

국가경영을 통한 관료제 개혁에 관한 연구

최락인*

A study on reform of public bureaucracy through governance

Rackin Choi *

요약

베버가 관료제 모형을 최초로 제시했을 때 관료제의 효율성은 실로 엄청난 것이었다. 그러나 정부 및 관료조직은 이제 변화의 중심에 서 있다고 할 수 있다. 본 연구의 목적은 거버넌스(governance)에 대한 절대적인 비전 선택을 강요하지는 않는다. 보다 더 분명하게 정부에 대한 유용한 선택을 하고자 하는 것이다. 정부나 행정에 대한 어떠한 패러다임의 선택도 파레토의 최적의 상태를 가져다주지는 못한다. 그러나 우리가 거버넌스에 대한 판단을 할 때 무엇을 채택하고 무엇을 희생해야 하는지를 명백하게 해준다. 오늘날의 정부와 관료제는 변화를 모색하지 않으면 더 이상 효율성을 보장하지 못한다. 정부와 관료조직은 개혁과 혁신을 하지 않으면 안 된다. 정부개념은 통치개념에서 이제 합치의 의미를 가진 거버넌스로 바뀌어야 한다. 거버넌스는 국가경영을 의미한다. 관료제 개혁을 통한 정부조직의 개혁과 민주적 참여, 그리고 분권화 등을 통한 정부의 경쟁력을 확보하는 정부활동이 곧 현대적 의미의 국가경영이다.

Abstract

It was amazing that efficiency of bureaucratic system, when Marx Weber presented theory of bureaucracy. Now, Government and Bureaucratic organization are confronted with a forked road of change. The purpose of this paper is not so much to force choices among the alternative visions of governance but rather to make the choices available to governments more evident. Any choice of paradigms for government and administration is unlikely to be Pareto optimal, but we should be clear about what we receive and what we sacrifice when we make these judgements about governance. Today, government and public bureaucracy must be changed. There are needed an innovation of government and public bureaucracy. It must be changed concepts from government to governance. Governance is a national management.

▶ Keyword : 정부(Government), 관료제(Bureaucracy), 개혁(Reform), Governance

• 제1저자 : 최락인
• 접수일 : 2004.08.16, 심사완료일 : 2004.09.05
* 성결대학교 지역사회개발학부 강의교수

I. Introduction

Public administration faces a huge array of challenges in the 1990s. In addition to coping with scarcity, managers have to confront the declining morale of works and increasing skepticism of clients. Changes in organizational formats and managerial styles have not kept pace with changes in society. Public management in the 1990s in almost any country requires extraordinary patience and skills.

More important, it requires an extraordinary conviction that the quality of life can be enhanced by collective action.

First of all, we will try to define what is administration? There are many changes and challenges in public administration. L. D. White argued that the administration before 200 years was the national hatred object and the administration before 100 year was the least as a necessary evil. But Administration of today must exist as the object of national confidence. Public Administration of 90's is complicated, and difficult phenomenon and a flexibility about a change of administrative environment drop and facing a huge challenge and a trials.

D. Waldo said "The administration is all activity and internal management to do so that the government achieves a public purpose." It's main contents are actions in government structure (system) and of a government official, and it is achieved government bureaucracy to the center. Present Administration and organizational theory that include understanding about government bureaucracy and criticism, an innovation and an alternative of government bureaucracy, and public official ethics.

More important, it require an extraordinary conviction that the quality of life can be enhanced by collective action.

There is defining the Disciplinary Categories. They are Generic Organizational Theory and the Public Bureaucracy Literature. Since both the generic organizational theory and public bureaucracy streams of literature could be treated as parts of the vast literature on organizations, the categories must be clarified. By "Generic organizational theory", It means the part of the social scientific literature on organizations sometimes called "functional organizational theory", and more specifically, the recent work on organizational structure and process culminating in contingency theory. It is a theory that Generic organizational theory can be applied generally in every organizations.

