

Lessons from the Classic: Implications of Mokminsimseo Chapter 4–Article 1 for Contemporary Welfare Administration for the Elderly

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to reinterpret Mokminsimseo Chapter 4–Article 1 in light of the situation of the time and Dasan's motivation of writing Mokminsimseo, and to rekindle Article 1 from the present viewpoint in a bid to seek inspiration for contemporary welfare administration for the elderly. In particular, the significance of this article lies in its reinterpretation of Article 1, by count pointing it to contemporary elderly welfare administration. To this end, this article first explored the environmental context of the time to consolidate background knowledge on Mokminsimseo and outlined the contents and significance of Mokminsimseo. Consecutively, this article interpreted the specific contents of Article 1 and associated them with the situation of the time. The next chapter rekindled Article 1 in contradistinction to contemporary elderly welfare administration. The concluding part discussed the potential of Article 1 to inspire the development of contemporary elderly welfare administration.

Key Words: Mokminsimseo, Dasan, Silhak, Respecting the elderly, Joseon Dynasty, Welfare administration for the elderly

I . Introduction

The Mokminsimseo (Admonition on Governing the People 牧民心書),¹⁾ written by Dasan (茶山) Jeong Yak-yong (hereinafter, Dasan), comprises the entire administrative processes that local governors should bear in mind in managing local government, from Chapter 1 (Buim 赴任) relating to an arrival at new post to Chapter 12 (Haegwan 解官) regarding the departure of the

1) An English translation of classic Korean jargons followed English terminology dictionary of the Academy of Korean Studies, whereas the translation of Mokminsimseo articles referred to the Database System of the Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics.

post. Mokminsimseo starts with the posture and responsibility of local governors, and describes the specific contents of local public administration, keeping pace with six local administrative departments. Mokminsimseo is the part of social practice among Dasan's broad academic works, and thus, well reflects his pragmatist philosophy.

Since Mokminsimseo emphasizes the responsibility and working attitude of local governors, the Confucian governing philosophy of virtuous rule and the politics for the people underpins the book. However, Mokminsimseo is not a mere morality or ethics book. It includes a wide range of practical knowledge that analyzes the reality of the then local administration. Dasan's experiences as secrete royal inspector and local governor are contained in Mokminsimseo, along with his extensive knowledge on all ages and countries. Dasan documented the arduous lives of the people not merely through provoking emotional sympathy but through realistic perspective. He raised the relevance of Mokminsimseo by quoting diverse cases and suggesting appropriate alternatives.

Mokminsimseo can be a model in performing the contemporary local administration. However, its volumes and contents are too broad to analyze in a single academic paper. Accordingly, this paper concentrates on analyzing the elderly welfare part and strives to rekindle it for the contemporary elderly welfare of local government. Among the 12 chapters of Mokminsimseo, Chapter 4 (Aemin 愛民, loving the people) and Chapter 11 (Jinhwang 賑荒) are concerned with welfare administration. But Chapter 11 is generally relevant to administering natural disasters. From the present viewpoint, the central part of welfare administration is Chapter 4, which includes poverty relief, elderly welfare, and child welfare. Accordingly, core analysis targets Chapter 4. However, Chapter 4 consists of six articles with different welfare sectors. For example, elderly welfare and child welfare are mixed across Chapter 4, which makes it challenging to conduct an in-depth research. Thus, this paper aims to conduct an in-depth analysis on the Article 1 (Yangro 養老, nursing the elderly) of Chapter 4, which corresponds to contemporary elderly welfare.

Many studies have been conducted on Mokminsimseo across diverse academic disciplines—philosophy, political science, history, economics, and public administration. Many papers have also been written in social welfare discipline to understand the welfare thought of Mokminsimseo. They all have greatly contributed to articulating Dasan's thought of loving the people. However, precedent studies that analyze the specific article of Mokminsimseo in depth cannot be identified, particularly those which reexamine Mokminsimseo from the perspective of elderly welfare.

