	17.95	-1.32

However, there were no statistical differences between groups differentiated by the variables of governmental classification, age, educational level, and rank, with the exception of tenure. The general pattern was that public respondents generally rated personnel operation as the first emphasis of their values orientations. Only with respect to the variable of tenure, public personnelists who have served for different time spans may show disagreement with each other regarding values in some dimensions. As Table 5.17 reveals, junior and senior public personnelists more frequently rated operation as the first and personal quality as the last priority in regard to public personnel systems. Public personnelists who have served three to five years tended more to emphasize institution as their value focus. They also reported least emphasis on system design, compared to other groups. Unlike other respondents, public personnelists with length of tenure from three to five years indicated lowest weights of desirability on all five value-dimensions of public personnel systems. To some extent, those lower indexes reported by this group might reflect certain levels of their dissatisfaction with aspects of current personnel systems.

Table 5.17 Weights of Desirability of Five Value-Dimensions in Public Personnel Systems By Tenure

	Less than 3 yrs.	3-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11 yrs.	F-Sig.
Institution	68.13	63.19	67.75	65.40	.147
System Design	66.42	57.28	64.47	63.06	.018*
Organizational Action	69.38	60.09	67.68	66.78	.030*
Personnel Operation	71.24	61.68	70.76	67.71	.003**
Personal Quality	64.96	57.63	64.58	60.74	.039*

Note: The highest means of WD presented in bold type and the least in italics.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Weights of Desirability of Six Personnel Practices

In the survey, weights of desirability of six major personnel practices indicated specifically what personnel actions public personnelists currently emphasize in personnel systems. Figure 5.4 presents weights of desirability indicating total respondent ratings of six personnel practices. Overall, public personnelists rated training as the most desirable and important personnel practice among these six. Relatively speaking, they might consider performance appraisal and personnel expenditure/financial concern not so urgent as other practices in terms of weights of desirability.

Figure 5.4 Weights of Desirability of Six Personnel Practices Rated by Total Respondents (N=385)

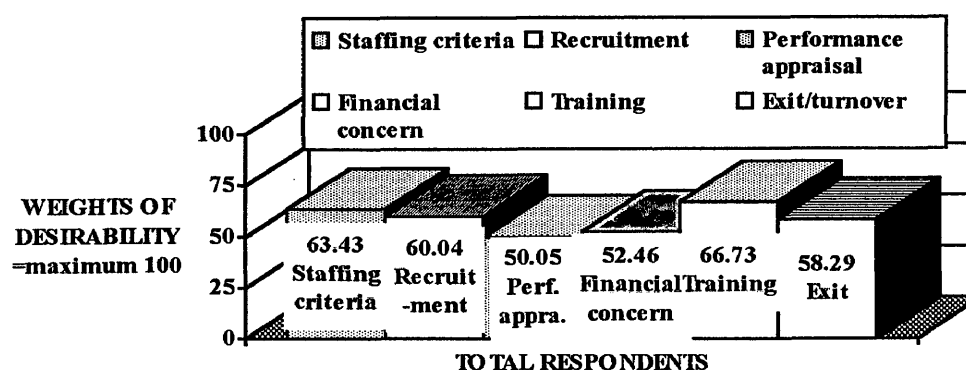
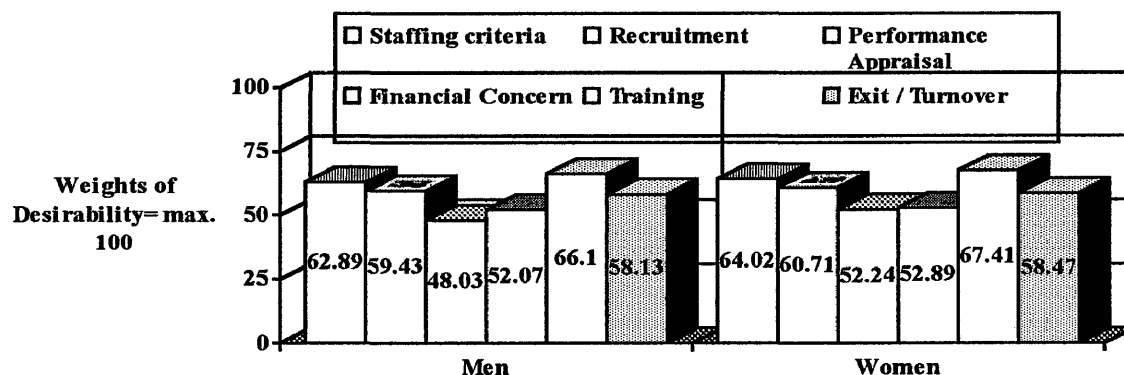


Figure 5.5 shows that female and male respondents did not significantly differ in regard to weights of desirability they assigned to six personnel practices. Like the total respondents sample, these two groups agreed that training is the most urgent practice which should be conducted regularly. While they did not differ in their assessment of the priority of personnel practices, female respondents did, in fact, report significantly more emphasis on performance appraisal than did their male counterparts (Male = 48.3, Female = 52.24, t -value = -2.10, $p < .05$).

Figure 5.5. Weights of Desirability of Six Personnel Practices for Male and Female Respondents



The ordering of these six personnel practices was not significantly different by rank and age, but was somewhat different by government classification, educational level, and tenure. As shown in Table 5.18, public personnelists in every level of government agreed that training is the most desirable and important personnel practice. However, respondents in the ministries apparently rated training lowest compared to the other three groups. This rating is possibly due to the fact that personnel ministries in Taiwan are in charge only of personnel policy-making, not of actual personnel practices. Further, it is the central personnel agency, the CPA, that actually controls the operation and design of training programs. In fact, public personnelists in the central agency rated training as their primary personnel activity.

Table 5.18 Weights of Desirability of Six Personnel Practices by Governmental Classification

	Ministry	Central.	Department	Offices	F-Sig.
Staffing criteria	61.07	63.69	63.43	66.14	.056
Recruitment	57.45	60.56	59.87	63.00	.080
Performance Appraisal	49.24	56.35	47.02	49.76	.065
Financial concern	50.20	57.41	49.78	54.29	.028*
Training	62.42	69.80	67.80	69.99	.002**
Exit/Turnover	56.18	60.48	56.78	60.59	.113

Note: The highest mean of WD is printed in bold type. (Max. WD = 150)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Another difference across these four groups was in regard to personnel expenditure or financial concern. Although personnel expenditure was not rated as the last priority in these six practices, respondents in the central agency, to a significant degree, believed that personnel expenditure, which is under their authority, is more desirable and important. This emphasis is understandable because the CPA is in charge of all personnel affairs, including control of personnel quotas. Economizing on personnel expenditures and quotas has been the responsibility of the CPA since the policy of cutting back on personnel has been instituted.

Table 5.19 indicates the mean of weights of desirability for six personnel practices of respondents, according to tenure. Senior public personnelists who have served 11 years or more differed significantly from other groups with regard to training. Senior public personnelists were likely to be concerned with staffing criteria such as competency/proficiency and seniority, while junior officials emphasized training.

Table 5.19. Weights of Desirability for Six Personnel Practices by Tenure

	Less than 3	3-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11 & more	F-Sig.
Staffing criteria	64.08	58.98	64.09	64.38	.119
Recruitment	64.44	57.53	61.02	58.02	.050*
Performance appraisal	<i>53.17</i>	<i>48.56</i>	<i>50.08</i>	<i>49.06</i>	.486
Financial concern	54.38	51.70	53.04	51.31	.658
Training	71.90	64.98	68.26	63.51	.007**
Exit/Turnover	61.25	55.49	60.41	56.14	.049*

Note: The highest mean of WD presented in bold type and the least in italics.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Most significantly, public personnelists having tenure for three to five years were less concerned with exit/turnover, while junior officials who had served fewer than three years attached more weight of desirability to this personnel area with respect to both retirement and career consultation/transfer.

Expectations of Future Personnel Actions and Practices

Table 5.20 indicates weights of desirability that public personnelists, as a whole, accorded to eight personnel goals for future action and practice. Respondents believed "asserting equity, fairness, openness in personnel changes" remains the most persistent value now and in the future. "Institutionalizing and legalizing the rights and obligations of civil servants" was given second priority. The sample also considered "Serving proactively toward democratic ethos and societal changes" as relatively the least significant value.

Table 5.20 Weights of Value Desirability of Future Personnel Actions & Practices According to Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Mean	SD	Rank
-Institutionalizing & legalizing the rights & obligations of civil servants	19.43	5.83	2
-Establishing public personnel institutions & systems in terms of constitutional integrity	18.61	5.91	4
-Working towards highly efficient, economic concern, personnel management	18.67	5.73	3
-Asserting equity, fairness, & openness in personnel changes	19.90	5.92	1
-Responding to executive leadership in advising flexibility in personnel decisions & actions	15.27	6.31	7
<i>-Serving proactively toward democratic ethos & societal changes</i>	13.57	6.31	8
-Making human resource strategies for employee career development	16.45	6.01	6
-Safeguarding equal access to civil service employment & examination for societal members as a whole	17.79	6.31	5

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. 5 x 5 = 25)
- The value statement with highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.
- Rank is shown in italics.

Regarding group analyses, there was no statistically significant difference across the variables of gender, rank, age, and education level. Most groups agreed with the total respondents in regard to the first and last orders of future expectation, except with regard

to government classification and tenure. Table 5.21 indicates that public personnelists in the central agency were more likely to advocate "Institutionalizing and legalizing the rights and obligation of civil servants" as their most significant action in the future, compared to the other three groups. Yet all four groups believed their future actions might not include the action of "Serving proactively toward a democratic ethos and societal change." Thus comparing their ranking on eight future value expectations shows that these four groups of public personnelists did not differ significantly.

Table 5.21 Weights of Value Desirability for Future Personnel Actions and Practices by Governmental Classification^a

	Min.	Cent.	Dep.	Off.	F-Sig.
-Institutionalizing & legalizing the rights & obligations of civil servants	18.48 ₂	19.20₁	20.20 ₂	20.27 ₂	.054
-Establishing public personnel institutions & systems in terms of constitutional integrity	18.30 ₃	18.11 ₃	18.92 ₄	19.11 ₅	.608
-Working towards highly efficiency, economic concern, personnel management	18.16 ₄	17.89 ₄	18.93 ₃	19.48 ₃	.189
-Asserting equity, fairness, & openness in personnel changes	19.49₁	18.35 ₂	20.50₁	20.79₁	.032*
-Responding to executive leadership in advising flexibility in personnel decisions & actions	14.14 ₇	14.17 ₇	16.30 ₆	16.89 ₇	.001**
<i>-Serving proactively toward democratic ethos and societal changes</i>	<i>13.18₈</i>	<i>12.85₈</i>	<i>13.08₈</i>	<i>14.57₈</i>	.193
-Making human resource strategies for employee career development	16.08 ₆	15.87 ₆	15.72 ₇	17.50 ₆	.125
-Safeguarding equal access to civil service employment & examination for societal members as a whole	16.73 ₅	16.61 ₅	18.00 ₅	19.45 ₄	.002**

a. Min., Ministry level; Cent., central personnel agency; Dep., personnel department at municipal, provincial level; Off., personnel offices.

- The value statement with highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

- Rank is shown in a subscript and italics.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Another significant difference across government levels could be found in two value statements concerning future personnel actions. Respondents whose agencies were at lower governmental levels were more likely to advocate executive leadership and safeguarding of employee rights in future action. Those in departments and offices rated executive leadership in their future actions more highly than those officials at higher government levels. Significantly, values orientations of respondents in personnel offices

placed more emphasis than other groups on personnel politics and human resource management quadrants.

In contrast, respondents in ministries and the central agency tended to avoid values orientations associated with personnel politics and HRM. With tenure as a variable, junior respondents believed their future actions would not exclude responsibilities in responding to executive leadership and serving democratic needs as well. Significantly, respondents with tenure for three to five years did not anticipate that serving the democratic ethos and societal changes is in their future agenda. Compared to other tenure groups, this group of public personnelists also expressed a lower expectation for responding to executive leadership. In regard to their most significant future action, this group believed that institutionalization and legalization of employee rights should be most urgent, topping all others. In some ways, they seemed to be more pragmatic than other tenure groups.

Personnel Goals of Organizations

In regard to twelve personnel organizational goals, public personnelists as a whole approved "public employee protection" as their first concern, but "serving the public," the last. (See Table 5.22) Generally, there was no significant difference in these twelve goals across the groups by gender, rank, age, and education level. Respondents, grouped according to tenure, rated highly the following goals: public employee protection, morale, productivity in HR, and service to public employees. But according to rank of their WD, they differed significantly in ranking some goals, such as "Service to the public," and "Good organizational leadership." Junior respondents who have served for fewer than three and no more than five years ranked "promoting organizational leadership" as last among the twelve goals. New officials more significantly emphasized "personnel

collaboration" and "employee career development," while other groups believed these two goals neither important nor desirable. Senior respondents were more conservative than junior officials in choosing their goals. One particular difference found was that personnelists who had tenure for three to five years, when compared to the other three groups, did not consider "employee motivation" and "morale" as their organizational goals. Consequently, one might expect some conflicts between new officials and their older counterparts over their organizational goals.

Table 5.22 Weights of Value Desirability of Personnel Organizational Goals According to Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Mean	SD	Rank
-High productivity in human resource/manpower planning	17.31	5.83	<i>4</i>
-High morale/employee motivation	17.85	5.75	<i>2</i>
-Efficiency/personnel cost minimization	16.52	6.17	<i>6</i>
-Good organizational leadership--personnel as instruments for advising executives	15.22	5.91	<i>11</i>
-Employee career development--career planning, advancement, training, consultation	16.67	6.27	<i>5</i>
-Organizational stability--personnel maintenance	15.28	5.78	<i>10</i>
- <i>Service to the public</i>	<i>14.75</i>	<i>6.52</i>	<i>12</i>
-Service to public employees--compensation, benefit, safety	17.74	6.20	<i>3</i>
-Personnel functions, activities, routines	16.08	5.80	<i>7</i>
- Public employee protection--individual rights, obligation, grievance, due process	18.65	5.98	<i>1</i>
-Personnel collaboration/inter-organizational communication	15.53	5.75	<i>8</i>
-Organizational growth/expansion--attracting, recruiting, selecting new staff members	15.47	5.84	<i>9</i>

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. $5 \times 5 = 25$)
- The value statement with the highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.
- Rank is shown in the italics.

In terms of governmental classification levels, ratings and rankings differed with respect to some goals. Table 5.23 reveals that respondents in personnel offices ranked and rated "Good organizational leadership" more highly than the other three groups of public personnelists. This ranking and rating of respondents in personnel offices appears quite consistent with their official position: that good organizational leadership is in essence an instrument for advising public executives. Personnel agencies such as ministries, the central agency, and departments deal mainly with personnel affairs, having

no need to advise or even assist public executives. Those personnel agencies are in charge of personnel decision-making, while public executives are not. Additionally, respondents in personnel offices rated "Serving the public" more highly than the other three groups. To some extent, the power of the personnel authorities might lead those three groups not to care too much about democratic and external demands. Further, respondents in the personnel offices rated and ranked "Organizational growth/expansion" as their last and least important goal (rank = 12), while the other three groups of respondents generally advocated this specific goal.

Table 5.23 Weights of Desirability for Twelve Goals of Personnel Organization by Governmental Classification^a (N = 385)

	Min.	Cent.	Dep.	Off.	F-Sig.
-High Productivity in HR/manpower planning	16.61 ₃	18.24 ₃	16.62 ₅	18.10 ₄	.084
-High Morale/employee motivation	17.14 ₂	18.39 ₂	18.05 ₂	18.36 ₃	.284
-Efficiency/personnel cost minimization	15.56 ₇	16.54 ₆	16.83 ₄	17.49 ₅	.079
-Good organizational leadership--personnel as instruments for advising executives	14.12 ₁₁	14.67 ₁₂	15.10 ₁₂	16.82 ₇	.002*
-Employee career development--career planning, advancement, training, consultation	16.33 ₅	16.76 ₅	16.07 ₈	17.33 ₆	.501
-Organizational stability--personnel maintenance	14.38 ₁₀	15.35 ₉	15.60 ₉	16.16 ₁₀	.084
-Service to the public	13.56 ₁₂	14.96 ₁₁	15.18 ₁₁	15.85 ₁₁	.032*
-Service to public employees--compensation, benefit, safety	16.44 ₄	18.00 ₄	18.05 ₃	19.02 ₂	.007*
-Personnel functions, activities, routines	15.73 ₆	15.85 ₇	16.15 ₇	16.56 ₉	.688
-Public employee protection--individual rights, obligations, grievance, due process	18.00 ₁	18.72 ₁	18.52 ₁	19.45 ₁	.262
-Personnel collaboration/inter-organizational communication	14.57 ₉	15.33 ₁₀	15.57 ₁₀	16.65 ₈	.029*
-Organizational growth/expansion--attracting, recruiting, selecting new staff members	14.74 ₈	15.48 ₈	16.58 ₆	15.77 ₁₂	.187

a. Min., Ministry level; Cent., central personnel agency; Dep., personnel department at municipal, provincial level; Off., personnel offices.

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. 5 x 5 = 25)

- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

- Rank is shown in subscript and italics type.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Weights of Desirability for Constituents

In responding to the question of which stakeholders are significant constituents in personnel action, the total respondents rated "Employees" as the first concern and

"Interest groups and political parties," the last. (See Table 5.24) The second, third, and fourth most significant constituents were "My Supervisor", "Colleagues", and "Supervisory Agencies."