James Thompson and Herbert Simon have been particularly concerned with the determinants of organizational management, structure and process -much more so than have them on the public bureaucracy. Generic organizational theories sought concepts and models that could supposedly be applied generally to all organizations.

On the other hand, a literature on public bureaucracies treats them as a district category among organizations. This literature mainly emphasizes the political and legal setting of the governmental bureaucracy and the roles of bureaucrats and their agencies in the political system. Many of which call for more application of organizational theorists' concepts and procedure in the analysis of public bureaucracies.

Organizational theory has a better developed empirical and conceptual tradition than the public bureaucracy literature, and it has better-developed concepts and procedures for the analysis of internal management, structures, and processes.

Organizational theorists have paid insufficient attention to the political and governmental influences on organizations.

Today, government and public bureaucracy must be changed. There are needed an innovation of government and public bureaucracy. It must be changed concepts from government to governance.

II. Toward Convergence

2.1 bureaucratic power and its sources

To understand the sources and consequences of bureaucratic power, a framework relating bureaucracy to its relevant environment must be constructed. An open systems model for analyzing bureaus is presented in Figure 1. Although the model is an oversimplification of reality, it contains the major environmental influences on a bureau.

Level 1 inputs from the environment have little impact on bureau power but rather establish the conditions necessary for bureaucracy to exist. a nation's culture, economics, history, and technology combine to favor the development of bureaucracy. The impact of these level 1 factors on bureaus is relatively remote and will not be considered specifically in this analysis because these factors

should be common to most developed or developing nations of the world.

The environmental influences in level 2 are more direct than those in level 1. An examination of level 2 influences will reveal why bureaucracy gains political influence at the expense of the other political institutions. Briefly, four factors(the nature of politics, the organization of government, task demands, the nature of the bureaucratic function) in the environment contribute to bureaucracy assuming political functions.

Level 3 environmental inputs determine whether or not a specific bureau has political power. these factors may be divided into two types, the bureau's external environment and its internal characteristics. A bureau's political support includes support from both citizens and government officials who deal with the bureau or are affected in some way by its operation. The policy environment of a bureau concerns the type of public policy-regulatory, distribute, redistributive, or other forms-that the bureau administers. The policy environment affects both political support and a bureau's internal sources of power. The internal sources of power are three: (1) knowledge-the information and expertise possessed by the agency; (2) cohesion-the commitment of the bureau's personnel to the organization and its

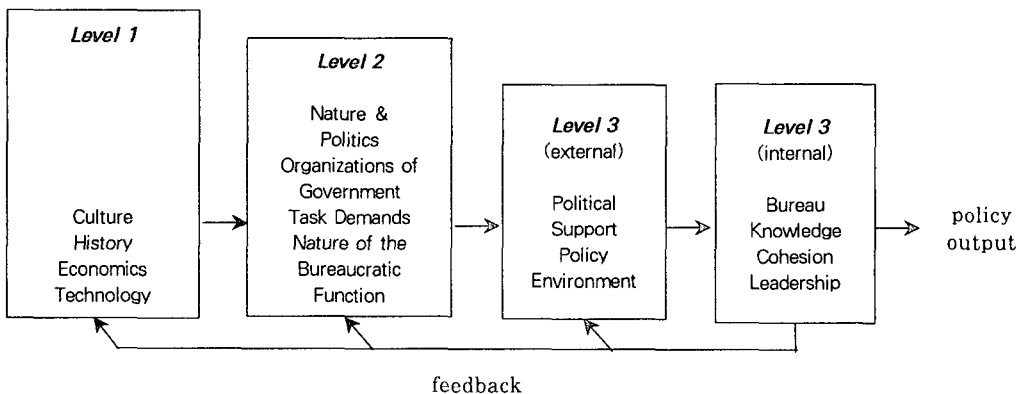


Fig. 1 The Environment of Bureau

goals; and (3) leadership—the effectiveness of the agency chief in managing the agency.

