

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT ORIGINAL TEXTBOOK SERIES

公共管理英文版教材系列

Public Organization Theory

FIFTH EDITION
(第五版)

公共组织理论

[美] Robert B. Denhardt (罗伯特·B·登哈特) 著

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出版说明

21 世纪, 我国的公共管理学呈现良好的发展势头, 在教育界、理论界、实务界等社会各界的共同努力下, 公共管理专业教育正逐渐与世界同步。为了全面深入地反映国外公共行政与公共管理的发展脉络, 系统完整地介绍国外公共行政与公共管理专业的经典著作和最新研究成果, 让国内读者直接阅读原汁原味的英文原著, 提高教学研究和实际工作水平, 中国人民大学出版社引进了公共管理英文版系列教材, 影印出版。

本系列教材所选书目均系国外公共行政与公共管理领域最权威的专家所著的经典著作, 是国外知名大学正在使用的权威教科书, 综合反映了当前本领域的理论发展现状与实际操作水平。本系列教材注重理论与实践紧密结合, 对于系统培养学生思考和解决实际问题的能力大有裨益。同时, 所选教材行文流畅, 简洁易懂, 便于阅读。

为了使读者对每本教材有一个整体了解, 把握该书在公共行政与公共管理学中的地位与价值, 我们特别邀请专家对每本书撰写了导读, 并把目录翻译成中文, 供读者阅读时参考。同时, 中国人民大学出版社将于近期陆续推出本系列教材的中文版。

需要特别提及的是, 我们出版这套系列教材, 并不表明我们赞成这些著作中的每一个观点。这些著作都基于西方特定的行政生态, 是西方公共行政与公共管理理论与实践发展的产物, 读者在阅读时不应忘记“取其精华, 去其糟粕”的原则。

当前, 我国的高等教育改革取得了突破性的进展, 其中一项切实的举措即是规定有条件的高校实行双语教学, 教育部对此也有具体的要求。贯彻这一精神, 满足我国高等教育国际化发展的需要, 提高学生阅读专业英语资料的能力, 也是我们影印出版这套公共管理教材的初衷。

中国人民大学出版社

2004 年 1 月

导 读

在美国的行政思想史上，历来存在着管理主义和宪政主义两种倾向。前者关注效率，后者则关注社会公平、平等、民主、回应性等。亚历山大·汉密尔顿和托马斯·杰弗逊分别作为两种倾向的代表，开创了美国历史之先河。自汉密尔顿，中经威尔逊（其行政学研究具有里程碑式的意义）、威洛比、古立克、西蒙至奥斯本和盖布勒（他们的《重塑政府》是新公共管理的代表性著作），形成了一种管理主义的思想传承。而从杰弗逊，中经沃尔多、戈尔姆比斯基、奥斯特洛姆至本书的作者登哈特，则是一种宪政主义的思想传承。

因此，本书作者对以管理主义为主旨的新公共管理的批评，表明钟摆在宪政主义和管理主义两者之间的摆动再次摆向宪政主义。这种情况在美国历史上已经发生了多次。强调社会公平、公正的新公共行政（按作者说该理论是非主流的）曾经对占据了多时的管理主义发出过迅猛但却短暂的一击。本书的批评针对的是甚嚣尘上的新公共管理，因为新公共管理的钟摆可能过分地摆向了管理主义。

我们对铺天盖地而来的新公共管理运动可能已不陌生。奥斯本和盖布勒在《重塑政府》中提出的十大原则构成了新公共管理的核心。事实上，在新公共管理推行后不久，对它的批评也接踵而来。本书只是这种批评的一部分。新公共管理认为政府不仅应该采用企业管理的技术，而且也应该采用某些企业的价值观。这一点，尤其是后者，在作者看来是不能接受的。作者引用乔纳山·波士顿的话指出，公共选择理论（这是新公共管理的理论支柱）的中心原则是所有的人类行为都受到自我利益的驱使，它“总是抵制一些类似于‘公共精神’、‘公共服务’的概念”。