Against this backdrop, the purpose of this article is to reinterpret Mokminsimseo Chapter 4-Article 1 in light of the situation of the time and Dasan's motivation of writing Mokminsimseo,

and to rekindle Article 1 from the present viewpoint in a bid to seek inspiration for contemporary elderly welfare administration. The particularity of this article lies in its reinterpretation of Article 1, by count-pointing it to the situation of the time and contemporary elderly welfare administration. To this end, this article first explores the environmental context of the time and outlines the contents of Mokminsimseo. Consecutively, this article interprets Article 1 and associates it with the situation of the time. The next chapter revitalizes Article 1 in contradistinction to contemporary elderly welfare. A concluding part discusses the potential of Article 1 to inspire the development of contemporary elderly welfare administration.

II. Situational Context and Mokminsimseo

Mokminsimseo was written in the early 19th century when politics was chaotic after the death of King Jeongjo (正祖) in 1800. The economy was nearly bankrupt and social dislocation was severe by the outbreak of civil riots and the disturbance of the social status system. Bureaucratic corruption and the trafficking of government positions were rampant, taking advantage of political and social turmoil. Resultantly, it requires no further explanation that people's lives were miserable and desperate. In specific, political chaos was extreme. In company with the emergence of in-law politics (勢道政治), reformist elites were suppressed and Confucian people-oriented politics and bureaucratic ethos disappeared. With the collapse of the governing system, the exploitation and embezzlement by politicians and bureaucrats were prevalent (Ham S., 1996). Disciplines of public administration regarding land, military, and grains exchange were in severe disorder. Grassroots lost their patience and raised riots at the first onset of Hong Gyeong-rae rebellion in 1811. The governing leadership and bureaucrats' administrative leadership all disappeared. The control system on local government was also abnormal (Oh Y., 2005).

With regard to the economy, the two wars in Imjin (壬辰) and Byongja (丙子) years collapsed the productive basis of Joseon; however, the country's inability to appropriately contain the situation accelerated the corruption and chaos of Three Taxation Systems (Samjeong 三政, Land Tax, Military Service Tax, and Grain Loan), which was the core of governing the state at the time. Tax evasion and the concealing of cultivating lands decreased national revenues in the land administration, whereas corruptive defense administration exploited manpower discriminately. Grain Loan (Hwangok 還穀), which lends grains in spring time and pays back with interest in harvest season, degenerated into loan-sharking. The chaos of Samjeong devastated the economy and collapsed the financial basis of agricultural society, forcing the people into painful poverty

(Huh J., 1998).

The society was confusing and unstable. The hierarchical status system began to collapse along with the deepening of contradiction of the traditional feudal system. The people who suffered from severe exploitation of corrupt bureaucrats began to protest against the ruling class, spiraling into civil riots across the country. Further, the influx of foreign religion and culture disturbed the traditional norm of Confucianism. Suppression of Catholic Church, motivated by factional strife, oppressed intellectuals, furthering the alienation of public sentiment. Dasan possessed, as a reformist intellectual, special responsibility in recovering the country's stability and the people's safety(Gum J., 2011). Mokminsimseo was written as a calling of the time under such chaotic situations .

Mokminsimseo consists of 12 chapters and each chapter includes 6 articles, totalizing 72 articles. They are dispersed in 48 volumes.²⁾ Each article establishes the principles that local governors should keep and explains the good practices of wise officials in the past, to provide local governors with guidelines in performing their jobs. Chapter 1 (Buim 赴任) relates to the appointment of local governors and their beginning of works, whereas Chapter 2 (Yulgi 律己) delineates local governors' posture and attitude in performing their tasks. Chapter 3 (Bonggong 奉公) explains the posture and principles in performing tasks, based on the individual morality mentioned in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 (Aemin) refers to supporting the elderly, the poor, children, and patients, thereby including most of contemporary social service administration. Chapter 5 to Chapter 10 consist of the practical texts of Mokminsimseo. Each chapter refers to the job processing methods of local governors, connecting them with six local government sectors: personnel administration; taxation, family registration, compulsory labor, and farmland management; educational and cultural administrations; defense and military conscription; public security and the execution of punishment; forestry, roads, and irrigation administrations. Meanwhile, Chapter 11 (Jinhwang 賑荒) refers to relief administration for the sufferers from natural disaster. Chapter 12 describes the traveling outfit of local governors after finishing their service term.