Table 5.24 Weights of Desirability for Constituents
Rated by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Mean	SD	Rank
-Employees	17.24	6.52	<i>1</i>
-Mass Media	10.31	5.75	<i>7</i>
-Colleagues	14.84	6.21	<i>3</i>
-Family of Employees	10.14	5.93	<i>8</i>
-My Supervisors	15.21	6.53	<i>2</i>
-Myself	13.77	7.13	<i>5</i>
-Interest Groups & Political Parties	<i>8.00</i>	6.28	<i>10</i>
-The General Public	12.88	6.89	<i>6</i>
-Supervisory Agencies	14.05	6.05	<i>4</i>
-Elected Officials	10.10	6.52	<i>9</i>

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. $5 \times 5 = 25$)

- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

- Rank is shown in italics.

There was no significant difference over the constituents issue across the groups by variables of gender, rank, age, but partial differences were evident by governmental classification, educational level, and tenure. The point is that respondents are different, not in kind but in degree. Comparing the ranking of their constituents, respondents showed consensus about which constituent was regarded as a persistent and significant stakeholder.

Table 5.25 presents the weights of desirability for ten major constituents in terms of ratings by public personnelists clustered in three groups--those having graduate degrees, university undergraduate degrees, and education below the university level. Those holding graduate degrees obviously rated the WD of "My supervisors" significantly higher than those in the other two groups. They also cared more for themselves than did the other groups, while those with education below the university level registered higher concern for employees than did their more highly educated counterparts. In terms of the

rating for the various constituents, those having graduate-level education were more appreciative of the presence of interest groups and political parties, elected officials, and the general public than were the other two groups. In some ways, it might be inferred that public personnelists having higher educational background perceive more influence of those external constituents.

Table 5.25 Weights of Value Desirability for Constituents
by Educational Level^a

	1	2	3	F-Sig.
-Employees	16.34 ₂	16.45 ₁	18.81 ₁	.003**
-Mass Media	11.61 ₈	10.32 ₈	9.71 ₈	.126
-Colleagues	15.29 ₅	14.38 ₃	15.33 ₂	.338
-Family of Employees	10.27 ₉	10.00 ₉	10.29 ₇	.897
-My Supervisors	16.86 ₁	15.29 ₂	14.36 ₃	.047*
-Myself	16.02 ₃	13.46 ₅	13.23 ₅	.030*
-Interest Groups & Political Parties	9.63 ₁₀	7.98 ₁₀	7.30 ₁₀	.061
-The General Public	13.97 ₆	12.63 ₆	12.76 ₆	.414
-Supervisory Agencies	15.47 ₄	13.93 ₄	13.59 ₄	.129
-Elected Officials	12.88 ₇	10.35 ₇	8.50 ₉	.000***

a. Educational level rated: 1. graduate degree; 2. university; 3. below university

- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

- Rank is shown in each column with a subscript and italics type.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

As for the respondents across governmental classifications, differences were closely related to the different contexts of those public personnelists. (See Table 5.26) Respondents in the central agency have expressed more concern than the other three groups with "Media," "My supervisors," "Interest groups in political parties," and "Elected officials." In other words, public personnelists in the central agency were much more aware of the influences of political groups. No doubt the uncertain legal status of the central personnel agency accounts for this political sensitiveness. The very survival of the central agency depends on how well its members respond to the demands of the political constituents. Unlike the personnel ministries with independent status, public personnelists in the central agency are closely connected to a dynamic political context.

Table 5.26 Weights of Value Desirability for Constituents
by Governmental Classification^a (N = 385)

	Min.	Cent.	Dep.	Off.	F-Sig.
-Employees	15.54	16.06	17.03	19.87	.000*
-Mass Media	10.30	12.63	9.80	9.56	.013 ^u
-Colleagues	14.19	14.43	13.48	16.46	.004*
-Family of Employees	10.02	10.76	9.20	10.47	.471
-My Supervisors	14.85	16.24	13.73	15.90	.099
-Myself	13.03	15.83	12.63	14.31	.039*
-Interest Groups & Political Parties	<i>8.50</i>	10.89	<i>6.93</i>	<i>6.66</i>	.000*
-The General Public	12.49	13.69	14.27	12.31	.214
-Supervisory Agencies	13.35	13.78	13.18	15.42	.021*
-Elected Officials	10.44	11.65	10.17	8.99	.070

a. Min., Ministry level; Cent., central personnel agency; Dep., personnel department at municipal, provincial level; Off., personnel offices.

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. 5 x 5 = 25)

- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Another point of significance is that respondents in the central agency are probably more concerned with themselves and their supervisors, although they also expressed appreciation of the employee as their main concern. Senior respondents having tenure for more than 11 years appear unlikely to be concerned with interest groups, political parties, media, the general public, and elected officials. Adopting an intra-organizational perspective, they are more concerned with employees. In contrast, junior respondents were more likely to accept democratic ideals and external influences, including the media, interest groups and political parties, and elected officials. (See Table 5.27)

Overall, there was no significant difference across these groups in ranking the ten constituents. Rather than difference in kind, the difference between them was related to extent and might not give rise to serious conflict, but only to a need for more effort in communication.

Table 5.27 Weights of Value Desirability for Constituents by Tenure^a

	1	2	3	4	F-Sig.
-Employees	16.79	17.30	16.93	17.71	.722
-Mass Media	12.31	11.21	10.21	9.00	.001**
-Colleagues	15.66	14.81	14.00	15.16	.288
-Family of Employees	11.21	10.23	9.69	9.94	.367
-My Supervisors	16.89	14.51	14.85	14.95	.115
-Myself	15.54	13.23	13.54	13.29	.143
-Interest Groups & Political Parties	<i>9.55</i>	<i>8.65</i>	<i>7.99</i>	<i>6.95</i>	.031*
-The General Public	14.92	12.47	12.98	11.91	.027*
-Supervisory Agencies	15.77	13.21	13.74	13.78	.058
-Elected Officials	111.80	10.96	9.92	9.04	.021*

a. Tenure rated: 1=less than 3 years; 2 =3-5 yrs.; 3 = 6-10 yrs.; 4 = 11 & More.

- The highest is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Personal Qualities of Public Employees

With regard to preferred personal qualities, public personnelists as a whole perceived some characteristics as persistently desirable and important. As shown in Table 5.28, respondents rated the righteous/fair quality as the first concern, and creative/collaborative, the last. Specifically, they also ranked "Productive" and "Responsible" as preferred qualities in a worker. The person whom public personnelists desire is honest and fair (virtue items), productive and responsible (work items), rational (knowledge item), and persistent (capability item). They did not consider creativity, health, or progressiveness (work items) as necessary qualities of public officials. There was no significant difference apparent across the groups by gender, rank, age, governmental classification, educational level, and tenure.

Table 5.28 Weights of Desirability for Personal Qualities
Answered by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Mean	SD	Rank
WORK ITEMS:			
-Productive	18.31	5.59	<i>3</i>
-Effective/Efficient	17.88	5.39	<i>6</i>
-Logic, Systematic	16.73	5.30	<i>16</i>
-Autonomous, Proactive	17.38	5.60	<i>11</i>
-Responsible	18.17	5.65	<i>4</i>
-Industrious	17.43	5.47	<i>10</i>
-Cooperative/Collaborative	17.48	5.37	<i>9</i>
-Progressive	16.40	5.69	<i>18</i>
-Creative/Innovative	<i>15.93</i>	5.80	<i>20</i>
-Helpful/Supportive	16.99	6.04	<i>14</i>
VIRTUE ITEMS:			
-Honest/Faithful	18.84	6.14	<i>2</i>
- Righteous/Fair	20.31	5.64	<i>1</i>
-Humble/Sincere	16.91	5.73	<i>15</i>
-Endeavoring	16.58	5.87	<i>17</i>
KNOWLEDGE ITEMS:			
-Intellectual	17.21	5.44	<i>12</i>
-Scientific/Rational	17.90	5.62	<i>5</i>
-Self-Cultivated	17.06	5.76	<i>13</i>
CAPABILITY ITEMS:			
-Accurately Expressive	17.57	5.57	<i>8</i>
-Persistent	17.66	5.79	<i>7</i>
-Healthy	16.24	5.81	<i>19</i>

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. $5 \times 5 = 25$)

- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

- Rank is shown in italics.

Weights of Desirability on Seven Entry Motives

When questioned as to why public personnelists entered their profession, they agreed that "Pursuing a stable life" was their most persistent motive, and "Fulfilling family expectations," the least important. Further, they also believed they entered the public personnel agency because they wanted to obtain sufficient pay. In contrast, serving the public was not a priority to them in their career choice. (See Table 5.29) This information might mean that their orientation tends to be self-centered and pragmatic.

Table 5.29 Weights of Value Desirability for Entry Motives Rated by Total Respondents (N = 385)

	Mean	SD	Rank
-Obtaining sufficient pay	15.23	6.48	2
-Pursuing a stable life	16.59	6.06	<i>1</i>
-Establishing good inter-personal relationship	14.88	6.06	4
-Promoting the self to higher social status	12.65	6.14	6
-Endeavoring to self-actualization	15.02	6.31	3
<i>-Fulfilling family expectations</i>	<i>12.53</i>	6.34	7
-Serving the public	14.83	6.20	5

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. 5 x 5 = 25)
- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.
- Rank is shown in italics.

Table 5.30 reveals that different groups, according to rank, differ in the secondary motives affecting their entry into public service. Public personnelists at Authorized rank both rated and ranked "Serving the public" more highly than the other two groups. They also were more in agreement that "Promoting self to higher social status" could be more desirable and important, compared to opinions of those at Recommend rank and Commissioned rank. There was no significant difference across groups by the other variables in the samples over the ranking of motives for entering the profession.

Table 5.30 Weights of Value Desirability for Entry Motives by Rank^a (N = 385)

	1	2	3	F-Sig.
-Obtaining sufficient pay	13.90 ₅	15.07 ₂	15.77 ₃	.299
-Pursuing a stable life	16.19₁	16.50₁	16.82₁	.826
-Establishing good inter-personal relationship	14.10 ₄	14.45 ₃	15.69 ₅	.129
-Promoting the self to higher social status	13.68 ₆	<i>11.95₇</i>	13.49 ₆	.043*
-Endeavoring to self-actualization	15.45 ₃	14.39 ₄	15.88 ₂	.087
<i>-Fulfilling family expectations</i>	<i>13.45₇</i>	12.39 ₆	<i>12.54₇</i>	.684
-Serving the public	16.10 ₂	14.07 ₅	15.71 ₄	.024*

a. AR-1, Authorized Rank; RR-2, Recommended Rank; CR-3, Commissioned Rank.

- Weights of Desirability = Desirability x Importance (Max. 5 x 5 = 25)

- The highest mean is printed in bold type; the lowest in italics.

- Rank is shown in each column with subscript.

* $p < .05$

Implications for Personnel Practices

In analyzing human behavior, it is important to understand values. Organizations can benefit by understanding the values orientations of their employees in designing organizational systems of rewards, selection, placement, and decision-making. Better understanding of the values orientations and profiles of employees also has various policy implications. Knowing an individual's values is seen as a requisite in designing effective motivation systems. Values often are the most critical criteria for promotion. Decisions on promotion are normally based on performance criteria of the individual relative to his/her peers. However, these criteria appear somewhat more useful for identifying the successful from the less successful in order to screen those who are or will be effective in another job classification.

Most important, knowing the values orientations of public personnelists at various levels or classifications could facilitate decisions to transfer or promote personnel across the hierarchy. If performance criteria were known to be related to specific values within a classification, prospective candidates could be screened in terms of the consistency between their own values and the values of those known to be successful. Insights into the individual's values orientations thus may help management in these types of personnel managerial decisions (Posner et al., 1988). Understanding differences in values between different groups in public organizations may help as well to solve problems of communication and understanding among the various groups existing within the organization.

As part of testing and screening in the selection process, such a value survey as the one in the present study can be used to determine the value fit of the prospective employee and a supervisor. Then, too, the process of self-examination, job match, and quality evaluation for the employee already on the job would also be desirable and

necessary (GAO, 1988). If such values fits were achieved before employment, value conflicts between different groups would be less likely to happen on the job.

Value data in the survey are very likely to offer information about what individuals believe is important or desirable to them. This information, in turn, could be helpful in determining effective motivational strategies, quality of the workforce, and compensation needs. For example, Taiwanese respondents mainly seek a stable lifestyle through their careers as public personnelists. This information is appropriate for compensation system designs.

An additional use of the survey is to alert managers to the possible problems of value congruency or similarity. It is true that people having similar values tend to be more friendly and cooperative. Value similarity is also an important factor in forming informal relationships at the workplace. However, the high intensity of personal networks in Taiwan inevitably results in value congruency in public personnel agencies. Nepotism may not often be found, but favoritism is quite prevalent. It is shown in the survey findings that Taiwan's public personnelists believe their supervisors are the desirable and important constituent in their work. In reality, loyalty to the organization and harmony with others are appreciated more than competency in personnel actions.

Homogeneity in values carries with it some trade-offs. Clearly, value homogeneity affects not only the functioning but also the attitudes of group members toward the group itself and its operations. Homogeneous groups generally come to consensus much faster than heterogeneous groups. However, risk-taking and creativity are significantly affected by the similarity of values orientations among a group. In the case of Taiwan's public personnelists, they all de-emphasize proactivity for serving the public as an organizational goal and creativity as a personal quality. It is possible that they may be trapped in stodgy situations more often than they might be caught up in an unexpected risk.

Schneider (1987) proposed that people are attracted to organizations precisely because they perceive them to have values similar with their own. Schneider (1987) assumed that attraction to an organization, selection by it, and attrition from it yield particular kinds of persons in an organization. Thus, these types of people determine organizational behavior. Different kinds of organizations attract, select, and retain different kinds of people. And it is the outcome of the ASA (attraction-selection-attrition) cycle that determines why organizations look and feel different from each other.

The importance of Schneider's assumption is that if people who do not "fit" leave the organization, then those who remain will be similar to each other. But the critical point is not just that they will be similar to each other, but that they will constitute a more homogeneous group than those who were initially attracted to the setting.

An alternative explanation is that because of attraction to top organizations and attrition from them, similar people will gather, and they act similarly because their values orientations are similar but not because of some external factors. Schneider hypothesized that through recruitment and selection procedures, organizations actually end up choosing people who share many of the same values orientations, although they may not share common qualifications. This kind of personnel staffing yields people who not only are similar in kind but will be similar in expectations and reactions.

Schneider's conceptual framework implies a warning that organizations must consciously recruit new employees with various values orientations. Otherwise, when the context changes, they will not be aware that it has changed, and probably will not be capable of changing. In contrast, personnel agencies must not make the mistake of considering the values survey as an instrument for seeking new "right types." The effect will be undesirable if the new "right types" do not have secondary inclinations that fit the old "right types" of current employees. This effect is possible because without at least some overlapping of values orientations, the newcomers cannot fit at all, and the old-

timers will force them out. Then, the Schneider's ASA cycle will continue. Yet many scholars have believed that the aim of seeking a fit between individuals and strategic personnel/HRM in an organization should be upheld. The present study argues that it is important to emphasize that far more is involved than mere selection of personnel in terms of values fit. Actually, the total personnel system, rather than the use of a single values survey, determines fit. The personnel agencies should have a comprehensive and adequate understanding of the effects of a values survey.

Summary and Discussion

No significant differences in values orientations and profiles have been found between groups according to gender, age, rank, or educational variables, and only partially in terms of governmental classification and tenure variables. Public personnelists who are junior officials in the central personnel agency tend to have values perspectives different from those of their senior counterparts. Yet it can be concluded that public personnelists as a whole reveal similar values orientations with regard to current personnel systems and actions. As the most important actors in public personnel systems, public personnelists have two major values orientations--"Control-type Personnel Administration" and "Development-type Human Resource Management"--and, to a lesser extent, "Contingency-type Personnel Management." Their structural focus is on two dimensions--personnel operations and organizational actions--but not on a democratic ethos. Two variables--government classification and tenure--occasionally determined and shaped the differences between groups, while the general values orientations remained the same as those of the total respondents.

In regard to six personnel practices, public personnelists have assigned the highest weight to "Training" and the lowest to "Performance Appraisal." Ironically, most current complaints made by Taiwan's public officials center on unfair performance appraisal, but

not on ineffective training. This inconsistency has been proved by the significant differences revealed between the value as the desirable and the value as the desired. In comparing the desirability for and importance of the 101 value items in the survey, the researcher found that public personnelists generally rated desirability higher than importance. To some extent, respondents indicated awareness of the paradox between reality and expectations. What they had expected in the future is not really happening now.

Other findings of future expectations, organization goals, constituents, personal qualities, and entry motives revealed the existence of homogeneous values orientations among public personnelists of different groups. Significantly, when queried about future expectations, public personnelists have put the strongest emphasis on "Institutionalization and legalization of rights and obligations of civil servants" and "Assertions of equity, fairness, and openness in personnel changes." Surprisingly, they considered broader issues of "Serving proactively toward democratic ethos and societal changes" as the least desirable and the least important values in future actions.

While appreciating "Public Employees" as their most desirable constituents, public personnelists deliberately distanced themselves from "Interest Groups and Political Parties" and "Elected Officials." When asked about personnel organizational goals, they all assigned the least weights to "Service to the Public," and gave the higher ratings to "Service to Public Employees" or "Public Employee Protection." Although Taiwan's authoritarian political contexts of former times might possibly account for this emphasis, public personnelists are obviously lacking in constituency consciousness and, accordingly, are failing to internalize the democratic ethos in their values orientations. The differences in values related to democratic responsiveness were found between junior officials and senior officials, between the central agency and the ministries.

Given a gender bias against females in Taiwan's society, female respondents nevertheless shared similar values orientations with male respondents in regard to public personnel systems. It should be noted that some researchers have observed a tendency for female subjects to rate questionnaire items higher, regardless of the item (Powell et al., 1984). In the present study, female respondents have rated values in most of the survey items higher than the male. It is uncertain whether female public personnelists as a whole agree with male officials on values on whether sex-role stereotypes dominant in the culture still reinforce the shaping of values orientations for normative roles.