因此，本书作者试图以公共服务来取代新公共管理。那么这一公共服务的核心是什么？一言以蔽之：民主治理。但什么是民主治理？既然是治理，就离不开（在现行条件下）官僚制组织，以及由官僚制组织引发的一系列被认为是不民主的命令、控制、官僚主义等。令人遗憾的是，正像许多对新公共管理，尤其是对官僚制的批判拿不出取代官僚制的结构形式一样，作者的新公共服务除了告诫人们注意对民

主、公正、回应性等社会公共价值的追求外，也没有提供一种具有替代性的东西。主流的理论尽管受到了登哈特的批评，但是，登哈特在中文版序言中也承认，主流观点在公共行政领域处于优势，这是登哈特的一个重要修正，这表明传统的公共行政以及建立在传统公共行政之上的主流理论至少在相当程度上还是具有它的生命力的。

这或许是一种命定。自工业革命以来，整个人类社会就变成了一个有组织的社会。官僚制（一种最重要的公共组织形式，几乎所有的政府管理问题可以说都是由它引发的）作为工业社会中的一种相对来说最有效的组织体制，在没有被一种新的组织体制取代之前，还会存在。在还无法用一个全新的体制来加以取代的今天，一个现实的问题就是对官僚制加以改进，使之适合新的时代需要。新公共管理实际上也是在这方面所作的一种努力。但是，它对管理主义的过分偏重（就像美国历史上曾经出现过的那样，美国一些中等城市今天仍然保留的市经理体制就是 20 世纪 20 年代进行的政府企业化管理的产物之一）引发了另一种忧虑：如何在管理中不丧失社会的一些公共价值？因而，也就出现了另一种将钟摆再次拨向宪法主义的努力。本书作者的努力事实上也是美国历史上出现过的数次此类努力的一部分。

一个一直困惑人们的问题是：民主和效率难道一直是对立而无法调和的吗？在宪政主义和管理主义之间能否找到一个中间地带，从而将两者融合起来？在美国这样一个自认为民主的社会体制架构中，再三呼唤政府的民主治理是否有些令人费解？问题在于，完美的制度结构并不存在；同样，完美的政府治理也不存在。这取决于你从哪个角度去理解。美国历史上交替出现的宪政主义和管理主义之争至少表明了两种不同的理解。尽管完美不存在，但是对完美的追求却是一种值得肯定的人类精神。这种追求体现着一种崇高的情怀，从这个意义上讲，本书的批评尽管是一家之言，但作者的这种精神和责任感是值得肯定的。

竺乾威

2010 年 10 月

Preface to China Edition

Since the fourth edition of *Public Organization Theory*, a number of significant developments have occurred in the field of public administration and public administration theory. I have updated this edition by adding perspectives from recently published materials, especially material on civic engagement, postmodernism, and the ethics of public service. But I have also tried to focus the current debate in public administration around the differences between the New Public Management and what Janet Denhardt and I call the New Public Service. The former grows out of the mainstream interpretation of public administration, especially as augmented by market models and public choice economics, and is concerned with reducing red tape and increasing governmental efficiency and productivity. The latter flows more clearly from the democratic humanist tradition in public administration and is concerned with issues of citizenship and community. In my view, these two streams of thought present important choices for students trying to develop a personal philosophy of public administration.

In other respects, this edition of the book continues some important themes established in earlier editions. It is a book about theory but also about practice. It is written to introduce theories of public organization to students of public administration and to those outside the field who wish to involve themselves in organizations committed to public purposes. More important, this book is an attempt to develop a critique of the mainstream literature in public administration theory based on its inability to connect with the real experiences of those working in and with public organizations.

In recent years, the traditional separation of theory and practice in the field of public administration has become even more pronounced. Academicians and practitioners, who have always viewed one another with some skepticism, now seem on the verge of outright hostility. This is an extremely unfortunate situation, limiting both our understanding of public organizations and our actions within

them. To understand more clearly the separation of theory and practice and to begin to reconcile their differences is the primary intent of this book.