With reference to adapting Chapter 4 to contemporary elderly welfare administration, we need to understand the basic differences of the environmental context and the recognition on social welfare between the two different times. It is unrealistic to directly compare Dasan's recommendations in Mokminsimseo Chapter 4 with contemporary elderly welfare administration. This article just seeks to learn the lessons from the spiritual and didactic contexts of Mokminsimseo within very restrictive use. In the 19th century when Mokminsimseo wrote, social

2) Contents table of Mokminsimseo was numbered by the order of chapter (篇), article (條), and section (條目).

welfare was based on selectivism, mainly targeting the poor, elderly and orphans. Chapter 4 underlined the respect for the elderly and giving love to children, reflecting the Confucian thought of filial piety and loving the people. However, women and the disabled were excluded from the targets of protection in Chapter 4. Chapter 4 also includes the support for the people in their bereavement. At the time, conducting a funeral required heavy charges and long-term work loss under strong cultural ritualism.

III. Analysis of Mokminsimseo Chapter 4-Article 1

1. Composition of Chapter 4

Chapter 4 consists of 6 articles. Aemin, the title of Chapter 4, is to give affection towards the people. Local governors should take care of the people within his jurisdiction with integrity, as the head of household loves family members with sincerity. Chapter 4 delineates what local governors ought to do in order to relieve the disadvantaged such as the elderly, the poor, children, and the sick. Accordingly, this chapter can offer valuable implications for contemporary elderly welfare, child welfare, public assistance, and healthcare. Chapter 4 is a core part of local welfare administration and provides valuable insights through the quotation of exemplary cases from the past. In a period when only Western examples are referred, learning from our own histories contributes to more relevant welfare administration.

Article 1 of Chapter 4 admonishes local governors to respect and give preference to the elderly. Article 1 includes local governor's posture to take care of the elderly, the method and procedure of respecting them. Article 2 of Chapter 4, which refers to loving and protecting lonely children (Jayu 慈幼), explains how to raise orphans and protect abandoned children in the year of famine. Article 3 (Jingung 振窮) refers to saving the destitute, in particular, the four poor and lonely categories (四窮)-widows, widowers, the elderly without children, and orphans. Matchmaking widower with widow is also included Article 3. Article 4 (Aesang 哀喪, condolence) explains how to take care of the individuals in their bereavement, by exempting compulsory labor, helping funeral services, and offering condolence money. Article 5 (Gwanjil 寬疾, generosity for patients) refers to providing assistance and convenience to patients and the disabled in a way of exempting statute labor. Article 6 (Gujae 救災, relieving disaster) mentions how to prevent natural disasters, pacify refugees, and eradicate locusts.

2. Investigation into Mokminsimseo Chapter 4–Article 1

Article 1 is related to respecting and protecting the elderly, thus corresponding to the contemporary elderly welfare. Article 1 is composed of 7 sections. Section 1 remarks “local governors should restore and enforce the courtesy of respecting the elderly, as the people do not pay a sincere attention to filial piety after the abolition of the courtesy of Yangro (養老).” This is to oblige local governors to respect for the elderly and the people to perform filial duty towards their parents. To the end, Section 1 exemplifies the cases of respecting the elderly in the Chinese Zhou (周) Dynasty and the teaching in the Book of Rites (Liji 禮記). The teaching of pragmatic scholar Lee Yik (李瀼) is also cited:

“Cultivating affection and brotherliness in society is based on the government’s respect for the elderly. The people worry about heavy charges. However, if the problem is in the number of elderly people, it can be possible to selectively invite older people among them or invite by turns at village level. How more advantageous would it be if we could simplify the ceremony of practicing hospitality for the elderly and make affection flow up and down?”