Authoritarian tendencies of public personnelists is reflected in the fact that most respondents rated "My Supervisors" as the constituent persistently affecting their action, ranking second to "Employees." Further, they did not consider "Service to the Public" as their organizational goal. In some ways, it might be the specific status of personnel agencies that has led to this authoritarian disposition. The context of a specific personnel agency does in fact affect how willing its members are to respond to the demands of external constituents. Very likely, the respondents in the central personnel agencies are more contextually conscious than those in ministries, departments, and offices.

There are no significant differences in personal qualities as discovered through cluster analyses. Taiwan's public personnel agencies have used standard forms, which include personal qualities, in performance appraisal. Nevertheless, the data show that the average weights of value desirability registered on each personal quality are high enough so that current performance appraisals could be considered too lenient and thus invalid for merit recognition. This leniency could be both the cause and result of social interaction between supervisors and subordinates. Regarding their entry motives, respondents have registered their answers in a mixed style. The majority of personnelists apparently entered the field because of pragmatic values, rather than by chance or opportunity.

The next chapter of the present study will discuss the policy implications of personnel reform and chart some future directions based on the findings. Since there is no statistically significant difference in values orientations in group analyses, public personnelists as a whole might be seen as a homogeneous group. This homogeneity may suggest implications in both policy-making and practice. Public personnelists may have no serious problem in settling their disputes but might need more effective communication. These apparent commonalities of values orientations and other related values found in this chapter may suggest strategies for improving communication channels.

However, in discussing managerial values across organizational functions, Posner et al. (1987) warned of the dysfunctional effects of parochial values orientations. Too often homogeneous values orientations might result in excluding desirable and possible variety and in deliberately not selecting candidates having values orientations different from those of incumbents. Homogeneous values perspectives do have their trade-offs. For example, junior public personnelists rated current personnel systems higher than did their senior counterparts. Once an official's tenure passes three years, he/she either has to internalize the values perspectives of senior officials or has to leave. It is the exact reason why the turnover in Taiwan public agencies is always contributed to by those who have served in offices for periods of time between three and five years. In the findings, respondents in that tenure group were shown to have significantly expressed lower evaluations in all questions concerning the current personnel systems.

The point is that people who decide to stay inevitably adjust their values orientations to accommodate with those of others. According to Schneider (1987), dominant groups in organizations tend to exclude dissenting members and to select persons having the same values. Therefore, what Posner et al. called "parochial" values orientations would be perpetuated for a very long time.

Ideally, organization commitment and identification must be institutionalized through socialization of organizational values. However, the problem is that the Chinese have always confused accommodation to or organizational identification with the path toward factionalism. Centralization of personnel systems also helps in building up the authoritarian inclination of public personnelists to comply to and conform with their executives and supervisory agencies rather than to follow their own values orientations. Consequently, the dominant values in organizations too often are the values of the public executives and the supervisory agencies. Control and centralization lead to one big cluster-values orientation. The homogeneous values orientation of public personnelists might suggest the possibility of developing dominant values orientations.

Posner et al. (1987) suggested that a way in easing the dysfunctional effects of parochial values orientations is to recognize where value differences exist and what the differences are. When people from different groups are able to project and understand situations from others' values perspectives, they are likely to generate acceptable alternatives. Thus Posner believed that value diversity can be effectively utilized to create more positive outcomes for everyone involved.

Although the findings in the present study apparently coincide with Posner's ideas, what he has projected might not be consistent with what really has happened in the study. As the findings reveal, many differences emerge, not in kind but in extent. Certain value patterns can be identified in many aspects of personnel systems. The problem is not that public personnelists would not project or understand others' values. The problem is neither a lack of values diversity nor entrapment in certain values perspectives. Instead, the problem is that personnelists do not believe that their values would be realized at all.

Another concern arising from the findings is how to strengthen democratic values in public personnel systems. Since public personnelists are apparently sharing similar values perspectives, the problem appears to stem from confined values orientations. Although

public personnelists do not favor personnel patronage, they do not exclude the possibility of patronage in the real world. That it is not desirable does not mean that it does not exist. It is neither unrealistic nor impossible for public personnelists deliberately to distance themselves from a political orientation. Yet the existing confusion between personnel patronage and democratic governance needs to be clarified. Serving the public should be ranked at least as high as those values favorable for organizational operations. Morality exists not only for individual character but also for insuring fulfillment of democratic obligations, such as accountability, constituent effectiveness, and political responsiveness.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY, RESEARCH FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH, AND DISCUSSION

Summary of the Study

As stated in Chapter I, the two major objectives of the study were (1) to reconstruct Taiwan's public personnel systems through a four-quadrant value framework in order to create alternatives in public personnel theory and (2) to conduct an empirical value survey of public personnelists to reinforce both the viability and the capability for generalization of the four-quadrant framework and multiple levels of analysis. The study combines two research methods, qualitative and quantitative, to pursue these two objectives.

With respect to qualitative analysis, the study involved a search of the general literature on values study and public personnel/HRM to discover current concepts and approaches both relevant to and useful for examining public personnel systems in Taiwan. After this literature review in Chapter II, a four-quadrant value framework was developed by integrating four contrasting values orientations of personnel systems: Personnel Administration, Personnel Management, Personnel Politics, and HRM. Those four values orientations were extended to the study of various value profiles, such as strategic HRM system designs, career system strategies, and decision-making. Levels of analysis were

classified with reference to five interrelated value dimensions--institution, system design, organizational action, operation, and personal quality. Also presented were contrasting values profiles and orientations related to six major personnel practices: staffing, recruitment, performance appraisal, personnel expenditure, training, and exit/turnover procedures.

In Chapter III, by using the four-quadrant value framework, the researcher presented a qualitative analysis of current personnel systems and practices in Taiwan. Important aspects of Taiwan's public personnel systems and practices were examined. Overall, the study showed that Taiwan's public personnel systems reveal three significant characteristics: the paradoxical nature of current system designs, values existing in congruency between the desired and the desirable, and harmony in resolving paradoxes. Most discrepancies noted between reality and the desirable or expectations were explained by reference to the political contexts in Taiwan and to traditional Chinese cultural values; the latter are treated in Chapter IV which describes the Chinese roots of the culture of Taiwan. The authoritarian political regime and centralized personnel authority have contributed greatly to the dominance of personnel politics as the most persistent values orientation of Taiwan's systems. Chinese cultural values, such as social networking, the order complex, and uncertainty avoidance were also found to be important factors in the control inclination seen in personnel systems. The control-type values orientation was found to be related not so much to personnel administration as to political manipulation.

Chapter V presents the quantitative research section of the present study, with description of the methodology and the statistical procedures.

Qualitative Findings of the Study

Significant findings of the qualitative analysis are presented as follows:

1. Conflicts of personnel authority between the CPA and the EY have not been resolved by the 1992 Constitutional Amendment. Although the current balance in arrangements between those two agencies has appeared to represent a compromise with reality, the situation has in fact reflected the rationale of how the Chinese in Taiwan have used their cultural values to transform conflict into harmony. Conflicts were resolved, not by hierarchical ordering but through social interactions between the executives of the two agencies and through the mediation of the KMT regime.
2. The CPA and the EY might display conflict in the institutional dimension, but their values orientations toward other dimensions were by and large similar. They both focused on a control structure and based their actions on intra-organizational concern.
3. Current classification systems combine values both of scientific management and political patronage. Flexibility in action but strictness in theory are prime examples of the paradoxical nature of the Chinese bureaucracy.
4. Employee protectionism is rated a desirable personnel institution, while executive leadership, reinforced by the current political regime, is the most important value in the dimension of personnel institutions. Employee rights are consistently promoted but are rarely put into sensible practice. A plethora of qualified applicants who have passed the civil service examinations has led public executives to depreciate the value of human resources or capital of their existing workforce.
5. Taiwan's public personnel systems show confusion regarding the notions of equity and equality in terms of personnel institutional values. Although both values have been consistently promoted, current systems and practices have sometimes operated

unfairly and inequitably. The disabled and women are still discriminated against and unfairly treated in various personnel actions.

6. Although many unfavorable factors have impeded personnel centralization, the KMT authoritarian regime, Taiwan's island-its geographic size, and existing personnel authorities have operated together in support of centralization. Even though merit principles and legalization may be considered desirable in the policy of employee recruitment through examination, political patronage would most likely prevail in appointment and selection. Most public officials have perceived merit principles as desirable values in system design. Yet research evidence indicates that they are also conscious of the existence of political patronage both in personnel practices and decision-making.

7. According to general observation, public officials are fully aware of the inconsistency between existing reality and the desirable. It is the value-clustering derived from the Chinese cultural-epistemological-psychological cognition that enables people to cope with such inconsistency. Value conflicts are arranged in polarity, but intensity can be blurred by shifting values into different levels of conception.

8. Public personnel agencies considered their actions located primarily in maintaining personnel stability and employee morale in organization. Also, the higher in governmental levels the agency is, the more values it needs to incorporate into its actions.

9. Political neutrality might be praised as the most desirable value in personnel operation, but political loyalty is considered as the most essential value in operational guidelines.

10. Elaborate regulations in the present systems and moral codes based on traditional norms have constantly reinforced the impressiveness of administrative responsibility as a desirable personal quality. In terms of the standard performance appraisal considered abstractly, public managers as well as top executives demand the

listed personal qualities, over and beyond work performance. Too often, however, personal ties ("guanxi") and social harmony have contributed most to personnel interactions.

11. In discussion of six major personnel practices, Taiwan's public personnel systems are shown not to develop all persistent values. Staffing criteria are mainly based on competency/proficiency. The easy availability of new employees leads Taiwan's public agencies to pay hardly any attention to human resource planning. Performance appraisal is often interfered with by personal relations in public organizations, rather than being used as a fair test of merit or for career development. While the public workforce is viewed mainly in terms of costs, public agencies in Taiwan hardly try to control their personnel expenditures in hiring, much less utilize public employees as human resources. Although training is highly valued, most training programs in Taiwan's government are either a formality, or they lack careful planning. Exit from public agencies is mainly through retirement. Personal relations and the social harmony value often obstruct even the possibility of any layoff or dismissal of the incompetent.

To a large extent, many values profiles and orientations relating to national personnel systems and practices could be inferred from Chinese cultural values. System designs and organizational actions and operations mainly follow traditional political philosophies of Confucianism and Legalism. The outlook for Taiwan's current systems is that eventually they might be modernized like most Western systems. However, current systems and practices do not differ too much from those of the traditional Chinese bureaucracy.

In sum, the distinctiveness of Taiwan's context needs to be taken into account. Also, it is Chinese cultural values that influence the "insider" dynamics of public personnel systems. Thus, the traditional order complex, harmony orientation and uncertainty avoidance are predominant in macro-perspectives like institutional and system design.

Traditional personal relations, face and favor, and factions provide insight into the rationale of personnel actions in micro-perspective.

The researcher believes that although it cannot be perfectly fitted into the political contexts and cultural heritage of Taiwan, the four-quadrant values framework at least can provide a starting point for self-examination in Taiwan's public personnel systems.

Quantitative Findings of the Study

Besides observations based on qualitative analysis, the study findings have been reinforced by quantitative analysis. Research carried out by means of a values survey of public personnelists. The questionnaire survey instrument was devised by the researcher, using a Likert-type rating scale. Values orientations were examined in terms of relevant aspects of current personnel systems and practices in Taiwan. The basis of the study's findings is the responses of 385 public personnelists with respect to desirability and importance of each value item. Opportunistic rather than random sampling was applied because of the accessibility limitations of the setting. The survey was both pretested and then conducted in the Chinese language. The final Chinese text was critiqued by Taiwanese scholars and personnel professionals. The survey queried public personnelists about their future expectations, organizational goals, preferred constituents, desirable personal qualities, and their entry motives. The purpose of the survey was to document the values orientations and expectations of Taiwan's public personnelists concerning current personnel systems and practices.

Significant findings are the following:

1. Public personnelists subscribed to two dominant values orientations: those of control-type personnel administration and of development-type HRM. They de-emphasized the recruitment-type personnel politics values orientation.

2. There is no statistically significant difference which can be attributed to demographic variables, such as gender, age, educational level, and rank. Although government classification and tenure cause some partial variations in the value responses, total respondents strongly agreed with most ratings of values related to personnel systems and practices.

3. With regard to the five personnel value-dimensions, Taiwan's public personnelists rated operations first and organizational action second.

4. Total respondents considered training as the most persistent practice of the six major personnel practices. Specifically, they indicated the following as their most desirable and important values:

- a. Competency/proficiency in staffing criteria
- b. Recruitment as ensuring managerial efficiency
- c. Performance appraisal as a fair test of past performance
- d. Maximizing utilization of HR as human capital in personnel expenditures and financial concerns
- e. On-the-job training
- f. Retirement in exit/turnover.

5. In terms of future expectations, public personnelists agreed that assuring equity, fairness, and openness in personnel changes is the most persistent/desirable value. They also considered serving proactively toward democratic ethos and societal changes as their least persistent/desirable value.

6. Public personnelists believed that public employee protection is their most desirable and important organizational goal, while service to the public is the least desirable and important concern.

7. "Public employees" were the group rated as the most preferred stakeholders or constituents of public personnelists. In contrast, interest groups and political parties were rated the least desirable and important constituents.

8. With regard to the personal quality traits included in standard performance evaluation forms, public personnelists generally believed that the righteous/fair characteristic is the most desirable and important, while creative/innovative quality is the least desirable and important personal quality.

9. Total respondents in the survey agreed that pursuing a stable life was their major motive for entering public service. They did not believe their job in public personnel service related to fulfilling family expectations.

10. Generally, there are statistically significant differences existing between the desirable values and the important values in the survey findings. However, in the case of public personnelists, their desirable values in theory always corresponded to their important values in practice.

Discussion

As pointed out in the study, while Taiwan is striving for modernization, its public personnel systems exhibit to a great extent the authoritarian values of the traditional Chinese bureaucracy, not modern values of personnel management and HRM. The inconsistencies and paradoxes arising from the mix of the modern and traditional reveal a state of flux among conflicting values at the present time. There are clashes between employee protectionism and executive leadership in institutions, between merit principles and personnel patronage in system designs, between control-type administration and recruitment-type personnel politics in values orientation. Development of value conflicts in public personnel can be traced both in history and in political philosophy. Instead of being ruled by law, public personnel systems and institutions follow the political

philosophy of governance by men. Thus, personnel practices are mainly affected by networks and social exchanges through face and favor interactions instead of merit principles. It appears that the value clashes, complicated problems, and distinctive cultural context of Taiwan's public personnel systems, provide a perfect opportunity for the application of the multiple values framework.

Much indigenous literature on Taiwan's public personnel systems has focused on their more visible aspects, such as structures and functions. Although this functionalistic approach can serve as an introduction or description, it fails to explain why those conflicting systems exist, how they operate in harmony, and what should be done in the future.

The present study is a complementary inquiry into the more intangible aspects of current systems by means of cultural insights and multiple values perspectives. In combining qualitative and quantitative methods with a four-quadrant value framework, the study has explored many aspects of Taiwan's public personnel systems. Both quantitative data, based on a questionnaire survey of the values orientations of public employees, and qualitative information based largely on related research in the public personnel management field, have been used in this research. The study focuses on description and discovery, rather than on hypothesis testing and verification.

The study begins with a list of eight major problems reflecting present conditions in Taiwan's public personnel systems: (1) There is little available information about Taiwan's public personnel systems. (2) Personnel theorists have not yet constructed a comprehensive value framework. (3) The problems of Taiwan's systems reflect both the paradoxical nature and harmony emphasis of Chinese culture. (4) The current personnel reform efforts are lacking a value consensus and clear focus. (5) The insulated status of public personnelists appears to bring about homogeneity in their values orientations. (6) Current personnel actions and practices reflect the confined values perspective of public

personnelists and their agencies. (7) There is a lack of cultural insight with regard to the cultural values of the Chinese in Taiwan. (8) Existing value measurements need to be adjusted into a comprehensive set of value scales

General observation reveals that public personnel systems in a society have three major actors--political systems, public organizations, and public employees. The interactions among these three actors involve four interrelated systems: merit, patronage, human resources, and personnel management (See Figure 1.1).

Based on the literature review, a four-quadrant value framework has been constructed, representing four contrasting values orientations related to personnel systems. Along with two interactive continua--structures (flexibility to control) and action (intra- to extra-organization)--these four labeled values orientations include the following: the control-type personnel administration, contingency-type personnel management, Recruitment-type personnel politics, and development-type HRM (See Figures 2.7 & 2.11). These four quadrants represent four conditions associating and connecting properties of formulation of public personnel strategies and organizational actions (See Tables 2.7 & 2.8). In addition, five value dimensions--institution, system design, organizational action, personnel operation, and personal quality--are arranged in five levels of analysis (See Figure 2.8). Six personnel activities--staffing criteria, recruitment, performance appraisal, financial concern, training, and exit--are also classified into a four-quadrant framework with contrasting value items (See Figure 2.12).

In essence, the four-quadrant typology categorizes personnel agencies and various groups of public personnelists according to the ways in which they manage public personnel actions and practices. What one sees in public personnel systems will depend on the image and value perspectives one brings to it. All facts or speculations are value laden. Thus, this study proposes that the strategic values orientations of this dominant group, public personnelists, will shape the values, expectations, and systems of Taiwan's

public personnel systems. Their strategic values and expectations will lead to differing emphases on the various personnel activities.