To achieve this purpose, I first review a number of past efforts in the field, not to present a comprehensive historical review of theories of public organization but to examine representative works that embody the commitments and views of various groups and various times. Based on this review, I then consider several contemporary studies of public organizations and suggest ways in which we might better understand the real world of public administration. Several more generic organization theorists who have made sustained contributions to the field of public administration are included as well.

In my review of these works, I have discovered more consistency among the various theorists than I had expected. This discovery has led me to the following conclusions, which are implicit in all that follows:

1. Although there have been many diverse theories of public organization, the mainstream work in public administration theory has centered on elaborating a so-called rational model of administration and a view of democratic accountability implicitly based on the politics-administration dichotomy.
2. As a theory of learning, this approach has limited itself to a positivist understanding of knowledge acquisition, failing to acknowledge or to promote alternative ways of viewing public organizations. Specifically this approach has failed to integrate explanation, understanding, and critique in theories of public organization.
3. As a theory of organization, this approach has limited itself to instrumental concerns expressed through hierarchical structures, failing to acknowledge or to promote the search for alternative organizational designs. Specifically, this approach has failed to integrate issues of control, consensus, and communication.
4. Theories of public organization have consequently appeared to practitioners to be unrelated to their concerns, failing especially to provide a moral context for personal action in public organizations.
5. Despite the dominance of the mainstream view, there have always been significant counterpoint arguments in the field. These concerns have recently been given new focus in the debate between the New Public Management and the New Public Service—a debate that presents students and practitioners with dramatic choices about the future of public administration theory and practice.

To fulfill the promise of public administration theory, we now require a shift in the way we view the field, a shift that will lead us to be concerned not merely with the government administration but also with the broader process of managing change in pursuit of publicly defined societal values. Following such a perspective,

which is elaborated in Chapter 1, we are led to a broadened concern for the nature of administrative work in public organizations—one that incorporates not only the requirements of efficiency and effectiveness but also the notion of democratic responsibility. This shift has implications for the field of government administration and for the larger field of management as well. To the extent that large and complex organizations dominate the social and political landscape, it is appropriate to ask whether all such organizations should be governed in such a way as to seriously maintain our commitments to freedom, justice, and equality among persons. The question is not how we should view the operations of government agencies but rather how organizations of all sorts might be made more public, how they might aid in expressing the values of our society.

For nearly a century, private administration, or business administration, has stood as a model for public administration. Here I suggest that public agencies and the theories and approaches that support them may become models for reconstructing organizations of all types along more democratic lines. The tradition of public administration contains elements of organizational reform that are important for all our institutions. If democracy is to survive in our society, it must not be overridden by the false promises of hierarchy and authoritarian rule. Democratic outcomes require democratic processes.

The connection between theory and practice will be very important in accomplishing this goal. A theory that stands apart from practice and from the values and meanings implicit in practice will never enable us to do more than modify our practice incrementally. It will not permit the kind of broad commitment to the notion of democratic administration that our society requires. In my view, however, the connection between theory and practice can occur only through the process of personal learning. Only as individuals reflect on their experiences and generalize from them will they develop theories of action. And only in this way will they be able to incorporate their ideas into a practical and personal philosophy of public administration.

Consistent with this view, I have incorporated into this book an appendix on keeping an Administrative Journal. The journal provides a way of connecting theory and practice by examining one's administrative experiences from four different perspectives. Careful use of the Administrative Journal will make the material in this text come to life for the reader. (After the introductory chapter, no case studies are included in the book. The reader is asked to develop his or her own case studies through entries he or she makes in the Administrative Journal.) Just reading or thinking about theories independent of practice will not substantially affect our actions. For truly significant learning to occur, we need to demonstrate to ourselves the relevance and meaning of theory in our everyday lives. Theory, we will find, is ultimately a very personal matter.