When examining Section 1, the Confucianism-based social order was considerably declining in the late Joseon. Neglecting the elderly in society was connected with the withering sense of filial piety in the family. In the late Joseon, the lives of the people were destitute and unstable with the aggravating economy. Tax and military administrations were disorderly, and political leadership was incapable under the family-based power politics. Civil riots broke out across the country and thieves overflowed everywhere (Kim U. 1984). Under these situations, the constant heart (恒心) of the people and the certain livelihood (恒産), which Mengzi (孟子) mentioned, could not persist (Berthrong & Berthrong, 2014). Dasan wanted local governors to take charge of restoring the ethos of respecting the elderly in society.

When contrasting Section 1 with contemporary welfare, elderly welfare cannot be accomplished only by the effort and willingness of local governors. Many welfare services, such as social insurance, should be carried out by central government on a national scale, and enforcing the people to respect neighboring elders cannot be effective under the situation where the solidarity between local residents has been broken. Nevertheless, what we can learn from Section 1 is to activate the respect for the elderly through policies at the local level. Currently, local governments enforce tax reduction policy for people who support older parents and family-friendly welfare policies to foster the environment of filial piety at the family level. Some local governments enforce ‘the elderly-friendly city project’ to promote the respect for the elderly within local communities. While it may be unrealistic for local governors to invite the elderly to

government offices and treat them with food, local governors or welfare officials should respect the elderly in the first flight to create the community ethos of apprising the elderly. As Section 1 mentioned, carefully checking the elderly who live alone is urgent before the arrival of winter season. It also accords with the underlying spirit of Section 1 to set a priority in providing elderly welfare services in accordance to the unique financial situation of local government.

Section 1 also urges not to implement elderly welfare administration nominally, by emphasizing the simplification in respecting the elderly. At present, it is not a proper posture of local governors to over-issue elderly welfare services for showing-off and give undue value on building welfare facilities that may show tangible outcome within short period, simply to win votes in elections (Kim S., 2014). It is time to ensure substance in accordance with long-term plan under the financial limitation of elderly welfare. Local governors should integrate unnecessary elderly welfare programs, enhance the integrative linkage of the delivery system, and encourage the voluntary respect for the elderly within local community. Such efforts are required to revive the original intention of Section 1 in present-day.

Section 2 mentions that local governors should not extend the participants in the banquets for the elderly, as local government is deficient of financial capability, and should invite only the elderly over the age of 80. Further, even the elderly over the age of 80 should be treated differently according to their age band. If the patient elderly cannot participate in the banquets, local governors should send food to their homes. For the elderly over the age of 100, local governors should send public officials, in person, to treat them with better food.

From Section 2, we can identify the very poor financial conditions of local government at the time. In the past, only small amount of people could survive until the age of 70, and elders over the age of 80 were very rare. Moreover, the elders who resided in remote rural villages had difficulties in participating in the banquets, due to poor transportation system back in the time. In particular, there were very few elders over the age of 90 back then, under poor nutrition and healthcare systems. Even though there were some elders over 80 years old, they certainly could not walk long distance. Moreover, despite participants being all super senior citizens, classifying them again by their age band and providing different amount of food seem to be cold-hearted even in the elder-first society. Limiting participants to male elders also does not coincide with the contemporary situation. In total, it might be better to understand Section 2 as rather emphasizing local governors' obligation to treat the elderly with respect and sincerity than underlining the treatment of food to the elderly.

If we interpret Section 2 from the perspective of contemporary elderly welfare, providing the elderly with food is no longer considered important. Instead, if local governors send small but heart-felt gifts to the elderly who are over a certain age band, the elderly will be happy. Local

government can also provide financial support to voluntary groups, such as women's community society, which provides free meals to the elderly. In particular, it is worthy of consideration to assemble elders who live alone in community halls or senior citizens centers to treat them food. Finance can be procured by both government subsidy and private donation. Users can shoulder expenses partly. The Food Bank program can also be strengthened by linking private restaurants or bakeries.

According to Section 3, the courtesy of taking care of the elderly should accompany with the procedure of inquiring the living conditions and diseases of the elderly. This is to recommend local governors to inquire about how much the elderly suffer from difficulties, how well the filial piety is done, and how well parents educate their children, when they treat the elderly. By taking advantage of holding banquets for the elderly, local governors should collect information on the living conditions and child education of the people. This is a way of searching out public opinion.