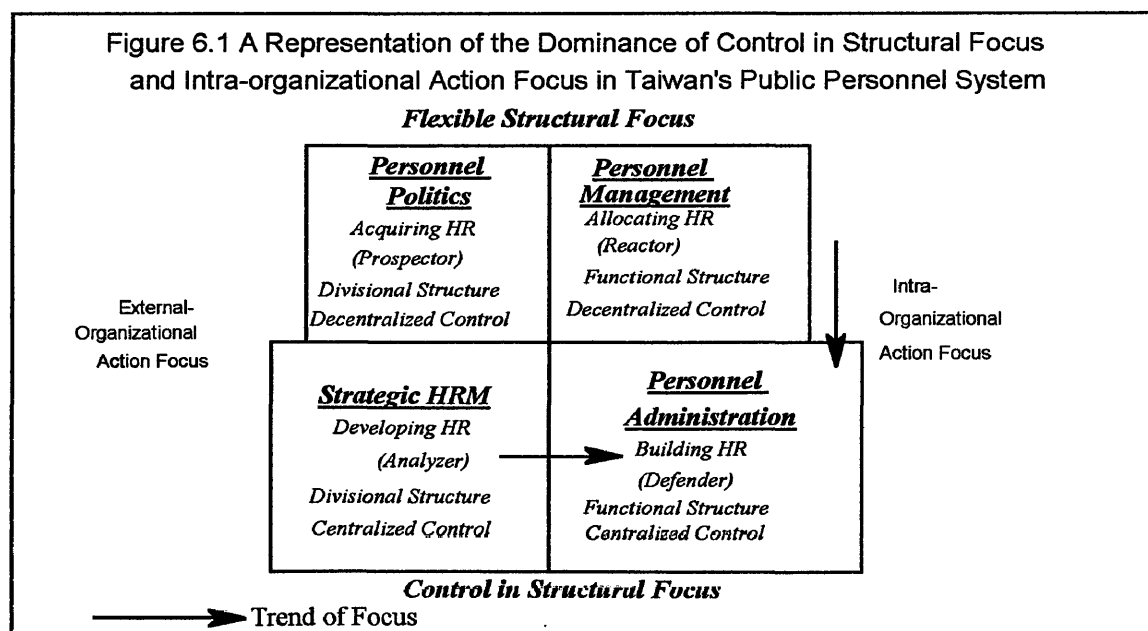
In Chapter III, elements of Taiwan's public personnel systems have been reframed qualitatively in this four-quadrant framework. Significantly, current systems are confined in the quadrants of administration and personnel politics, while at the same time personnel practices reflect diverse values in a state of confusion. However, traditional Chinese values with regard to public personnel, such as order complex, polaristic thinking, and value clustering might conceivably aid in transforming conflict to harmony and order. Constitutional reconstructing was not intended to change the existing status but only to legitimize political compromise. Conflicts in personnel authority are resolved first by the order complex of the Chinese derived from their political psychology, then by networks already existing in the public personnel context. In general, personnel practices are formalized by law, yet in reality they are run by means of personnel relationships and social exchanges.

Based on cultural understanding, quantitative analysis is important in developing contrasts. A comprehensive instrument for values measurement was designed to make a values survey of Taiwan's public personnelists. Relevant values findings, including future expectations, organizational goals, constituents, personal qualities, and entry motives were constructed into five levels of analysis corresponding to the above-mentioned five levels of value dimensions for ascertaining the values orientations of public personnelists.

Public personnelists should possess familiarity with all of the values and goals associated with their responsibility to acquire, develop, allocate, and maintain human resources. In practice, however, they will very likely place more emphasis on some values orientations and expectations more than on others. The problem is that existing personnel agencies and public personnelists have already formed dominant values orientations while de-emphasizing others. According to the survey findings, respondents

as a whole have similar values orientations and expectations relating to personnel actions and practices, regardless of the respondents' differences in gender, rank, age, and educational level. Although there are some differences attributable to government classification and tenure, respondents can be considered to have similar and dominant values orientations.

Figure 6.1 graphically depicts the unequal distribution of emphases on public personnelists among four values orientations. Personnel/HRM decisions are made and techniques developed which primarily reflect and enhance bureaucratic rationality and intra-organizational concern. Many of these techniques are eventually reduced to programmed decisions and routine personnel procedures. Most likely, maintaining control-type administration values orientations, they will advocate the so-called "Defender" role in building HRM systems with functional structures and centralized control. Simultaneously they may at least play act in the role of "Prospector" in acquiring HR with divisional structures and decentralized control (See Figure 6.1).



The control inclination of public personnelists reflects their expectations of personnel action, organizational goals, constituents, and personal quality. The focus is moving toward control-type values orientations, regardless of the differences in the variables. Differences across personnel agencies and public personnelists exist, not in kind but only in degree. Based on the survey, Table 6.1 portrays values public personnelists perceive as the most persistent and desirable in relation to future expectations, organizational goals, constituents, personal quality, and entry motives. There is a significant resemblance between the values orientations and the relevant findings. Public personnelists in the survey tended to avoid any linkages with democratic concerns or personnel politics, which require public agencies to meet the demands of those constituents outside the organization: political parties, interest groups, and the general public.

Table 6.1 The Most and Least Persistent/Desirable Value Items Answered by Total Respondents of the Value Survey (N = 385)

	The Most Persistent/Desirable	The Least Persistent/Desirable
Future Expectation	-Asserting equity, fairness, & openness in personnel change	-Serving proactively toward democratic ethos & societal changes
Organizational Goal	-Public employee protection	-Service to the public
Constituent	-Employees	-Interest Groups & Political Parties
Personal Quality	-Righteous/Fair	-Creative/Innovative
Entry Motive	-Pursuing a stable life	-Fulfilling family expectation

Limitations of the Study

Three limitations exist with reference to the extent to which it is possible to generalize on the basic quantitative findings. First, failing to gain full cooperation from the personnel agencies in administering valid sampling, the researcher had to resort to opportunistic sampling in conducting the survey. The value survey included only respondents who were both accessible and cooperative. The survey thus did not

represent the population of all possible respondents either by including all public personnelists or by using scientific random sampling procedures. Although the study is primarily exploratory research, the unscientific sampling procedure inevitably leads to some concerns regarding validity in measurement.

The second limitation in relation to generalizing from the results is the reliability of the "snapshot" method. The study developed the weight of desirability, which represents an effort to integrate the contrasts between desirability and importance. However, the interpretation of the quantitative findings is constrained by the time-associated reliability. If the values survey could have been conducted for value changes longitudinally, those findings might be considered like those of an attitude survey in the contemporary mode. Reliability in this context refers to the accuracy (consistency and stability) of measurement by the survey technique. Any direct measurement of such consistency obviously calls for a comparison between at least two measures, form-associated and time-associated reliability, whereby the two measurements are obtained by retesting the respondents with the identical survey instrument in a different time period. Caution is necessary when each respondent rates with the consistency to be expected among similar value surveys. For part of the evidence the researcher has to have accounted for certain kinds of errors or inconsistencies. The operation of measurement in the present study is seen as sampling values orientations. The problem is this. As in any value survey, respondents are surveyed on a particular date as they respond to a particular set of questions, and the ratings are recorded into a particular system (i.e., desirability, importance, and the weights of desirability). Some error might arise from selecting any one date of the survey. Additionally, most value items in the present survey have not been retested to measure for the same values orientations and profiles. The design of the weights of desirability (WD) and linguistic structures in the scaling of desirability and importance, or scores, might not have been interpreted and translated

accurately. Each of the above-mentioned errors inevitably affects the ability to generalize from the results. Further tests and comparative research are imperative for ensuring validity and reliability. But it is important for future researchers to know how much a particular research design aspect in the study has been justified if any of these conditions of measure have been altered.

The third limitation is that the values perspectives alone are not sufficient to account for the complexities and dynamics of the public personnel systems of Taiwan. Yet the value framework can significantly contribute to understanding of public personnel/HRM processes in Taiwan. Sufficient evidence appears to have been gathered thus far to suggest that the value framework can lead to valuable insights. Additionally, the value perspectives are proposed, not as a substitute but as a supplement to other perspectives on public personnel/HRM systems in Taiwan. Which particular perspectives best explain public personnel/HRM strategies under certain conditions is an empirical question basic to the quantitative research.

In fact, the problems of inability to generalize findings of the study are twofold. First, before there is any relationship determined between values and behaviors, the framework and findings in the study might be good only for explanation and understanding, not for prediction. Values may be more parsimonious predictors of personnel phenomena than are such variables as attitudes, perceptions, and personality traits, all of which are currently used without consideration of their relationships to underlying value systems. However, the concern is that values cannot diversely be operationalized as attitudes, goals, objectives, or desired end-states. If they are to have any useful meaning apart from these concepts, values must be operationalized as parsimoniously as possible, e.g., in terms of desirable end-states of existence underlying attitudes and behaviors.

The second problem associated with generalization in the study is more pragmatically oriented. The scope of the present study did not include the relationships among the various organizational properties and processes and the values of organizational actors. Yet the typology in this study offers a broader perspective than previously available in strategic personnel/HRM in Taiwan. It defines some boundaries of the concept and presents a set of normative statements as propositions needing further testing.

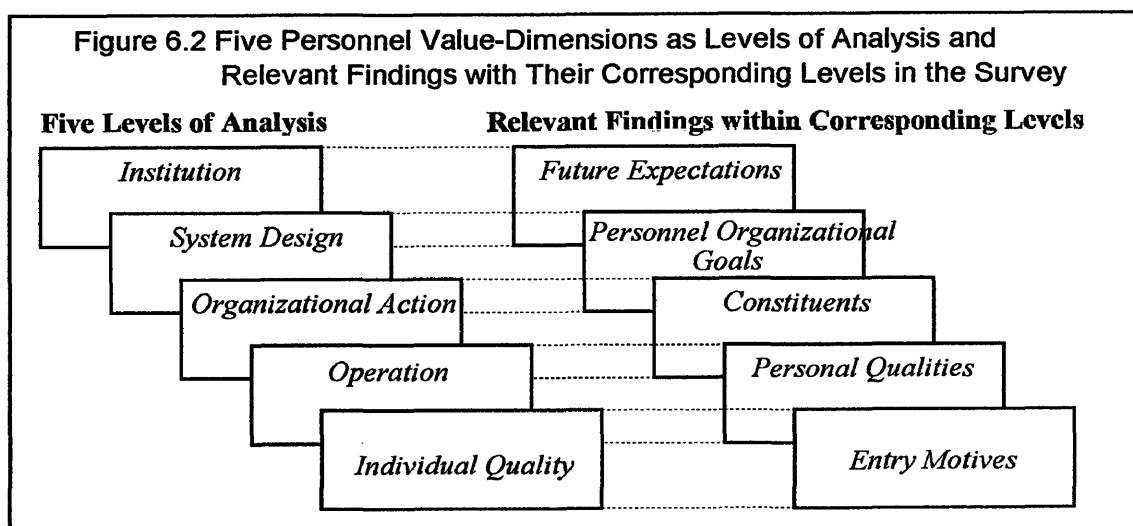
Further, there is little empirical evidence to suggest that strategic personnel values orientations directly affect what public personnel agencies in Taiwan perceive about their contexts and strategies. However, there is much evidence to suggest that a relationship between them does exist. At present, more attention needs to be paid to research issues that will provide the necessary support or disprove the hypothesis. Nevertheless, values may help to clarify some critical missing variance. But it is not expected that values will always explain total variance of some variables. However, the study concludes that such relationships may be more fully understood by including members' values as a distinct variable in analysis.

Implications of the Study for Current Theory

Extending Levels of Analysis in Theory Building

The author of the present study believes that its contribution to public personnel/HRM is that its value framework and multiple levels of analysis can broaden perspectives on theory building. Figure 6.2 presents the five levels of analysis used in the study and general topics of relevant findings within corresponding levels. The context is broadened to examine values as indicators of the desirable in public personnel systems of and future expectations at both the institution and system-design levels of analysis. Most

value conflicts occur simultaneously in several levels. The multiple levels are more consistent with reality than a single-level approach.



As the study demonstrates, there are different levels of focus and locus. Contextual considerations are incorporated in the conceptualization of values conflicts at the individual and operational level of analysis; also involved are organizational action, system design, and institution. Although these contexts, considered singly, help to illuminate the contexts, they do so in an incomplete manner, constrained by narrow perspectives and focus. A broader perspective is needed to understand more completely the contextual dynamics that operate at different levels of analysis. Public personnelists and policy-makers as well need awareness of specific levels of values as indicators for policy-making and system operation. Values conflict, communication, and resolution taken together, need a road map to scope the research area and pinpoint the target. Since some constituents focus on future expectations but do not insist on attention to the lower-level issues, there is a possibility that public personnelists can identify alternatives for reaching future expectations. It seems wise to develop system designs to meet demands, instead of letting conflicts deteriorate into an impasse.

Therefore, the researcher has suggested that developing informed understanding of values and expectations in public personnel systems and strategies requires a perspective sufficiently broad to incorporate multiple levels of analysis. The choice of research methodology also involves the choice of level of analysis. At last, scholars concerned about public personnel systems can aim to produce an array of analytical generalizations flowing from explicit values orientations as frames of reference. The presence of more than one values orientation would yield a set of generalizations related to one another but needing classification into the levels of analysis. Generalizations from one analysis level often serve as support to other generalizations from a different analysis level. However, too often they cannot be mixed into a single true statement. Yet the integration that may be formed by means of these complementary foci of inquiry yields a rich store of knowledge. Complementary statements about personnel strategies and decisions may be woven together to describe, explain, or partially predict public personnel actions and practices. Practically speaking, these multiple-levels of analysis will facilitate diagnosing, designing, and implementing management systems that complement different values and expectations.

Further, the choice of level of analysis carries conceptual and methodological implications. The institutional level produces a comprehensive picture of ideological conflicts emerging in Taiwan's public personnel systems. The system design and organizational action levels both produce rich, detailed analysis of variations in operation. The individual level provides indicators for diversity in preferred personal qualities. The focus of inquiry determines what variables will be analyzed and also dictates the true statements that can result from an inquiry.

Implications of the Four-Quadrant Value Framework

The study was intended to be a dissertation in pursuit of both theoretical advancement and practical application. The researcher began by arguing from the literature that there is a different way of understanding a phenomenon than has heretofore been presented in this public system context. Qualitative analysis in this study was not intended to prove or test a theory, but it was considered likely that the theory will emerge, once the data are collected. However, this does not mean that the study ignored the theoretical perspectives of previous work cited in the literature review. A four-quadrant value framework in the current study was designed as a map of the areas being investigated. While this means that the framework might change as the study evolved, the considerable amount of pre-structuring focused upon what needed to be known from the literature, the measures or instruments that are available for such a study. The multi-perspective conceptualization of public personnel/HRM necessarily incorporated different levels of analysis and research methodologies. Thus this conceptual framework was designed to allow future researchers exploring a similar phenomenon to communicate and compare experiences and results.

This typology also explored these complex, multivariate relationships in a systematic fashion. As societal pluralization and political democratization in Taiwan continue, action focus and structural focus of its public personnel system will become more public-oriented and extra-organizationally concerned. The movement from one quadrant to another will thus involve an interaction between contextual conditions and organizational choices.

The strategic position of public personnelists predicts their continued influence on various dimensions, practices, and expectations of public personnel systems from recruitment to retirement. Differences in public personnel values orientations were viewed, not as arbitrary organization or group features but rather as reflections of

strategic staffing choices. These differences in personnel practices of each personnel system's profile are frequently the product of strategic intention. This typology resembles a human resource projection of the different value choices public personnel agencies in Taiwan make in managing their strategic context. It suggests that each school of thought is relevant to a particular situation. Thus the public personnel values orientations and profiles extracted from the four-quadrant typology both describe and explain the workforce composition of Taiwan's public personnel systems.

Multi-values orientations have important implications for public personnel theorists. Given that most theorists are rather closely attached to their own perspectives, some linkages have to be established among differing approaches to theory-building. The researcher has argued in favor of both greater expansion in levels of analysis and more accommodation of multiple perspectives to theory-building in public personnel/HRM study. The reason is that even a single multi-value perspective on theory-building can result in even more differentiation and perhaps a dysfunctional potential for parochialism.

Multiple levels of analysis and value perspectives on theory-building can provide more complete knowledge than can any single value perspective. The discussion of the multiple values orientations of public personnel systems is an attempt to deal with a misleading concept: when one regards those values orientations as fundamentally mutually exclusive and not comparable and, therefore, proceeds with only one perspective without attempting to account for disparate views, the resulting conclusions may be seriously flawed. Consequently, as Bolman and Deal (1991) have noted that the very strengths of one perspective represent the limitations of others. Advocacy of promoting the dominance of one perspective over another eventually causes vulnerability to demands for change stressing others' values, the need for different structural arrangements, and the desirability of considering individual quality and motives in different terms. The approach in this study aimed at exploring dialectical values orientations and making

accommodations despite existing differences. The multiple values framework offers a potential contribution of theory when applied to theory-building within any given value perspective. It also contributes to public personnel theory because it fosters an awareness of multiple approaches to personnel systems, with the consequent potential of supplying alternative value explanations about the nature of personnel issues.

A four-quadrant value framework was applied systematically in the study to examine various aspects of Taiwan's public personnel systems. The purpose was to gain more complete understanding of public personnel/HRM systems and decisions. At the outset, it was recognized that personnel issues may fall into each of the four quadrants of values orientations. Disputes over one value quadrant may also be resolved appropriately in other quadrants.

In conclusion, Taiwan's public personnelists showed a large degree of similarity in perceptions of personnel systems and practices, despite disparity in their demographic and organizational identity. Only by adopting a multiple-levels view can researchers discern how the different values orientations explain personnel/HRM strategy, contexts, and associated value profiles.