A final observation about the model in Figure 3-1 is in order. A bureau makes decisions, establishes policies, and delivers goods and services; these actions feed back to the environment. In this way a bureau affects the nature of the environment it occupies so that a bureau not only responds to its environment but over time can also shape the environment that influences its power base. Bureaus interact with the environment, and both the agency and the environment change as the result of the interaction.

2.2 Organizational Analysis in Public Agencies

2.2.1 Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom

They observed that nations choose among variants of two fundamental models of decision and allocation. Dahl and Lindblom can distinguish organizational forms at the two extremes, which they called “agencies” and “enterprises”. a) Agencies are political organization based on political hierarchy. b) Enterprises are economic organization based on decentralized and autonomous organizational forms controlled by the price system, or economic markets.

Although Dahl and Lindblom noted such general similarities between agencies and enterprises as internal hierarchy and bureaucratic form, they also noted differences, which they saw as quite significant for institutional design.

2.2.2 Anthony Downs

Downs presented a systematic set of propositions about bureaucratic motivations and behaviors and about the environment, territoriality, internal structures, communications, control, change and decision-making process of bureaus.

Much of analysis of these dimensions was akin to generic organizational theory in that he cited common organizational properties as causal factors.

He attached major significance to the absence of economic markets for agency outputs to the accompanying political and institutional controls on the public bureaucracy. He noted only that they should be used in classifying bureaus.

2.2.3 Donald P. Warwick

Warwick mounted one of the first explicit challenges both to the organizational theory and public bureaucracy research.

He quotes with approval Down’s Law of Hierarchy, and generally paints a highly similar picture of the public bureaucracy.

And he emphasized the influence on organizational structures as size, technology and environmental uncertainty.

2.2.4 Marshall W. Meyer

Marshall Meyer studied structural change in city, country, and state finance agencies. Using a quantitative and qualitative analysis of longitudinal data, he concluded that the agencies face complex environmental pressures for change. He argued that public agencies do not show marked resistance to change, but remain open to environment pressures for change.

He suggested that emphasis on rule enforcement in public agencies comes not from caution but from a strong concern with fairness and impartiality.

2.2.5 Allen H. Barton

He offered a brief propositions about bureaucratic maladies. Public bureaucracies tend toward inefficiency, lack of innovation and unresponsiveness to public wants. As oversimplified as this framework is, it succinctly crystallized some of the central tenets of this stream of literature. His framework also emphasized the relevance of this issue to administrative reform and improved management of the public bureaucracy.

2.2.6 Laurence E. Lynn

He emphasized the complex political and

institutional interventions that complicate administrative process within agencies. He cited that top officials become preoccupied with high-level policy and inattentive to internal management. This suggests a reason for the divergence between the organizational theory and the public bureaucracy studies that these authors address.

2.2.7 Herbert Kaufman

He concerned the external constrains of the governmental setting and the related internal procedural complexities. And he noted that bureau chiefs must constantly monitor interest group and the media. His careful analysis of actual behaviors also provided a counterpart for this literature. He emphasized that much of what these managers did resembled the work involved in running any large organization.

III. Feature of Bureaucracy

3.1 The Rise and Fall of bureaucracy

Max Weber would have been surprised by how accurate his prediction of bureaucracy's triumph has proven. He predicted the triumph of bureaucracy because of its greater efficiency: "The purely bureaucratic form of administrative organization, that is the monocratic variety of bureaucracy, is, as regards the precision, constancy, stringency and reliability of its operations, superior to all other forms of administrative organization." During the last hundred years, the landscape of society has changed dramatically as large bureaucratic organizations replaced small family enterprises in retailing, manufacturing, and services.

Despite all these successes, respect of

bureaucracy is declining. In so many other areas of life, great success has become the limitation of today. Suddenly everyone knows that bureaucracy is slowing us down and keeping our organizations internally focuses and uncreative. It is time to question bureaucracy. What is the basis of success? What is it suddenly less useful than it was? What can we do about it? What are the alternatives to bureaucracy?

What Bureaucracy is and Why it conquered all. There are the six characteristics of bureaucracy, all part of Weber's original description, are as follows.