When analogizing Section 3, there was difficulty in precisely grasping the people's welfare need at the time, as the function of public opinion collection was very weak. There were no dedicated staff taking full charge of welfare affairs, and the responsiveness of welfare administration was low (Kim U., 1984). Under this situation, Section 3 recommended local governors to take advantage of the banquets as an opportunity to grasp public opinion and the welfare need of the people. The elderly can provide high quality information, as they are well-informed about the situations of communities and villages.

Another evidence in Section 3 is that the function of local administration was poorly differentiated at the time, and naturally, welfare administration was not independent. There was no competent bureau for welfare administration in local government (Yoo B. et al., 2002). Accordingly, the questions asked to the elderly at the banquets might not be limited to elderly welfare. The general information on local administration were certainly included. This kind of enquiring functioned as a mechanism to collect public opinion at the time.

According to Section 3, it was frequent to summon and treat the elderly at government offices at the time. Governor Jang Hyun-gwang treated the elderly twice in a month even in the 1590s under Japanese invasion. Although Jang's case was a model example, the fact that local governors treated the elderly frequently even under the financial austerity proves that respect for the elderly and filial piety for parents were the very foundation of holding up the Confucian society (Sun & LaFleur, 2016).

Section 3 provides lessons to abolish the government-led closed system of decision-making and establish interactive communication channels in providing elderly welfare services. The following are the specific lessons that Section 3 gives to contemporary elderly welfare

administration. First, elderly welfare administration should be more responsive; to achieve this, local government should grasp the welfare need of the elderly. To the end, welfare officials as well as local governors should frequently visit elderly welfare facilities to understand the underlying problems and welfare need of the elderly. Second, welfare officials should avoid unrealistic paper administration and should meet the elderly on the spot. Even though there are many institutions that encourage field administration, welfare officials are reluctant to make a field visit on the pretext of work overload and the deficiency of personnel (Ellis, 2013). However, in actuality, they avoid field visits for fear of hearing complaints and confronting with resistance. Carrying out the active field administration is not a matter of institutions but a matter of the positive mind and responsibility of welfare officials. Third, the overlapping of elderly welfare programs and the unnecessary managerial tasks should be eliminated. The deeply rooted sectionalism in Korean public bureaucracy leads to the uncoordinated execution of welfare programs, and again, produces the bottle neck stalemate and work overload at street-level agencies (Cho S., 2004). To eliminate the overlapping of welfare programs, it is urgent to reinforce the linkage system between relevant government departments, introduce sunset law, and establish the principle of selection and concentration. Another concern is to reduce the unnecessary managerial tasks through decentralization and cutting red tape (Lane, 2000). Fourth, the institutions to collect the opinion and welfare need of the elderly should be reformed. Even though local welfare councils are established at county level, they fail to deliberate on elderly welfare intensively, as their tasks are broad and general. Members are also limited to professionals and public officials. Thus, it is recommended to establish a committee focusing on elderly welfare under the leadership of bureau chief and open its doors to the delegates of the elderly. It is also required to make use of semi-public agencies, such as village foreman, in grasping the situation and needs of the elderly. Lastly, we need to activate the opinion collection function of welfare ombudsman in addition to its traditional function of investigation. Currently, the welfare ombudsman system is mostly inactive due to the deficiency of budget and personnel. It is required to increase ombudsman in order to activate its opinion collection function. If budget becomes a burden, volunteers with profession on elderly welfare can hold honorary position without pay.

A recommendation of Section 4 is that although elderly welfare conforms to the rules of decorum, it should be simple and performed in local Confucian institutions (Hakgung 學宮).³⁾

3) Hakgung comprises various grades of public educational institutions that studied Confucian textbooks and held memorial services for Confucian sages. It performed both educational and cultural functions in Joseon Dynasty. At the local level, Hyanggyo (鄉校) played a role of Hakgung under the leadership of local governor. The mention of Section 4, which recommends local governors to treat the elderly at Hakgung, means that they should treat the elderly cordially with respect and sincerity.