That value conceptions of personnel systems exist simultaneously implies that disparate values orientations can indeed coexist without one's necessarily assuming that adopting one set of value profiles precludes others, or that all of them must somehow be integrated. An alternative values orientation cannot be proclaimed as "correct" and another as "incorrect" in any absolute sense. A values orientation becomes prominent, not because of the compelling nature of the construct in the long term, but because of its appropriateness for action and practice in current contexts. In a sense, the dominance of control structural focus and intra-organizational action focus epitomizes the currently authoritarian, centralized personnel systems in Taiwan. The unequal distribution across the four values orientations and their associated properties will undoubtedly influence the

direction of future reforms and value changes. The researcher believes that the current value analyses of Taiwan's public personnel systems within multiple dimensions and practices have illuminated relationships and will lead to improved strategic public personnel/HRM theory construction and testing.

Recommendations for Future Research

While exploration rather than specification has been emphasized, the study suggests that significant progress in understanding public personnel/HRM issues will be made, not simply through perpetuation of traditional approaches to theory and research, but through the consideration of multiple perspectives, levels of analysis, and research methodologies.

A significant challenge remains for theorists and researchers to conceptualize public personnel/HRM systems in ways that allow for integration and competitive testing of multiple values perspectives. This approach presumably would eliminate the myopic domination of a single values orientation and would enrich the understanding of the systems and practices under investigation. As for research, the author of the present study believes that further research with different research objectives is needed to call for attention to comparing values orientations of different groups, such as those of top executives and general public employees. In conjunction with a broader consideration of different values orientations in public personnel/HRM, a wider variety of research methodologies might also be employed. Those methods have to be effectively matched to the way research questions are framed.

Comparative, Longitudinal Studies of Value Change and Conflict

The four quadrants in this study appear to clarify many of the issues that theorists and practitioners believe are important and desirable for sustained study of

personnel/HRM systems. The typology suggests research methods that should yield a greater awareness of two focus continua--structural and action--as well as better understanding of their interaction and more informed decision-making in the future. By classifying personnel agencies and their members through the proposed typology, researchers can explore how organizations facing similar situations create strategic plans, implement those plans, manage their HR, and succeed or fail in responding to public demands. Moreover, the typology in the study permits the results of personnel actions and practices within a single agency to be evaluated longitudinally because important personnel values as well as desirable end-states change over time. Without some outcomes of categorization, comparative and other methods of empirical research become difficult, if not impossible.

Further, possible value conflicts can be identified through the four-quadrant typology. Specifically, top executives are in charge of personnel policy-making. Top executives' values orientations need to respond in accord with changes in the context, more than changes in technical concerns. Too often, top executives rely on their own perceptions to design structures and to apply strategies, rather than consult personnel agencies for major input. Also, public employees may have value perspectives and expectations different from those of public personnelists. In both cases there is a large possibility of value conflict and a need for communication.

Policy-making and system design in public personnel systems should incorporate values orientations of diverse stakeholders as important constituents in the context. Those primary stakeholders include political actors, public employees, top executives, and outside interest groups. Asking what their values orientations are and comparing them to those of public personnelists offer both implications and direction for personnel policy and reform. The study suggests that it is important for future research to conduct comparative studies of values orientations of those groups.

Longitudinal research on value changes of different constituents is also a promising enterprise. It is worthwhile to ask what will happen in a decade from now, or to deal with the question: Do values change as time changes? The concept of weights of desirability can be applied in comparing the contemporary and future focuses (see Figure 2.3).

Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Values Orientations

The present study does not suggest a universal value set. It may be more promising to conduct cross-cultural comparison of public personnel values orientations. Although the content of value items needs to be justified according to the cultural context, the scope and typology offered in the study facilitate such comparison. Quantitative analysis may be much more feasible for this kind of comparison than the qualitative method used in the present study. The research question could be in this form: What are differences of values orientations of American respondents and respondents from Taiwan? The problems, however, of translation and research design might be too complicated for conducting very many such cross-cultural comparisons. Multiple levels of analysis in the present study also offer diverse choices in defining the scope of comparisons. For example, it is feasible for researchers to conduct a comparative analysis of American respondents' and Taiwanese respondents' preferences with regard to personal qualities. Or, perhaps more interesting: What are the differences in values orientations between respondents in mainland China and respondents from Taiwan?

Conclusion

Developing Multiple Values Orientations

The study presents the conclusion that Taiwan's public personnelists often see one or two frames as "right" and all others as "wrong." Although a body of comparative

research is lacking, the author of the present study speculates that they might be in fact seeing their preferred frames as useful, while the others are being viewed as superficial and unrealistic. When other actors in the context challenge their values orientations, they typically either ignore the challenge or cluster their values into a more abstract value. This attempt to achieve harmony may be useful for temporary action, but such artificial agreement does not help eventually to resolve the conflict. All organizations contain multiple realities, and every issue and event can be interpreted in many ways. The simultaneous existence of multiple realities often leads to confusion and conflict when different individuals use different perspectives to frame the same event. With each individual using different frames, confusion and conflict are predictable. But the concern of the present study is the cost of clinging to a single view of a situation by public personnelists when they appear unable to comprehend that other frames might exist. In their opinion, they are doing exactly what they are supposed to do. But to other people the reaction becomes just another example of mindless bureaucracy at work.

The study suggests how bridging between values orientations might be accomplished and how simultaneous consideration of alternative views might be achieved. The four-quadrant value framework permits theorists and public personnelists to identify expected actions and to select practices associated with one quadrant more than another. It also highlights the importance of problem-definition issues. Further, the multiple levels of analysis presented in the study facilitate development of appreciation for the benefits of diversity in accumulating multiple levels--also appreciation for the advantages of knowing on which level the conflicting parties focus respectively and why the conflict happens and, finally, understanding the possibility that some similar values orientations might overlap across different levels of analysis.

Internalizing the Value of Democratic Responsiveness

The outlook of Taiwan's public personnel systems changes as the society becomes more modern and pluralized, yet the systems retain many traditional values, mainly Confucian and Legalist. In fact, the traditional Confucian authoritarian values persist throughout contemporary systems of Taiwan, both social and political. Although modern and traditional values do not conflict or match one on one, they are in flux. Accordingly, plurality of values will call for public personnelists to develop multiple values orientations.

The people in Taiwan desire more change and more progress in public personnel systems. As political democratization proceeds in Taiwan, there is a need for public personnelists and their organizations to develop constituent consciousness, a sense of responsiveness to public interest, rather than only to serve the authoritarian regime. People demand political neutrality and professionalism in public personnel organizations but also expect strategic, flexible responses in public personnel actions and practices.

Through qualitative analysis, the study has found the persistence of political favoritism in many aspects of Taiwan's public personnel systems. Traditional political philosophies, the existing authoritarian regime, and social networking will together support or reinforce the continuity of the bad image of political patronage, instead of promoting the proactive image of using public personnel to serve the public. The survey in the present study has demonstrated that most public personnelists have not advanced their value focus into the quadrant of personnel politics, a proactive values orientation. Instead, they have tended to distance themselves from politically related value statements.

Although the value statements in the study concerning personnel politics might have been misinterpreted to some extent, it is uncertain whether Taiwan's public personnelists are willing to internalize or at least adopt formally those value profiles in the quadrant of personnel politics. Still, most personnel actions and practices are located in

the intra-organization focus. It is legitimate for public personnelists to proclaim loyalty to personnel administration values such as employee protectionism, merit formalization, organizational stability, political neutrality, and administrative responsibility.

However, it is also imperative for them to explore and develop constituent consciousness in terms of political responsiveness. Public personnel systems are no longer the field specific for intra-organizational focus but are open territory for mustering public demands and interests. Viewing public personnel from a political perspective is not necessarily equated to promoting political patronage and political loyalty to constituents or certain political groups. Rather, it is the open, proactive values orientations being taken into account. Perhaps Taiwan's public personnel systems have not yet achieved a democratic context. However, public personnelists have no excuse to avoid their political accountability as well as their responsibility to serve the public. Therefore, the study urges that public personnelists and their agencies recognize the significance of democratic responsiveness in their values orientations.

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Appendix A

The Current Personnel Systems in The Republic of China (Taiwan)

Issued by The Ministry of Personnel

The Examination Yuan

The Republic of China

1989

This briefing is on the current personnel system in the Republic of China. It includes three parts: (1) the structure of the ROC government; (2) agencies for personnel management; and (3) the current personnel system.

1. The Structure of the ROC Government

As stipulated in the ROC Constitution, the ROC central government, under the president and vice president, has five Yuans--the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan, and the Control Yuan. Local government is organized into three levels: provincial (or municipal) government, county (or city) government, and rural district township (city district) offices, which together form an integrated administrative network.

2. Agencies for Personnel Management

- A. The Examination Yuan, as the nation's highest examination body, is set up on the basis of a committee system composed of a president, vice-president, and 19 committee members. Under the Examination Yuan are the Ministry of Examination and the Ministry of Personnel.
- B. The Ministry of Examination handles government employee examinations nationwide.
- C. The Ministry of Personnel handles appointments, qualifications certification, performance evaluation, pay scales, promotion, service protection, awards, death compensation, retirement and pensions of governmental employees nationwide.
- D. The Central Personnel Administration of the Executive Yuan is responsible for all personnel administration in all agencies under the Executive Yuan. When administering government employee examinations and screening appointments,

the Central Personnel Administration is under the direction of the Examination Yuan.

- E. The personnel units of all agencies administer each agency's personnel management under the direction of the above bodies.

Within the personnel administration system as a whole, the Ministry of Personnel is responsible for policy planning, drafting regulations, and for the execution of other key tasks. It acts as the core agency in the personnel system.

3. The Current Personnel System

The ROC government personnel system operates in accord with all relevant personnel regulations. These regulations are based on Chapter 8 of the ROC Constitution promulgated in 1947.

The main structure of the current personnel system is as follows:

A. Ranks and Grades

The official posts are divided into 14 grades within three ranks--"Authorized" rank, "Recommend" rank, and "Commissioned" rank.

1. "Authorized" rank officials are those of grades ten through 14. For example, administrative vice minister is a grade 14 post; department director is a grade 12 post.
2. "Recommended" rank officials are those of grades six through nine. For example, section chief is a grade nine post.
3. "Commissioned" rank officials are those of grades five through one. For example, clerical staffs rank between grades one and three.

B. Positions Groups and Categories

Positions are divided into 54 position categories, which belong to 27 position groups. It is possible to transfer between the position categories within any given position group.

Below is a brief description of actual operations:

A. Examination and Certification

Examination and certification are conducted by means of an open and fair examination system designed to select qualified candidates. Examinations, which have been in use in China for well over 1,000 years, ever since the Sui and Tang dynasties in the 7th century, are a key feature of the ROC personnel system. There are three types of examinations: Higher Examinations, Ordinary Examinations, and Special Examinations. Higher Examinations are open to graduates of junior college and above, while the Ordinary Examinations are open to senior high school graduates. The Special Examinations are divided into Levels I, II, III, and IV. The Level I Special Examination is open only to those holding a Master's Ph.D. degree, who are professors or associate professors, or who have passed the Higher and Ordinary Examinations, respectively. The Level IV Special Examination is open to those who graduated from junior high school and above. Promotion Examination are available to governmental employees seeking promotion in rank.

Prior to the beginning of each fiscal year, the employing agency draws up an annual employment plan for submission to the Ministry of Examination as the basis for holding examinations. Those who pass the Higher and Ordinary Written Examinations and achieve passing grades during a period of training are, in accordance with the annual employment plan, assigned to posts through a letter of notification sent by the Ministry of Examination to the Ministry of Personnel and the Central Personnel Administration of the Executive Yuan. Those who pass the Special Examinations are assigned to posts through

a letter of notification sent by the Ministry of Examination to the agencies holding the examinations. Those who must undergo training or study upon passing the Special Examinations are assigned to posts only after completing, within passing grades, their assigned term of training or study.

B. Appointments and Promotions

Appointments and promotions are made in accord with government employee appointment regulations. The executive officials must be qualified for appointment to the given official ranks and grades. The three routes to obtain an appointment as follows: (a) legal passages of examination; (b) legal qualification by evaluation; (c) legal promotion by performance appraisal. These three routes are detailed below:

- (a) Legal passage of examination: Those who pass the Level I Special Examinations qualify for appointment as "Authorized" rank, grade ten; those who pass the Higher Examination or Level II Special Examination for appointment as "Recommended" rank, grade six; those who pass the Ordinary or Level III Special Examination qualify for appointment as "Commissioned" rank, grade one.
- (b) Legal qualification by evaluation: All those who are documented as having received appointment under the previous appointment system in force up to January 1987 are legally qualified for appointment.
- (c) Legal promotion by performance appraisal: Governmental employees of the same grade and who obtain A ratings in the year-end appraisal two years in a row, or who obtain one A rating and two B ratings within three consecutive years, qualify for appointment to the next higher grade within the same rank. However, those of the "Commissioned" rank grade five cannot advance by means of performance appraisal to "Recommended" rank, grade six, and the advance to "Authorized" rank grade ten are more rigorous than for normal grade promotion.

Also, appointment as a government employee is not open to persons who have been found guilty of sedition or treason, persons who as governmental employees have been convicted of corruption, or to those who have been certified by a qualified doctor as mentally ill.

C. Salary

Once governmental employees are appointed, their salaries are evaluated by the Ministry of Personnel as laid down by the regulations on government employee remuneration. Basic remuneration for government employee include basic pay, seniority pay, and supplementary payment. Basic pay and seniority pay make up the base salary for governmental employees (see attached diagram). Personnel of the same grade who obtain a B rating or higher in their year-end appraisal are entitled to an advance of one step in their pay. If their basic pay has already reached the maximum step, those who obtain an A rating in one year or a B rating two years in succession are entitled to an advance of one step in their seniority pay.

Types of supplementary payment are categorized as post supplements, technical or professional supplements, and regional supplements. Supplementary pay is additional remuneration awarded to governmental employees who hold management positions, perform strenuous tasks, possess technical or professional skills, or who are posted in border regions, special areas, or in various countries overseas.

In addition, governmental employees also receive living allowances, which cover subsidized goods, assistance grants for serious illness and hospitalization of dependents, assistance grants for marriage, funeral and childbirth expenses, and assistance grants towards children's education.

D. Performance Appraisal, Rewards, and Disciplinary Action

In accordance with the regulations on the performance appraisal of governmental employees, year-end performance appraisal is based upon routine evaluations which take

into account an employee's work, conduct, knowledge and ability. Rewards based upon these evaluations are classified as "commendations," "merit," and "high merit," disciplinary action is classified into "reprimand," "demerit," and "major demerit."

Year-end performance appraisal falls into four classes--A, B, C, and D. Concrete conditions for classes A and D are listed in the performance appraisal regulations. Those who obtain a class A rating move one salary step upward in their basic pay or seniority pay and are awarded a one-time bonus payment totaling one month's salary. Those who have already reached the highest step of seniority pay are given a one-time payment of two month's salary. Governmental employees who obtain a class C rating retain their original pay step. Those who receive a class D rating are dismissed.

A special performance appraisal may be performed at any time for those governmental employees who receive a high merit or major demerit. Governmental employees who receive two simultaneous high merits advance by one salary step in basic pay and are awarded a one-time bonus payment totaling one month's salary. Those who receive a class D rating in their year-end performance appraisal, may apply to their own agency or a superior agency for a review within 30 days. If they do not accept the results of this review, they may apply to the Ministry of Personnel for further review.

Governmental employees who have made outstanding contributions to the nation may apply to the president for the bestowal of a medal of merit. Those who have made outstanding achievements or who have outstanding work records may be awarded a certificate of commendation by the authoritative Yuan to which their agency belongs.

As stipulated in the regulations on disciplinary action against governmental employees, if governmental employees break the law, neglect their duties or commit other acts of negligence, the head of the agency concerned must report the case to the Control Yuan for investigation and the case will be screened by the governmental

employee's disciplinary commission. Disciplinary action includes dismissal, suspension, demotion, reduction in salary, recording of a demerit, or reprimand.

E. Training and Advanced Study

Training and advanced study for ROC governmental employees are handled by each separate government agency. According to the examination law, basic training and practical training for personnel who pass the Higher and Ordinary Written Examinations are handled by the Ministry of Examination. In-service training is planned and conducted by each separate government agency which encourages its staff to enroll in college-level night schools, the University of the Air, or graduate schools to undertake further study. Suitable personnel may be recommended for admission to the National Chengchi University's Public Employees Education Center or elsewhere for advanced study. Governmental employees may also be selected to go overseas for further study or to carry out special research. Separate special arrangements are made for selecting middle and high-ranking personnel such as department directors and section chiefs to go overseas for further study and research.

F. Service and Leave-taking

Governmental employees are obliged to carry out their official duties, obey orders, give loyal service, observe confidentiality, uphold propriety, and not to engage in certain acts. Governmental employees found to be in violation of the above regulations must bear administrative, criminal, and civil responsibility.

ROC governmental employees work eight hours a day and have Saturday afternoons and Sundays off for a total work week of 44 hours. According to leave-taking regulations, governmental employees may take the following types of leave:

- (1) Causal leave: no more than 21 working days a year.
- (2) Sick leave: no more than 28 working days a years, but may be extended upon approval of their superiors.

- (3) Conjugal leave: 14 working days.
- (4) Maternity leave: 42 working days, or 21 working days in the event of a miscarriage.
- (5) Funeral leave: from three to 21 working days depending on the degree or relation to the deceased.
- (6) Business leave: for participation in civil service activities, the length of which is determined by relevant circumstances.
- (7) Seniority leave: seven to 28 working days granted to personnel with certain number of years of seniority.

The above types of leave are all with pay.

G. Insurance and Benefits

As stipulated in the government employee insurance regulations, all registered and employed personnel shall receive insurance coverage. The scope of this insurance covers childbirth, sickness, injury, disability, old age pension, death, and funeral expenses for dependents. The competent authority for public insurance is the Ministry of Personnel, and the insuring body is the Central Trust of China. Insurance charge rates for each insured employee range between seven and nine percent of their monthly salary. The insured employee is responsible for 35 percent of the total charges, and the government the remaining 65 percent. During the period of insurance, the Central Trust of China is responsible both for registration fees and for all medical expenses within the guidelines laid down. In the event of retirement, death, or the death and funeral of family member, applied for. Other insurance programs include health insurance for governmental employee dependents, insurance for retired governmental employees. Of these, health insurance for governmental employee dependents is compulsory. Participants in these insurance programs must make the required monthly payments from their salaries, with the remainder being paid by the government.