3.1.1 A hierarchical chain of command

The bureaucratic organization is structured as a pyramid. There is an absolute boss on top who divides up the task of the organization and gives responsibility for each subtask to subbosses who divide responsibility. It constructed an unbroken chain of sub-subbosses that stretches down to every employee.

3.1.2 Specialization by function

Bureaucracy achieves efficiency through specialization of labor. The organizational structure of a bureaucracy is created by dividing the overall task into a series of well-defined specialities or functions. Each function is given responsibility for a defined set of tasks and given the tools needed to accomplish that task. In general, specialization leads to more effective ways of doing each aspect of the organization's overall task.

3.1.3 Uniform policies covering right and duties

A bureaucracy is governed by uniform written rules and policies. Profit or not-for-profit are set by the board and the management. These rules define the rights and duties of employees and managers. In a bureaucracy, the bosses is responsible for the actions of all the people under him or her and has the right to give them orders that they must dutifully obey.

3.1.4 Standardized procedure for each job

Written rules and procedures extended the power of the commands, standardizing the actions. In a bureaucracy, fixed procedures govern how employees are to perform their tasks, sometimes to an astonishing degree.

3.1.5 A career based on promotions for technical competence

Success in the bureaucratic organization is defined as a lifetime career of advancing to higher levels in the chain of command. Rising in the ranks provides both power and symbols of status. The promise of a good bureaucratic career allowed organizations to recruit, train and retain highly skilled specialists.

The security of a professional career was an important element in bureaucracy's success.

3.1.6 Impersonal relations

In a bureaucracy, relationships are from role to role rather than from person to person. Impersonal relations helped move bureaucracy beyond nepotism and favoritism by preventing family feeling or friendship from getting in way of enforcing rules and making tough decisions.

3.2 Alternatives of Bureaucracy

Why bureaucracy no longer works? The world no longer needs the machinelike organizations bureaucracy produces. The challenges of our times call for lively, intelligent organizations.

Bureaucracy was efficient for certain kinds of repetitive tasks that characterized the early Industrial Revolution. It no longer works so well, because its rules and procedures are often diametrically opposed to the principles needed for workers to take the next step toward greater organizational intelligence. Today, the essence of works are changing.

Unskilled work	→ Knowledge work
Meaningless repetitive tasks	→ Innovation and caring
Individual work	→ Teamwork
Functional-based work	→ Project-based work
Single-skilled	→ Multiskilled
Power of bosses	→ Power of customers
Coordination from above	→ Coordination among peers

Fig. 2 The changing nature of work

Knowledge work inherently has a large component of self-direction and teamwork and is hampered by remote control from distant bosses. Now the mindless repetitive jobs are rapidly disappearing. Machines do more of the routine work, and the work that is left require initiative and flexibility. Bureaucracy is too autocratic and rule-driven to motivate and manage the intelligence that is brought to innovation and caring. Virtually every recent management innovation that works relies in part on the power of teams. Organizations become more intelligent when they find ways to bring the intelligence of every member into supporting the purpose and goals of the organization. As knowledge workers shift from static jobs to solving a series of problems or seizing opportunities, they do so in work organized as projects. Each project in this complex world generally requires a cross-disciplinary team. Individuals with multiple skills are brought together to cover more viewpoints in a team of manageable size, and the team does its work guided by feedback, not commands. Bureaucracy gets its margin of safety from extra bodies. If extra work of one kind appears because customers ordered a different mix of products than expected, a bureaucracy has extra worker of that exact type waiting in the wings, or it falls short of meeting the orders. This system of narrowly defined skills and extra bodies is expensive and inflexible.

For an organization to be responsive, customers' wishes have to a strong influence on the people doing the work. Relaying this sort of information

through bosses is too slow, they may not be there to hear what customers want. This sort of thinking applies to internal customers or users of a unit's output as much as to external customers.

Clearly, new systems of coordination and control are needed. In a bureaucratic system, employees are not responsible for coordinating their work with others at their level; that is their boss's job.