Section 4 recommends to follow Confucian courtesy rules in providing elderly welfare and drives local governors to enforce elderly welfare with all sincerity. Section 4 prescribes the details regarding the selection of banquet places, displacement of seats, clothes of local governors, and music performance. Confucianism underlined decorum rules, formality, and procedure in performing public affairs, and Confucianism-based Joseon strictly abided by them (Yao, 2010). However, paying emphasis on decorum rules is not merely to uphold a cause but to preserve social order. In order to create kingdom country in good order, it was necessary to maintain order first at the local level. For this, rules of decorum played an important role (Berthrong & Berthrong, 2014). However, Confucian order was severely damaged in the late Joseon, along with deteriorating economy and corrupt politics. Under this situation, the rules of decorum could not be properly upheld. On the other hand, over-emphasizing courtesy and procedure can produce excessive formalism and administrative red tape (Kaufman, 2015).

With regard to the lessons of Section 4, it is undesirable for local government to adhere to the fastidious procedure and mere formality. The contemporary welfare administration should raise its guard against the waste of time and manpower that comes from excessive documentation. Complicated formality downgrades the timeliness of welfare administration and causes dissatisfaction of welfare recipients. Moreover, if we overemphasize the rules of decorum, welfare administration can be indulged into ritualism and formalism, bringing about the rigidity of welfare administration as well as budgetary waste (Van den Bekerom et al., 2017).

Rather, we should emulate Dasan's motivation behind Section 4, instead of merely following formalism. Local governors should respect the elderly with heartfelt courtesy in the process of providing welfare services. Even though varieties of welfare programs are offered to the elderly, it is questionable whether local governors and officials do their best with sincerity. They have to treat the elderly as they respect their parents. Section 4 also recommends local governors to hold banquets in courtyard. This is to underline the eye-level administration that local governors serve the elderly with modesty. At present, we are concerned that welfare officials tend to overuse discretionary power and adhere to administrative regulation under the deplorable custom of placing public officials above the people (Kim S., 2016).

Section 5 mentions that "the elderly welfare that fore-passed wise governors well enforced became conventional practices, bequeathing lingering impressions to us." This is to admonish local governors to emulate the previous good behaviors of local governors, by specifically exemplifying how the previous six local governors held banquets with sincerity and displayed good behaviors of respecting the elderly. Section 5 intends to awaken local governors by mentioning the admirable stories of previous local governors. For example, Governor Jang Jeon in China's Song (宋) Dynasty spent his own salary in treating elders once in every month, and

encouraged them to set an example of filial piety by accompanying their children when they were invited. Governors Jeong Il-doo and Yun Hwang made their wives assist the services and made their mothers and brothers join the banquets. Meanwhile, in the late Joseon, the ethos of public bureaucracy was declining with the increasing bureaucratic corruption of venal officials (Yoo M., 2002). Dasan hoped that local governors would emulate previous good examples with the intention of reviving healthy bureaucratic ethos.

In contemporary interpretation, Section 5 corresponds to benchmarking good examples. Benchmarking is to learn the successful cases in different countries or regions, as particular local government alone has limitation in developing creative ideas. However, in conducting benchmarking, we should pay attention to the difference in contextual and cultural backgrounds. In case of benchmarking good examples from developed countries, we need to select and transform them to best suit our situation (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2017). Further, benchmarking should be done from the systematic perspective, comprising the background motivation, decision-making system, and implementation process. Benchmarking from our historical examples is also recommended. There are many traditional welfare institutions that can be referred for present-day. More practically, we need to establish the data base and the case management system, which store the motivation, process, and performance of examples, to share the knowhow of successful experiences in elderly welfare. Another factor for successful benchmarking lies in the flexibility of welfare officials in recognizing the good performances of private sector (Vaughn & Otenyo, 2007). Learning from the private sector is as important as learning from developed countries, since the private sector outperforms the public sector in many aspects (Lgreid, 2017).

Section 5 also urges local governors to do their best with sincerity in respecting the elderly, by recommending local governors to accompany their family members in treating the elderly. At present, even though local governors implement various welfare programs, it is questionable how much sincere they are in their actions. Formalism and snobbiness are prevalent in performing the job of elderly welfare for the sake of winning votes at local elections. Local governors are sensitive to the pressure of interest groups and bringing about civil complaints. Consequently, elderly welfare becomes short-term, overlapping, and showing off, devoid of ensuring internal stability with long-term perspective.