Welfare measures now in effect include welfare assistance, residence purchasing assistance, recreational activities to promote health and emergency loans.

H. Retirement Pensions and Consolation Payments

As laid down in the regulations on retirement of governmental employees, retirement is classified into two types: voluntary retirement and mandatory retirement. Voluntary retirement is open to those who have served for five years or more and reached 60 years of age, or who have served for a total of 25 years or more. Those who have served for five years or more and reached 65 years of age, or being unable to fulfill their duties because of mental incapacity or physical disability are liable for mandatory retirement.

In the case of governmental employees who are engaged in special duties of a dangerous or physically strenuous nature, the Ministry of Personnel may consider lowering the retirement age. Governmental employees who reach 65 years of age are subject to mandatory retirement, except that those who are obliged by the requirements of their work to continue in service may apply to the Ministry of Personnel for an extension of five years until they reach the age of 70.

The retirement grant to retired governmental employees may be paid in one of three ways: in a lump sum, as a monthly retirement pension, or both.

According to the regulations on consolation payments for governmental employees, if a serving governmental employee dies of sickness, accident or in the course of duty, his or her surviving family are eligible for a consolation payment, which may be paid as a lump sum or as an annual payment.

Conclusion

The scope of the current personnel system in the ROC is very extensive. This brief introduction covers only the general personnel regulations and implementation status currently in place in administrative agencies.

Appendix B

**Briefing on Personnel Administration
Presented by The Central Personnel Administration
The Executive Yuan
The Republic of China
1990**

I. GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA (ROC)

The government organization of the ROC is based on the Principle of the Five-Power-Constitution created by Dr. Sun Yat, the Founding Father of the ROC. It is organized by the Central and Local governments as follows:

1. Central Government:

According to the Constitution of the ROC, under the Authority of the President and the Vice President, the central government is composed of the five Yuans: the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan, and the Control Yuan. They are in charge of various government affairs.

The President and the Vice President are elected for a 6-year term by the Delegates of the National Assembly. (They may be re-elected for another term). As the Chief of the State, the President represents the country in both foreign relations and national functions. He has the supreme command of the land, sea, and air forces of the whole country. The law permits him to own the powers of promulgating laws and issuing mandates; declaring the material law; appointing and removing civil officials and military officers; conferring honors and decorations; granting general amnesties, special amnesties, commutation of sentences, and restitution of civil rights. According to the constitution, he has the powers of concluding treaties, declaring war and making peace. The president establishes the Presidential Office to exercise his powers.

- (1) **The Executive Yuan:** The Executive Yuan is the highest administrative organ of the State. the Yuan has a president, vice president, Ministers of various Ministries, Chairmen of Various Commissions, and several Ministers without Portfolio. According to the Executive Yuan Organization Act, under the Yuan, there are eight ministries, two main commissions, and some other directly subordinate agencies, in charge of managing the relevant administrative affairs.

The eight ministries are: Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Economic Affairs, and Ministry of Communications. The two commissions are: Mongolian and Tibetan Commission and Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. The other directly subordinate agencies are: Secretariate; Directorate-general of Budget, Accounting and Statistics; Central Personnel Administration; Government Information Office; National Health Administration; Environmental Protection Administration; Central Bank; Council for Economic Planning and Development; Vocational Assistance Commission for Retired Servicemen; Commission for Youth Assistance and Guidance; National Palace Museum Administration Council; Atomic Energy Council; National Science Council; Council for Agricultural Planning and Development; Research, Development, and Evaluation Commission; and Central Election Commission.

The President of the Yuan is nominated and, with the consent of the Legislative Yuan, appointed by the President of the ROC. The Vice President of the Yuan, the Ministers, the Chairmen of the commissions, the Ministers without portfolio, and the heads of the other direct agencies are appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the President of the Yuan.

(2) The Legislative Yuan:

The Legislative Yuan is the highest legislative organ of the state. It exercises the legislative power on behalf of the people. The Yuan is constituted legislators elected for a 3-year term by the citizens of the ROC. The Yuan has a president and a vice president elected by and from among its members.

(3) The Judicial Yuan:

The Judicial Yuan is the highest judicial organ of the state, and has a president and a vice president. Under the Yuan, various levels of courts (the supreme, higher, and district), an Administrative Court, a Committee of the Disciplinary of Civil Service, are in charge of the judgment on civil, criminal, and administrative suits, and the discipline of the civil service. The Yuan also sets up a council of Grand Justices with 17 Grand Justices in charge of the interpretation of the constitution, and unifying the interpretation of laws and orders.

Its president, vice president, and 17 Grand Justices are nominated and, with the consent of the Control Yuan appointed by the President. The Grand Justices office term is 9 years.

(4) The Examination Yuan:

The Examination Yuan is the highest examination organ of the state and has a president, a vice president, and 19 Members. Under the Yuan, there are a Ministry of Examination and a Ministry of Personnel. The former is in charge of the examination for civil servants and professionals and technicians. The latter is in charge of the personnel reviewing, confirming, registering affairs of the civil service.

The Yuan has a president, a vice president, and 19 Members nominated and, with the consent of the Control Yuan, appointed for a 6-year term by the President.

(5) The Control Yuan:

The Control Yuan, the highest supervisory organ of the state, exercises the powers of consent, impeachment, censure, and auditing.

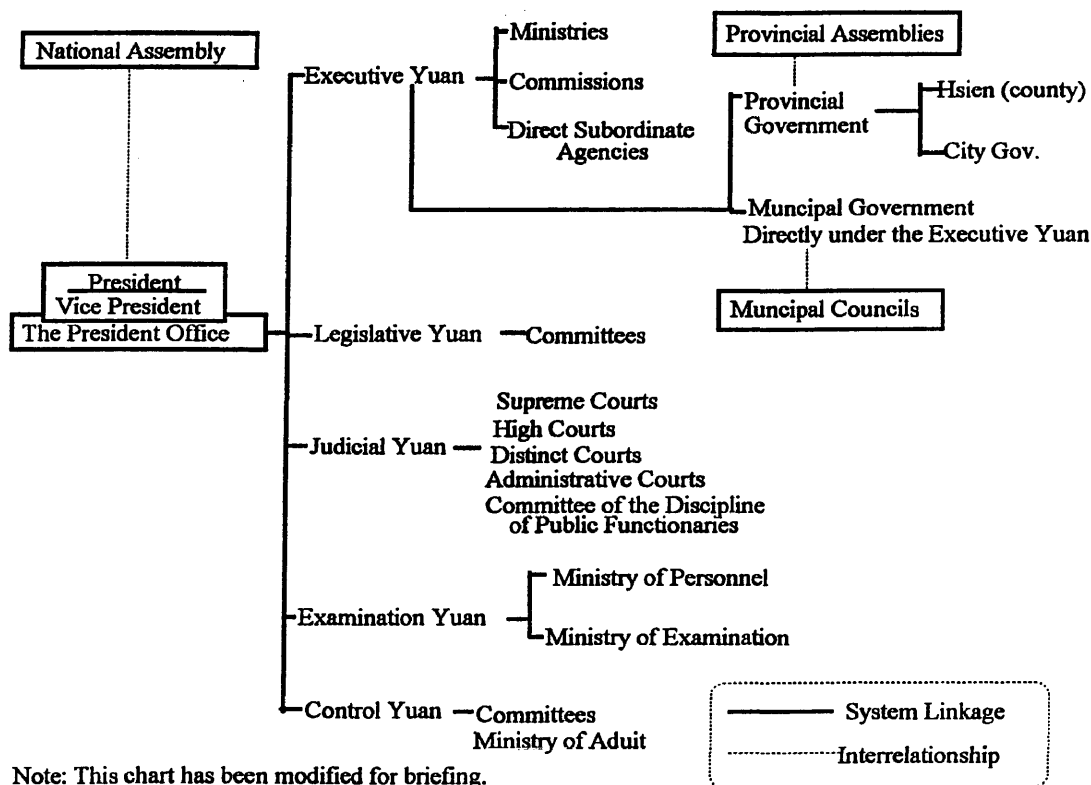
The Yuan consists of members elected for or re-elected for another 6-year term by Provincial Assemblies, Municipal Councils, and Overseas Chinese citizens. The Yuan has a president and a vice president elected by and from among its members. The Yuan sets up a Ministry of Audit in charge of the government auditing.

2. Local Government:

In accordance with the Constitution and the relating regulations, the territory of the ROC, for an administrative purpose, is divided into provinces and municipalities with local authorities under the direction and supervision of the central authority. Under the provinces, hsiens (county) are divided into hsiangs (villages) and chans (districts). Under the municipalities, chus are divided into lis. Both Provincial and Municipal Governments are subordinate to the Executive Yuan.

The chart of the government organization of the ROC is as follows:

Chart 1. Government Organization of the ROC



Note: This chart has been modified for briefing.

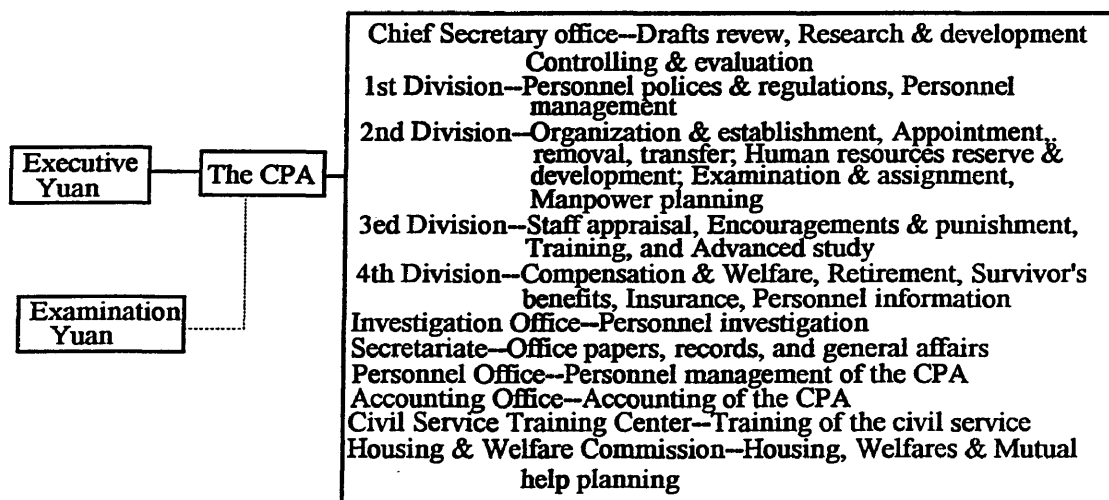
II. ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CPA

The CPA was inaugurated on 16 September 1967. It is mainly responsible for planning personnel administration of all the government agencies, public schools, and the public enterprises under the Executive Yuan; improving their management; and reserving and utilizing the public human resources. When performing the functions of administering civil service examination and screening appointments, the CPA is under supervision of the Examination Yuan.

The main functions and operations of the CPA are allocated to four divisions, five offices, one Civil Service Training Center, and one Commission.

The chart of the organization and functions of the CPA is as follows:

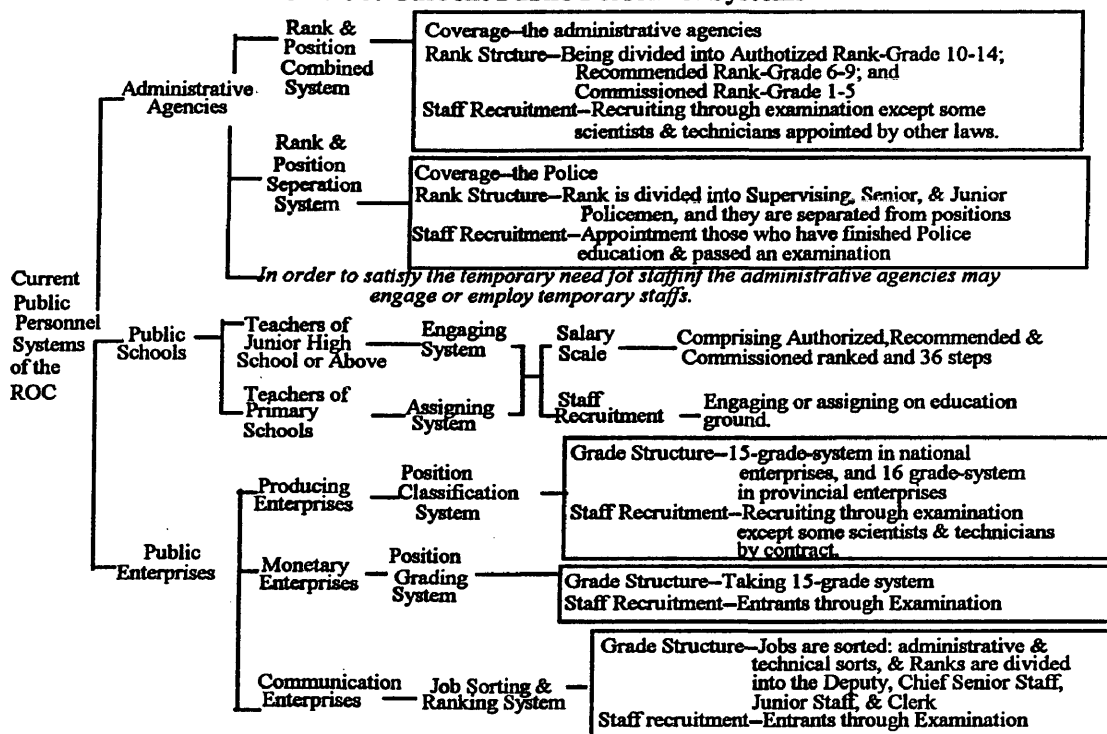
Chart 2. Organization and Functions of the Central Personnel Administration (CPA)



III. CURRENT PUBLIC PERSONNEL SYSTEMS

In order to manage personnel affairs well, that the different body applies the different personnel system is required in the ROC. The various current public personnel systems and their coverage, rank or grade structure, and the recruitment situation are illustrated in Chart 3.

Chart 3. Current Public Personnel Systems



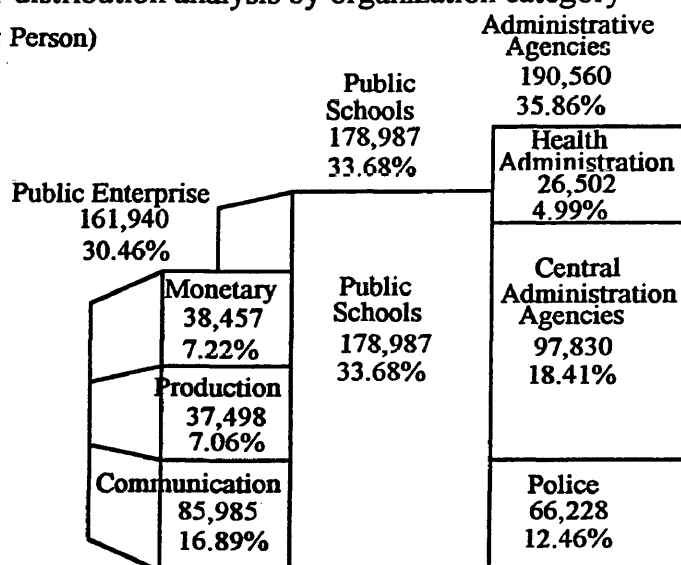
IV. CURRENT PUBLIC MANPOWER STATUS UNDER THE EXECUTIVE YUAN

There are 531,487 persons of the civil service, 190,560 persons in the administrative agencies, 161,940 persons in the public enterprises, 178,987 persons in the public schools under the Executive Yuan at the end of December, 1989. The manpower distribution is as follows:

1. The Allocation Status of the Civil Servants

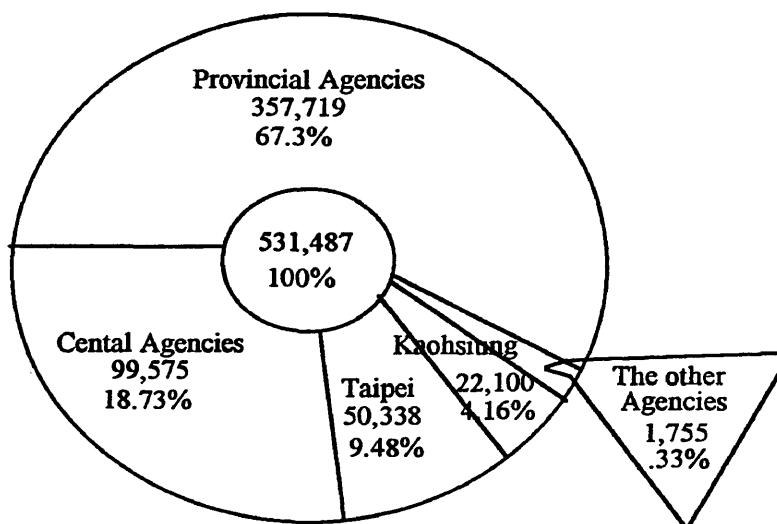
(1) The manpower distribution analysis by organization category

(Unit: Person)