It is only appropriate, therefore, that I comment on my own learning. Through this work, I have come to believe more firmly that ideas do make a difference. Human action requires human thought, and without thought, our actions are blind. But as we realize that thought leads to action, we must also recognize the responsibility of those who theorize. The connection between thought and action, theory and practice, demands that those who think and those who write share a moral obligation with those who act in public organizations. This responsibility, the responsibility of the theorist, has, for the most part, been underplayed in our field. A more thorough understanding of the vocation and the obligation of the theorists is very much needed in our discipline—and indeed in all the social sciences.

A word of special appreciation should go to those who have been most important in my own learning about public organizations and to those who have provided help and support during my work on this project, in both its original and revised versions. Foremost among these I list my colleagues at the University of Missouri-Columbia, the University of Colorado-Denver, the University of Delaware, and Arizona State University. These include Maria Aristigueta, Stan Botner, Michael Diamond, Ed Jennings, Jay White, Linda and Peter deLeon, Jeff Raffel, Dan Rich, Tom Catlaw, Joe Cayer, Janet Denhardt, Barbara McCabe, and John Hall. I have also benefited greatly from my association with a network of other public administration theorists around the country including friends such as John Nalbandian, Orion White, Cynthia McSwain, George Frederickson, Bob Backoff, Sloane Dugan, Barry Hammond, Astrid Merget, Larry Kirkhart, Michael Harmon, Naomi Lynn, Brint Milward, Charlene May, Frank Marini, Bayard Catron, Guy Adams, Jim Wolf, Frank Sherwood, George Frederickson, John Forester, Cam Stivers, Cheryl King, David Farmer, and Ralph Hummel. I also want to thank the administrative practitioners who have been so helpful in focusing my work over the past years. Finally, at a personal level, thanks should go to those who have sustained and encouraged me throughout this project, especially Janet, who has given new energy to my work but has also become a wonderful distraction, and Michael and Cari, who always have been.

About the Author

Robert B. Denhardt is Lincoln Professor of Leadership and Ethics, Director of the School of Public Affairs at Arizona State University, and a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the University of Delaware. Dr. Denhardt is a past president of the American Society for Public Administration and a member of the National Academy of Public Administration. Dr. Denhardt has published eighteen books, including *The Dance of Leadership*, *The New Public Service*, *Managing Human Behavior in Public and Non-Profit Organizations*, *Public Administration: An Action Orientation*, *In the Shadow of Organization*, *The Pursuit of Significance*, *Executive Leadership in the Public Service*, *The Revitalization of the Public Service*, and *Pollution and Public Policy*. He has held appointments at a number of American universities and has served in a variety of university administrative positions, most notably as vice-provost at the University of Missouri-Columbia. A former chair of the Governor's Advisory Council on Productivity in the State of Missouri, Dr. Denhardt is also a consultant to state and local jurisdictions in the areas of leadership and organizational change.

The welfare, happiness, and very lives of all of us rest in significant measure upon the performance of administrative mechanisms that surround and support us. From the central matters of food and shelter to the periphery of our intellectual activity, the quality of administration in modern society touches our daily lives. Today your life may depend upon the administration of purity controls in a pharmaceutical house, tomorrow it may depend upon the decisions of a state department of motor vehicles, next week it may rest with the administrative wisdom of an official in the Department of State. Willy-nilly, administration is everyone's concern. If we wish to survive, we had better be intelligent about it.

—Dwight Waldo (1955, p. 70)

Free and unfree, controlling and controlled, choosing and being chosen, inducing and unable to resist inducement, the source of authority and unable to deny it, independent and dependent, nourishing their personalities and yet depersonalized: forming purposes and being forced to change them, searching for limitations in order to make decisions, seeking

the particular but concerned with the whole, finding leaders and denying their leadership, hoping to dominate the earth and being dominated by the unseen—this is the story of man and society told on these pages.

—Chester Barnard (1948, p. 296)

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