Section 6 mentions “if local governors occasionally confer preferential benefits on the elderly, the people also come to respect the elderly.” To this end, local governors should timely send necessities to the elderly as a gift, and they will be content with the gift. While the previous clauses mentioned about inviting the elderly to government offices and holding feasts to treat them, Section 6 recommends local governors to send gifts with their best wishes to the elderly in

the year-end holidays. These gifts are not mere charity relief but a gratitude from heart. Local governors should send gifts with their true heart and sincerity.

A lesson of Section 6 is that local governors and welfare officials should strive their best with warm hearts and sincerity in performing the tasks of elderly welfare. Elderly welfare should not be ceremonial and perfunctory. They should devise creative ways to make the elderly happy even with a small budget.

At present, local governors should set an example by visiting the elderly to listen to their complaints and arranging necessary services. Instead of showing off their performances, local governors should do their best in performing their jobs. Welfare officials also have to grasp what elders truly require and develop customized services to fulfill their needs. By doing so, local welfare administration can move the hearts of the elderly. Section 6 also states that providing gifts to the elderly should be sincere and timely. Local governors have to provide gifts to overcome the cold in winter season. Likewise, elderly welfare administration should grasp what the elderly truly need, and then provide customized services on time. If welfare services are provided by the motivation of dispensation, lacking any sincerity, welfare recipients cannot be emotionally moved.

According to Section 7, local governors should distribute foods and drinks to the elderly two days before the New Year. This is to bid the old year out to the elderly over the age of 80 by sending some foods and drinks. The amount of gift is different according to age band and it was possible at the time of the gerontocracy society (Hwang K. 2010). Nonetheless, eligible recipients were small within jurisdiction, because life expectancy was very short at the time. Accordingly, local governors could garner good reputation even with small budget.

Dasan awakened local governors for their negligence in doing the easy tasks that they could perform even with small concerns, while they wasted budget dissolutely. He grieved over the disappearance of good tradition where local governors sent foods and drinks to the elderly at year-end, as a token of respecting them. Dasan deplored local governors, as they became venal officials who were negligent in taking care of the elderly and following good traditions. Section 7 advised local governors to restore a tradition of respecting the elderly.

At present, there is a custom that public officials visit elderly welfare facilities on year-end to console the elders. It is a good tradition; however, the consolatory visits of diverse agencies produce crowdedness, as they are concentrated on year-end and some of them become ceremonial. Meanwhile, it is rare for public officials to visit individual elders to console them, because the number of elders has significantly increased. However, in the case where condolences are made with facilities at the center, elders with restricted mobility will be excluded from the condolences. Accordingly, it is recommended for local governors to make a call to some

elders selectively or to send small gifts, such as medicinal items or health supplements via mail. It is better for all the elders to receive condolences and greetings, compared to the overlapped condolences with facilities as the center. In addition, the reason why Dasan recommended local governors to present rice and meat as a gift was because they were the most needed at the time. At present, routine gifts cannot leave impressions any more. Local governors need to send diverse types of gifts in consideration of the status of the elderly, such as their education and income levels.

IV. Policy and Administrative Implications of Mokminsimseo Chapter 4-Article 1

Dasan wrote Mokminsimseo to awaken the local governors who forgot Confucian idealism of benevolence and humanness in the time when public ethos and reformative spirit declined under the family-based power politics (Lee S., 2011). Local governors were at the center of bureaucratic corruption, spoils system, and un-governability. Against this miserable backdrop of the 19th century Joseon, Dasan intended to restore Confucian ethos in governing the people by admonishing local governors. Although Dasan was affiliated to Practical Learning School, Mokminsimseo emphasized the moral obligation of local governors by paying attention to the posture of local governors in performing their tasks, treating the people, and caring for the socially disadvantaged (Cum J., 2011).