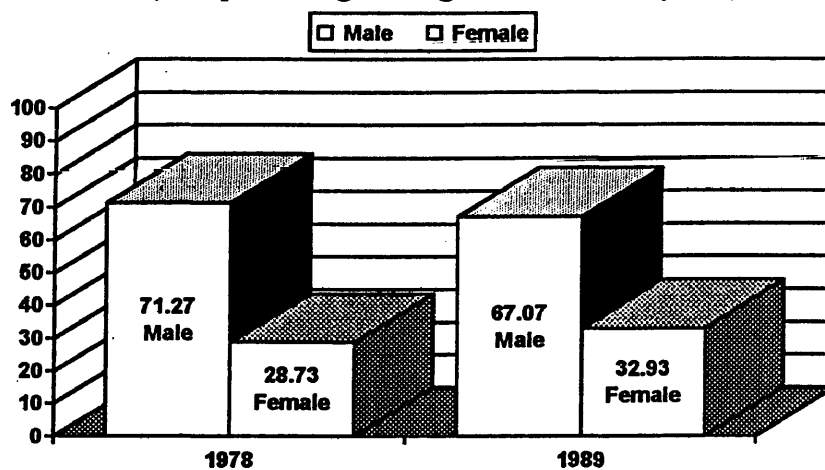
Total: 531,487 Persons

(2) The civil servants analysis by organization level (Unit: person)

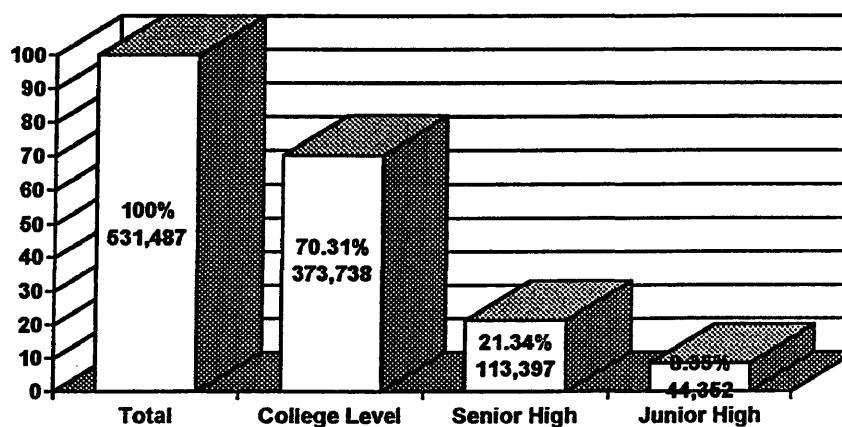


2. The Civil Servants Analysis by Gender

(The percentage change in the last 11 years)

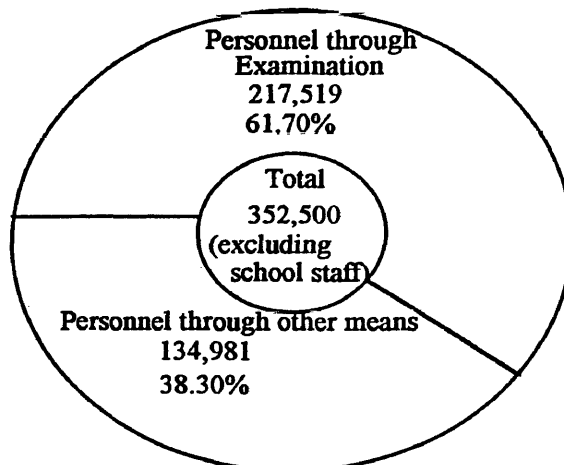


3. The Civil Servants Analysis by Education Ground (Unit: Person)

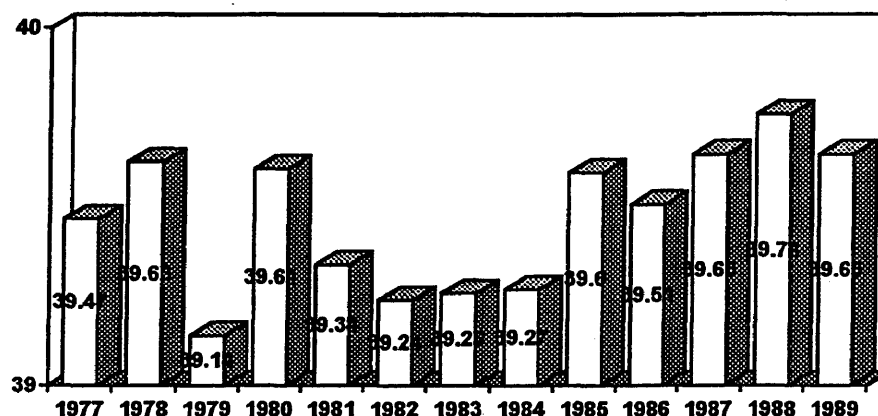


4. The Civil Servants Analysis of Administrative Agencies and Public Enterprises

Under the Executive Yuan by Recruitment Method
(Unit: Person)



5. The Civil Servants Analysis by Age



V. MAIN AFFAIRS OF THE CPA

1. Reviewing and Renovating Personnel Institutions:

The Examination Yuan takes charge of instituting the personnel systems and regulations. The CPA is the staff agency of personnel administration under the Executive Yuan, responsible for making personnel policies and implementing personnel administration. It designs, promotes and operates personnel affairs in accordance with

the Examination Yuan's regulations, presents the proposals on the public personnel institutions and researchers and operates the personnel measures under the authority of Executive Yuan.

2. Reviewing the Establishments:

The increase of decrease of the personnel quota in a government body is reviewed by the CPA and approved by the Executive Yuan. In order to meet the requirements of workloads, to utilize the human resources effectively, to prevent the vicious inflation of personnel quotas, and to achieve the goal of effective control, we take the following ways: promoting work simplification, implementing organization and quota evaluation, requiring every government body to review and handle the unqualified employees periodically, conducting manpower plan, and strictly reviewing the requests for additional quotas by all agencies on the basis of the annual preliminary budget.

3. Conducting "Recruitment through Examination":

According to the Constitution of the ROC, the selection for civil servants through an open competitive examination shall be put into operation. No person shall be appointed to a public office unless he passes examination. The current examinations for the entrants of the civil service are divided into three categories: the higher examination, the ordinary examination, and the special examination.

The qualifications for examinations and the positions for the successful examinees are described as Table 1.

Table 1 The Qualifications for Examinations and Positions for the Successful Examinees

Examination Categories	Qualifications for Examination	Positions for Successful Examinees	Remark
1. Higher Examination	Level 1: Master degree or above Level 2: College graduate in related fields	RR Grade 7 RR Grade 6	RR 12th Grade or PC Grade 6 for the Excellent CR 1st Grade or PC Grade 5 for the others
2. Ordinary Examination	Senior high graduates	CR Grade 3	
3. Special Examinations: Special Exam. A	Doctor or master degree with appropriate experience	AR Grade 10 for the Excellent. RR Grade for the others	
Special Exam. B	Same as higher examination	Same as higher examination level 2.	
Special Exam. C	Same as ordinary examination		
Special Exam. D	Junior high graduates		

Note: 1. CP = Position Classification; 2. AR = Authorized Rank; 3. RR = Recommended Rank;
4. CR = Commissioned Rank.

The Examinations are held by the Ministry of Examination, but in order to suit the examination to the recruitment, to select suitable talents in right number, yearly the CPA inquires of every agency about the number they need, and on the other hand, according to the inquiry sends a recruitment plan to the Ministry of Examination for reference. The successful examinees shall be assigned in various agencies under the Executive Yuan by the CPA, those under the Presidential Office and other Yuans by the Ministry of Personnel.

4. Training, Advanced Study, and Working Tour of the Civil Service:

(1) Institute Training Systems:

The training of the civil service is based on the principle of "development level by level" to institute the training systems, and is run by individual training institute as follows:

Training System	Trainee	Training focuses	Trainer
Pre-service training	Successful Examinees	Introduction to the general regulation for the civil service, the work methods and procedures, and current administrative policies	Training center and the authorized training center
Basic training	Civil servants of or under Grade 5	Increasing work skills	ditto
Professional training	Civil servants of Grade 6-8	Enriching professional knowledge	ditto
Managing training	Civil servants of Grade 9-11	Increasing managing and coordinating skills	
Leadership training	Civil servants of or above Grade 12	Promoting leadership skills	The central government

(2) Promoting Advanced Study and Working Tour:

In order to increase the knowledge of civil servants to meet the needs of affairs, the advanced study and working tours are promoted as the follows:

- Advanced Study Home
- (1) Study in evening colleges or graduate schools and video university
Government employees may enter evening colleges, or graduate schools by the consent and sponsor of their authoritative agencies.
 - (2) Foreign languages training
Some foreign language centers in National Taiwan University and some other colleges are open for the civil servants by the sponsor of their authoritative agencies.
 - (3) Video Junior Administrative College
The Video Junior College affiliated with National Chengchi University is for the advanced study of civil servants through an examination.
 - (4) Graduate-school level training
Graduate school level training programs offered by National Chengchi University are open for the qualified civil servants by the sponsor of their authoritative agencies.

	(5) Elective courses	The training programs of Public Policies Research, Administrative Laws, Computer Science, Program Design, etc. are offered for the civil servants by the National Chengchi University.
Advanced Study Abroad	(1) Advanced studies and topic studies	70 persons a year
	(2) Advanced studies for executive for above grade 9	50 persons a year, either individually or in group
	(3) Advanced studies creating talents of social science	Yearly 25 persons with Master's degree shall be sent abroad to study for Doctoral degree in Social science.
	(4) Advanced studies for various authoritative agencies	Various authoritative agencies may settle their own plans to select and send the right people abroad for advanced studies.

5. Appraisal, Encouragements, and Punishments of the Civil Service:

The staff appraisal is divided into regular appraisal and year-end appraisal. The appraisal results shall be the bases of the promotion, training, advanced study, awards, and punishments. The main goals are to select the talents, to encourage the excellent, and to remove the failures. The current appraisal, encouragement, and punishment systems are as follows:

(1) Staff Appraisal:

- a. Regular appraisal: The contents of the appraisal, including performance, conduct, and attendance, are evaluated by the direct supervisor and the head of the government body. The promotion and the year-end appraisal refer to the result.
- b. Year-end appraisal: By the end of the year, a civil servant who has served for one year shall receive the evaluation. The year-end appraisal rating shall be ranked into four grades. A(80 to 100), B(70 to 79), C(60-69), and D(less than 60). The direct supervisors should give the right score

and grade to their subordinates based on the regular appraisal records and performance, conduct, knowledge, and ability. A civil servant accorded an A gets one salary step forward and one-month salary, B gets one salary step forward, or one-month salary award for one who has been paid the seniority salary, C gets nothing, and D gets a removal.

- c. Additional appraisal: By the end of the year a civil servant who has served for more than half a year but less than one year shall receive the evaluation.
- d. Appraisal for special case: A civil servant accorded one 2-great merits gets one salary step forwards and one-month salary; but accorded one 2-great demerits gets a removal.

(2) Encouragements:

- a. Decorating orders: A civil servant with a great contribution and merit to the State shall be receive a Merit --order from the President through the recommendation of the authoritative agency.
- b. Conferring Medals: A civil servant with a great contribution, an honorable conduct, a long and excellent service, or a professional achievement shall receive a medal of Merit, Model, Service, and Professional respectively.
- c. General Awards: A civil servant who works hard and gets good records shall receive a Praise, Merit, Great Merit, or Meritorious Citation. The Encouragements shall be the basis of year-end appraisal and promotion.

(3) Punishments:

- a. Discipline Punishments: If a civil servant inobserves the rules, or is delinquent, it shall be sent, with the evidence, to the Committee on the Discipline of Civil Service under the Judicial Yuan to be deliberated and

disciplined. The discipline punishments are: Removal, Suspension, Degradation, Salary Reduction, Demerit, and Dispraise.

- b. **Administrative Punishments:** If a civil servants delays the duty, inobserves the office without ethics, conducts ill--behavedly, commits bribery, is absent from office without any reason, or injures the honors of the State and the civil servants, he shall be given a Dispraise, Demerit, Great Demerit, or Removal.
- c. **Prosecution in Crimes:** A civil servant involving the crime of rebellion, corruption or other criminal cases shall be sent to the judicial agencies by his serving agency with the evidence. He then shall be given removal, be sent to the Committee for the Discipline of the Civil Service, or be given some other suitable punishment resulting from the judgment.

6. Compensations and Welfare of the Government Employees:

(1) Compensation Situation:

- a. **Basic Pay:** It includes general salary and seniority salary. It is paid to the civil servants according to his qualifications, appraisal, and tenure.
- b. **Allowances:**
 - i. **Duty allowance:** It is given to those who are in charge of heavy duties or serve as supervisors, or to those whose jobs are dangerous.
 - ii. **Professional allowance:** It is given to the professional or technical servants.
 - iii. **Regional allowance:** It is given to those who serve in remote or special regions and foreign areas.

(2) Benefits:

- a. **Living Allowance:** It contains subsidies for marriage, child-birth, parent-death, subsidy for children education, and subsidy for family hospitalization.
- b. **Mutual-help Plan:** The fund on the plan is contributed with a certain ratio or the mutual-aid salary by the government and its employees monthly. It offers the allowances for each participant's marriage, retirement, resignation, disaster and funeral service.
- c. **Housing Loans:** After one year of serve, employees may apply for the low interest and long term housing loans to purchase their own houses.
- d. **Daily Commodities Supply Service:** The National Co-operative Federation, united by governmental employees consumer co-operation associations, has undertaken the supplies of daily commodities to all governmental employees. The supply prices are in average 20% lower than the ordinary market.
- e. **Recreation Activities:** Many recreational activities are held regularly, such as journey, sports, bridge, chess, exhibitions of calligraphy, painting, and photography, etc.
- f. **Loan for Disaster of Emergency:** A governmental employee or his dependents who have suffered disaster, emergency, serious illness, or death in the family may apply for the low interest loan.

7. Operating the Insurance of Government Employees:

All the governmental employees and their dependents shall be compulsorily insured, and the main contents are as follows:

Insurance Categories	Current Civil Servants Insurance	Civil Servants' Dependents Medical Insurance	Retired Civil Servants Medical Insurance	Civil Servants' Spouses Medical Insurance
Premium Rate	7-9 percent of the Monthly salary of the insured	3-5 percent of the Monthly salary of the insured	6-12 percent of the Monthly salary of the insured	6-12 percent of the Monthly salary of the insured
Payments	The premium shall be paid monthly, 35 percent of which shall be paid by the insured and the remaining 65 percent by the government.	50 percent of the premium shall be paid by the insured, 50 percent by the government	50 percent of the premium shall be paid by the insured, 50 percent by the government	50 percent of the premium shall be paid by the insured, 50 percent by the government
Contents of Insurance	Free medical care: It includes birth medical examination medical treatment, disease prevention & free hospitalization Cash payment: It includes retirement benefit, disability benefit, death benefit and funeral allowance.	Medical treatment and free hospitalization	Medical treatment and free hospitalization	Medical treatment and free hospitalization

8. Superannuation and Survivor's Benefits for the Civil Service:

The purposes of the establishment of superannuation and survivor benefits for the civil service are to promote the personnel metabolism; to keep the public manpower refreshed; and to console the aged, the survivors, and the orphaned. The main contents are as follows:

(1) Retirement Scheme:

a. Qualifications for retirement:

- i. Voluntary retirement: A civil servant who is at the age of 60 and with at least five years of service, or has remained the service for at least 25 years may apply for the voluntary retirement.
- ii. Compulsory retirement: A civil servant who is at the age of 65 and with at least five years of service, or has physically disabled and mentally retarded for his service should be enforced to retire.

b. Retirement benefits:

A civil servant who has served for at least 5 years but less than 15 years receives a lump sum. A civil servant who has served for 15 years or more select one payment of the following:

A lump sum, a monthly annuity, or both the lump sum and the monthly annuity. The pay standards are as follows:

- i. Lump sum: A lump sum shall be paid on "Points" (One point is equal to one month basic pay). A civil servant who has served for 5 years shall receive 9 points, then it shall be added one point for every additional half a year, who has served for 15 years shall once receive two additional points, but the maximum points are 61.

- ii. Monthly annuity: A civil servant who has served for 15 years shall receive a 75 percent of the monthly basic pay, then it shall be added 1 percent for every additional year, but the maximum amount is 90 percent.

(2) Survivor benefits scheme:

a. Qualifications for survivor benefits:

- i. A civil servant dies because of illness or accident.
- ii. A civil servant dies because of the service-related.

b. Survivor benefits:

- i. If a civil servant has served for less than 15 years, his survivors shall receive a 29-month-basic-pay survivor lump sum.
- ii. If a civil servant has served for at least 15 years, his survivors may receive a maximum 31-month-basic-pay survivor lump sum and 6-month-basic-pay survivor annuity.

9. Personnel Administration Information Systems:

In order to create a richer and more complete data base to quickly supply accurate and sufficient information for the personnel policy-making, the CPA has gradually established the following personnel administration information systems.

- (1) Civil Service Personal-data system.
- (2) Organization and establishment system.
- (3) Examination and assignment system.
- (4) Compensations and benefits system.
- (5) Housing system.
- (6) Public human resources reserve system.
- (7) Personnel administration plans and main cases systems.

(8) Personnel regulations system.

10. Personnel Agencies (Units) and Personnel Staff Management:

(1) Establishment, functions, and supervising system of Personnel agencies (Units)

Every agency, public school, and public enterprise under the Executive Yuan, the number of the subordinate agencies, shall set up a Personnel Division, Personnel Office, or Personnel Officer to manage the personnel affairs on the ground of the ground of the organization level.

The personnel agencies (units) in the first level under the Executive Yuan (such as Personnel Divisions in Ministries) are directly subject to the direction and supervision of the CPA, the other personnel units are subject to the delegated direction and supervision of their direct upper personnel units. However, a personnel unit is placed, and the personnel supervisor is the staff of the head of the body.