Reality has become so complex and multidimensional that there is no way of dividing the organization into chains of command that will work for all aspects of the challenges faced.

IV. Conclusion

In general, the body of general distinctiveness of public bureaucracies on many important dimensions. This research provides useful evidence of some of the ways in which public ownership, political environments, and services of a bureaucracy can influence its organizational and managerial properties.

Dwight Waldo (1968) once wrote that public administration has had so many identity crises that in comparison the life of the average adolescent appeared idyllic. Waldo was discussing public administration as an academic discipline, but the contemporary practice of public administration displays much of the same uncertainty. The questions of practice concern the structure of government, management of those structures, and the proper role of public administration in governance, its role in the process of governance.

The first of these principles is the assumption of an apolitical civil service, and associated with that the politics and administration dichotomy and the concept of the "neutral competence" (Kaufman 1956) within the civil service. The second

significant change in government relevant to this discussion is the decline of the assumption of hierarchical and rule-based management within the public service, and the authority of civil servants to implement and enforce regulations outside the public service. An alternative to the market model, as well as to traditional models of bureaucracy, is the "dialectic" or participatory organization. We have now looked at several alternative movements away from the traditional model of administration in the public sector. The governance role of public administration is perhaps the most significant aspect of any reassertion of the role of the public service. The existence of a powerful and entrenched civil service created in essence the conditions for a strong policy role for that bureaucracy in governance.

The purpose of this paper is not so much to force choices among the alternative visions of governance but rather to make the choices available to governments more evident. To the extent that these theories have been implemented in the real world (particularly the market system) they have been put forward for ideological reasons as much as from any thorough consideration of their relative merits.

Any choice of paradigms for government and administration is unlikely to be Pareto optimal, but we should be clear these judgements about governance.

Today in the age of information, government and public bureaucracy are forced changeable wants. There are needed a reform and an innovation of government and public bureaucracy. The concepts of Government must be changed from government to governance. Governance is a means of national management.

Modernistic national management is a action of government with reform of governmental organization, democratic participation, and decentralization through reform of public bureaucracy.

REFERENCES

- [1] 정종기·최락인, “21세기 디지털시대의 공교육의 발전방안”, 「한국컴퓨터정보학회논문지」, 통권 제25호, 2003. 3.
- [2] 최락인, “대학생들의 정보화 인식과 실태에 관한 실증적 연구”, 「한국컴퓨터정보학회논문지」, 통권제20호, 2001.12.
- [3] Caiden, G., Administrative Reform Comes of Age, Berlin: Aldine de Gruyter, 1990.
- [4] Dahl Robert A. and Lindblom, Charles E., Politics, Economics, and Welfare, New York: Harper, 1953.
- [5] Gifford & Elizabeth Pinchot, The End of Bureaucracy and the Rise of the Intelligent Organization, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1993.
- [6] Hill, Larry B., The State of Public Bureaucracy, New York: Sharpe, 1992.
- [7] Kaufman, Herbert, Are Government Organizations Immortal?, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1976.
- [8] Lindblom, Charles E., Politics and Markets, New York: Basic Books, 1977.
- [9] Lynn, Laurence E., Management the Public’s Business, New York: Basic Books, 1981.
- [10] Peters, B. Guy, The Politics of Bureaucracy, 4th ed. Longman Publishers, N.Y. 1995.
- [11] Pierre, J., Introduction: Understanding Governance. In J. Pierre(ed.), Debating Governance. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- [12] Rouban, L., Citizen and the New Governance, IOS Press, 2001.
- [13] Thompson, M., Performance-related Pay: the Employee Experience, Brighton: Institute of Manpower Studies, University of Sussex, 1993.
- [14] Waldo, D., Scope of the theory of public administration, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 8, 1968.
- [15] Weber, Max, The Sociology of Religion, vol.1, Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.
- [16] White, Leonard D., The Republican Era. New York: Macmillan, 1959.

저자 소개

최락인
 행정학박사
 성결대학교 지역사회개발학부
 강의교수