(2) Managing Personnel Staff:

The assignment, removal, and transfer of personnel officers under the Executive Yuan are handled by the due personnel unit; those of the personnel supervisors by the direct upper personnel unit, those of the personnel assistants by the authorized personnel unit through their own unit. A personnel supervisor may serve at a post for rotating 3-year term twice. If necessary, the supervisor may extend his serving period for one more year after the 6-consecutive years.

Appendix C

The Values Survey Questionnaire of Public Personnelists (The English Version)

Dear Madame and Sir:

I am a doctoral candidate at the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California, U.S.A. Currently, I am working on my dissertation on the values perspectives of Taiwan's public personnel administration.

This questionnaire is part of an exploratory study designed to survey the values and expectations of public personnelists. With your help in completing this questionnaire, the research results will be useful for personnel agencies to improve current personnel systems. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jyan-Shiu Lu

Please read the following instructions before answering the questions:

1. Your answers to the questions will be combined with those of other individuals who participate in the study, thus providing a comprehensive picture of the overall perceptions of the entire study group. Combining answers also serves to preserve the confidentiality of individual responses. The data are intended strictly for research use and aggregate information, not for any particular case or organizational comparison. Therefore, please do not write your name and organization title on the test sheets.
2. There are no right or wrong answers, just different perspectives. Please answer these questions according to your own judgment and realistic experience. **Desirability** means the ideal or the normative purpose, theoretically and conceptually; **Importance** means the institutions, goals, and operations actually relevant to and useful in personnel systems.
3. Please answer all questions.

- I. The following 5 sets of questions are pertinent to a desirable conception of public personnel institution, system design, organizational action, operation, and individual quality. Please use the 5-point-scale to RATE the desirability and importance of each value you perceive. Several value items may receive the same rate. Fill the numbers in the boxes.

How Desirable ?	How Important ?
1 = Must Not	1 = Not Important
2 = Should Not	2 = Somewhat Important
3 = May Not	3 = Important
4 = Should	4 = Very Important
5 = Must	5 = Most Important

1. The following four values and purposes must be taken into account in building a good Public Personnel Institution:

Desirability Importance

* EMPLOYEE PROTECTIONISM		
* EQUITY		
* EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP		
* EQUALITY		

2. To design a Personnel System the following four values are considered desirable and important:

Desirability Importance

* MERIT PRINCIPLES/ FORMALIZATION --		
* ECONOMY, EFFICIENCY/ COST MINIMIZATION		
* POLITICAL PATRONAGE		
* PRODUCTIVITY IN HUMAN RESOURCES/ UTILIZATION MAXIMIZATION		

(Continued...)

How Desirable ?	How Important ?
1 = Most Not	1 = Not Important
2 = Should Not	2 = Somewhat Important
3 = May Not	3 = Important
4 = Should	4 = Very Important
5 = Must	5 = Most Important

3. Public personnel agencies adopt the following four values as their Action Goals:

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* ORGANIZATIONAL STABILITY/ MAINTENANCE		
* MOTIVATION/INTERNAL COHESION, MORALE		
* POLITICAL RESPONSIVENESS		
* EMPLOYEE CAREER DEVELOPMENT		

4. Public personnelists adopt the following four values as their Operational Principles:

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* POLITICAL NEUTRALITY		
* PROFESSIONALISM / RATIONALISM		
* POLITICAL LOYALTY		
* CONSTITUENCY EFFECTIVENESS		

How Desirable ?	How Important ?
1 - Must Not	1 - Not Important
2 - Should Not	2 - Somewhat Important
3 - May Not	3 - Important
4 - Should	4 - Very Important
5 - Must	5 - Most Important

5. The following four values are taken into account for evaluating personal qualities of public personnelists:

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY		
* MANAGERIAL ADAPTABILITY /FLEXIBILITY		
* ACCOUNTABILITY		
* STRATEGIC VISION/CREATIVITY		

- II. The following six sets of questions are concerned with how people construct their personnel decisions and actions through the dynamics of different values orientations. Please rate the desirability and importance of each item using the 5-point-scale. Each values items may receive the same rating.

1. STAFFING CRITERIA -- Please indicate how desirable and important these four values are in influencing personnel staffing decisions and actions.

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* Seniority Qualification		
* Competence/Proficiency		
* Political Loyalty/Fidelity		
* Potential Competitiveness		

(Continued...)

How Desirable ?	How Important ?
1 - Must Not	1 - Not Important
2 - Should Not	2 - Somewhat Important
3 - May Not	3 - Important
4 - Should	4 - Very Important
5 - Must	5 - Most Important

2. **RECRUITMENT**--Here are four different perspectives on public recruitment, how desirable and important are they?

Recruitment	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* for balancing personnel flow (supply /demand)		
* for ensuring managerial efficiency		
* for enhancing political responsiveness		
* for maximizing investment on human resources		

3. **PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL**--Here are four different perspectives on performance appraisal. How desirable and important are these four perspectives?

Performance Appraisal considered:	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* fair tests of past performance		
* a collaborative process between managers and employees		
* for political selection and appointment		
* for employee career development		

4. PERSONNEL EXPENDITURES & FINANCIAL CONCERNS--

Personnel expenditures often constitute a significant portion of organizational overall budget and expenditure. Given this, there are at least four perspectives on personnel compensation, reward from a financial vantage point. How desirable and important are these four perspectives?

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* Balancing Budget as the Priority		
* Minimizing Cost and Rationalizing Organization		
* Exploring External Supports		
* Maximizing Utilization of Human Resources as Human Capital		

5. TRAINING--Training is often considered correlated to career development, but different values perspectives have different emphases. Please rate the desirability and importance of the following four types of training.

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* Pre-Job Orientation and Knowledge Training		
* Socialization after Appointment		
* On-the-job Training		
* Whole Career Retraining		

6. EXIT/TURNOVER -- How desirable and important is each type of exit to your organization?

Desirability Importance

Employees leave the organization through:

* Retirement		
* Dismissal/Layoffs		
* Dismissal/Resignation		
* Career Consultation and Transfer		

III. Please rate the following values for future personnel actions and practices.

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
1. Institutionalizing and legalizing the rights & obligations of civil servants		
2. Establishing public personnel institutions and systems in terms of constitutional integrity		
3. Working towards high efficiency, economic concern, personnel management		
4. Asserting equity, fairness, and openness in personnel changes		
5. Responding to executive leadership by advising flexibility in personnel decisions and actions		
6. Serving proactively toward democratic ethos and societal changes		
7. Making human resource strategies for employee career development		
8. Safeguarding equal access to civil service employment and examination for societal members as a whole.		

IV. How desirable and important are these personnel goals to your organization?

How Desirable ?	How Important ?
1 = Must Not	1 = Not Important
2 = Should Not	2 = Somewhat Important
3 = May Not	3 = Important
4 = Should	4 = Very Important
5 = Must	5 = Most Important

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
1. High Productivity --in human resources, manpower planning		
2. High Morale--employee motivation		
3. Efficiency--personnel cost- minimization		
4. Good Organizational Leadership--personnel as instruments for advising executives		
5. Employee Career Development --career planning, advancement, training, consultation		
6. Organization Stability -personnel maintenance		
7. Service to the Public		
8. Service to Public Employees --compensation, benefit, safety		
9. Personnel Functions, Activities, Routines		
10. Public Employee Protection --individual rights, obligations, grievance, due process		
11. Personnel Collaboration --interorganizational communication		
12. Organizational Growth/Expansion --attracting, recruiting, selecting new staff members		

V. How desirable and important are each of these constituents and clients?

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
Employees		
Mass Media		
Colleagues		
Family of Employees		
My Superiors		
Myself		
Interest Groups/Political Parties		
The General Public		
Supervisory Agencies		
Elected Officials		

VI. How desirable and important are the following descriptors of personal qualities for public employees in general?

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
<u>WORK</u>		
Productive		
Effective/Efficient		
Logical, Systematic		
Autonomous, Proactive		
Responsible		
Industrious		
Cooperative/Collaborative		
Progressive		
Creative/Innovative		
Helpful/Supportive		
<u>VIRTUE</u>		
Honest/Faithful		
Righteous/Fair		
Humble/Sincere		
Endeavoring		
<u>KNOWLEDGE and EXPERIENCE</u>		
Intellectual		
Scientific/Rational		
Self-Cultivated		
<u>CAPABILITY</u>		
Accurately Expressive		
Persistent		
Healthy		

VII. How desirable and important are the following factors in influencing your decision to enter the personnel field.

How Desirable ?	How Important ?
1 - Must Not	1 - Not Important
2 - Should Not	2 - Somewhat Important
3 - May Not	3 - Important
4 - Should	4 - Very Important
5 - Must	5 - Most Important

	<u>Desirability</u>	<u>Importance</u>
* Obtaining sufficient pay		
* Pursuing a stable life		
* Establishing good interpersonal relationships		
* Promoting the self to higher social status		
* Endeavoring to achieve self-actualization		
* Fulfilling family expectations		
* Serving the public		

VIII. May we please have the following information about yourself and your organization? Please write the appropriate number in the box.

1. The government classification/jurisdiction of your organization:

- 1 = Ministry
- 2 = Central Personnel Administration Agency
- 3 = Personnel Department (Municipal, Provincial)
- 4 = Personnel Office

2. How many employees does your organization have at all location?

3. What is your age group?

- 1 = 20 - 30 years
- 2 = 31 - 40 years
- 3 = 41 - 50 years

- 4 = 51 - 60 years
- 5 = above 61 years

4. Your Present Rank and Grade:
 1= Authorized Rank, AR, Grades 10-14
 2= Recommended Rank, RR, Grades 6-9
 3= Commissioned Rank, CR, Grades 1-5
5. What is your gender? 1 = Male, 2 = Female
6. What is your marital status?
 1 = Single, 2 = Married, 3 = Other
- a. If you are married, how many children do you have?
 1 = None, 2 = Yes ,
- b. If you are married, is your spouse also working for the government?
 1 = No , 2 = Yes
7. Your highest educational achievement:
 1 = Graduate degree or above
 2 = University (Undergraduate, Bachelor's Degree)
 3 = Police or Military Academy Degree
 4 = Vocational College
 5 = High School
 6 = Junior-High School or below
8. Do you have appointment qualification?
 1 = Yes , 2 = No
9. Years of Service/Experience
- a. How many years have you been a civil servant?
- b. How many years have you worked in the present organization, agency, department, or ministry?
- c. How many years have you been in the personnel field?
10. Please give your scores on performance appraisal in the past three years: Last Year
- | | 1992 | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 = Grade A, above 90 points | <input type="text"/> | |
| 2 = Grade B, 80-90, | 1991 | <input type="text"/> |
| 3 = Grade C, 70-80, | | |
| 4 = Grade D, below 70 points | 1990 | <input type="text"/> |
11. During the past three years, have you been promoted?
 1 = Yes , 2 = No

Appendix D

The Chinese Version of The Values Survey Questionnaire

考銓、人事行政人員價值觀研究問卷

親愛的女士、先生們：您好！

我是美國南加州大學公共行政學博士候選人，目前正在撰寫有關人事行政的博士論文，題目以我國考銓、人事行政機關人員為研究對象，這個問卷在於了解人事行政機關人員對人事制度的看法，您的協助答覆此問卷，乃是本研究得以完成的前提，亦是研究結果：學術進展與實務改善，得以成就的開端，謹在此致上最誠摯的謝意。敬祝

健康愉快

美國南加州大學公共行政學博士候選人

盧建旭 敬啓

填答時請注意：

1. 您的答案僅作整體性的分析，資料絕不作個別分析，本問卷純供論文研究，請不必寫下您的大名與單位名稱。
2. 所有答案祇代表一種看法，無所謂對或錯，請根據您的看法與體驗，填下最真實的答案，本問卷所謂必然性，乃指理論或認知上所必要的理想、所欲達成的目的；重要性則意指，有助於實際公務執行之制度、目的與措施。
3. 請回答所有的問題，並在適當答案的□打“✓”。

壹、以下5組問題有關人事制度建立、組織設置、任務界定、業務執行、個人素質的價值、標準，而這些價值、標準考量有時在應然層面的必要性與實際層面的重要性不盡相符，請依您的看法，就每一個價值、標準作必要程度與重要程度的評定，每個價值，可能得到同樣的評分，在適當答案的□打“✓”，（先作必然性，再作重要性）。

必然性					重要性				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
絕對	應該	也許	應該	絕對	不	有	重	非	最
對	不	不	必	必	重	些	重	常	重
不必	必要	必要	必要	必要	要	要	要	要	要

1. 建立一個健全完善的人事制度，以下4種價值常被考量：

—保障與明定公務人員的權利義務.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—確保公平、公正、公開的人事原則.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—擴大機關首長的人事運用權.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—提供社會大眾平等服公職的機會.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. 設立人事組織，下列4種價值常被考量：

—確保功績制與賞罰法制化.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—追求經濟、效率與降低人事成本.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—維持適度的政治任命權限.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—提高人力資源運用的效能.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. 人事單位任務的界定，通常以下4種價值為行動目標：

—維持人事安定，組織正常運作.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—激勵士氣，促進機關內部融洽.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—因應外在需要，政治變遷.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—重視員工的生涯規劃與發展.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. 人事行政人員執行職務，常遵行以下4項原則：

—行政中立的原則.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—專業合理性的原則.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—服從機關首長指揮的原則.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—主動考量相關民衆的權益.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. 考量人事行政人員個人素質，以下4項價值標準的必然性與實際上的重要性？

—負起行政責任.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—保持適度的管理彈性與適應性.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—擔負政治上的職責要求.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—持有前瞻性及革新精神.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

必然性					重要性				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
絕對	應該	也許	應該	絕對	不	有些	重	非常	最
必要	必要	必要	必要	必要	重	重	要	重	重

10. 訓練—訓練常與公務人員生涯發展有很大關聯，但不同訓練方式常有不同的價值考量，請問下列4種訓練方式，對目前人事運作的必然性和實際上的重要性為何？

—戰前講習及基本知識訓練.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—任用後組織自行教導.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—在職訓練.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—整體性生涯規劃、訓練發展.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. 離職—以下4種離職方式對目前人事制度在運作上的必然性與實際上的重要性為何？

公務人員欲離職經由：

—退休.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—解雇.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—辭職.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
—生涯諮詢、工作輪換.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

參、下列有關人事運作與執行的目標，對未來人事制度整體性而言，其分別的必然性與實際上的重要性為何？

12. 制度化公務人員的權利與義務.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. 建立一個全盤而合憲的人事制度.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. 建立高效率的人事管理制度.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. 確保人事公平、公開的原則.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. 確立人事行政人員為機關首長的幕僚.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. 因應社會大眾需求.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. 制定人力資源策略，促進員工生涯發展.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. 保障社會大眾應考試、服公職的均等機會.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

肆、請問下列人事目標對您所服務的單位，機關的必然性與實際上的重要性為何？

[illegible]

伍、下列對象對您在執行職務時考量的必然性與實際上的重要性為何？

32.員工.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
33.新聞媒體.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
34.同事、同僚.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
35.員工眷屬.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
36.我的上司.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
37.我自己.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
38.利益團體、政黨.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
39.大眾.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40.上級機關.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
41.民意代表.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

陸、以您而言，以下4組項目用於公務人員品質考核標準之必然性與實際上的重要性為何？

	必然性					重要性				
	1 絕對 不 必要	2 應該 不 必要	3 也許 不 必要	4 應該 必 要	5 絕對 必 要	1 不 重 要	2 有 些 重 要	3 重 要	4 非 常 重 要	5 最 重 要
一工作項目：										
42.質量—業務處理精確.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
43.時效—效率效能.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
44.方法—有條不紊.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
45.主動—自發積極.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
46.負責—勇於負責.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
47.勤勉—認真勤奮.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
48.協調—合作連繫.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
49.研究—悉心檢討改進.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
50.創造—創新創見.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
51.便民—利民便民服務.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
二操行項目：										
52.忠誠—忠於國家及職守.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
53.廉正—廉潔自持.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
54.性情—謙厚謙和.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
55.好尚—好學勤奮.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
三學識項目：										
56.學驗—學識充裕常識豐富.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
57.見解—科學思考分析正確.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
58.進修—勤於進修充實技能.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
四才能項目：										
59.表達—敘述簡要清晰.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
60.實踐—貫徹始終.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
61.體能—體力強健勝任工作.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

捌、您個人及服務單位的基本資料（請將合適答案填入方格內□）

70. 您的服務單位是：

1. 考試院、銓敘部、考選部

2. 人事行政局

3. 人事處（省、市、各部會）

4. 人事室.....□

71. 您所服務單位有多少人事行政人員？.....（請填寫）

72. 您的年齡（實足）是.....歲（請填寫）

1. 20~30歲 3. 41~50歲 5. 61歲以上

2. 31~40歲 4. 51~60歲.....□

73. 您的職等：

1. 簡任十職等以上（含簡派）

2. 荐任六~九職等（含荐派、聘用、臨編）

3. 委任一~五職等（含委派）.....□

74. 性別：1. 男 2. 女.....□

75. 婚姻狀況：1. 未婚 2. 已婚 3. 其他.....□

a. 如您已婚，請問您是否有子女？1. 沒有 2. 有.....位（請填寫）...□

b. 若您已婚，您的配偶是否公務人員？1. 不是 2. 是.....□

76. 您的教育程度：

1. 研究所以上 3. 軍警學校 5. 高中、高職

2. 大學 4. 專科學校 6. 初中、或其他.....□

77. 您是否有任用資格：1. 沒有 2. 有.....□

78. 服務年資：

a. 您擔任公務人員多少年？.....年（請填寫）

b. 您在目前單位服務已有多少年？.....年

c. 您擔任人事行政人員已有多少年？.....年

79. 您過去3年的考績：

1. 甲等 2. 乙等 3. 丙等 4. 丁等

民國八十一年.....□

民國八十年.....□

民國七十九年.....□

80. 在過去3年中，您是否升遷過？1. 沒有 2. 有.....□