Dasan was a Confucian scholar, before being a scholar of Practical Learning School, and accordingly his prescriptions basically followed Confucian thought. He exemplified diverse cases of good local governors in China and Joseon, and admonished local governors to follow them in performing their jobs. Dasan's intention of writing Mokminsimseo and the method of enumerating previous examples can provide valuable lessons for today's local government reform (Kim H., 2013). It is undeniable that Mokminsimseo overemphasized normative and ethical aspects, neglected the broader structural aspects of administrative reform, lacked the analysis of political and social contexts, and failed to point out the comprehensive problems of local administration. Exemplifying ancient Chinese cases too frequently is also a limitation of Confucian scholar. However, these limitations can be overcome by acknowledging that Dasan's main intention of writing Mokminsimseo was rather to admonish local governors to restore moral responsibility based on Confucian idealism than to suggest specific measures of reforming government structure and policies, as they were suggested in other books like Gyeongseyupyo (經

世遺表) (Choi I., 1989).

Bearing these characteristics of Mokminsimseo in mind, Article 1 of Chapter 4 can offer the following lessons and implications to contemporary local elderly welfare. First, while the age criterion of the elderly was not defined exactly at the time, the age target of Article 1 was over the age of 80. This does not mean that the elderly was over 80 years old, but that local governors paid direct respect to the elderly over 80 years old. At present, we consider elderly as the age of 65 and above, and provide them with uniform elderly services, irrespective of their age band. However, the demands of the elderly are diverse according to their different characteristics. For example, different needs are present between elders in their eighties and sixties, elders in agricultural and urban sectors, and elders with high and low incomes. Consequently, it is better to provide different kinds of elderly welfare services taking into account the specific attributes of the elderly. Regarding age band, it might be reasonable to classify elders into three groups and to arrange jobs for the elders under mid-seventies.

Second, Article 1 subdivides the elderly over 80 years old by the age of 90 years, and provides the elderly over the age of 90 with special treatment. This may reflect the Confucian thought of elders-first and the blessing of longevity. While there was a deplorable practice where the elderly over 70 years were left to die in open tombs until the Goryeo Dynasty, the Confucian Joseon Dynasty gave preferential treatment to the elders (Hwang K., 2010; Yoo B. et al., 2002). It was good for Confucianism to put humanism into practice. At present, even though local government places primary emphasis on raising birth rate, it is equally important to be considerate towards the long-lived elderly. If local governments treat the elderly with integrity, ethos of respecting the elderly shall abound in local communities.

Third, it is unclear whether the scope of the elderly in Article 1 included only the elderly of noble class and farming population or the entire elderly including the servant class. Even though the social status system became disorderly in the 19th century, it is doubtful whether the noble class had meals on the same table with lower classes in a community where the history of genealogical origin was clear. The elderly welfare in Joseon was not universal but selective, and had unusual characteristics of selectivism by status class. However, selective elderly welfare is different in these days and we need to mix selective welfare with a universal one. Today, while universal elderly welfare, such as the Basic Pension Scheme and the provision of transportation convenience, becomes a basis, multi-layered elderly welfare should be supplemented according to the economic level, academic backgrounds, and previous jobs of the elderly (DiNitto & Johnson, 2015). It is ineffective to provide the wealthy elderly with free meals or the high-educated elderly with mere consolation events. Classifying the elderly to provide them with differentiated welfare services that can meet diverse need standards is necessary. Sticking to the

uniformity of equality should be reconsidered in elderly welfare. Contemporary elderly welfare targets to the elderly under the middle level in terms of economy under the pretext that the upper-level elderly can satisfy their welfare needs by themselves.

Fourth, elderly welfare in Article 1 was based on the perspective of dispensation by the ruler and public officials. It was general in kingdom era, regardless of the East and the West. Even though local governors had responsibility of respecting and nursing the elderly, they were not obliged by the right of welfare recipients. Elderly welfare was given by the favors of rulers and local governors, based on the prince's obligation theory (Yang J., 2017). However, this kind of welfare is deemed unstable, as elderly welfare was provided not by institutions but by the moral spontaneity of rulers and public officials. Today, even though the government's moral obligation is still required, it should remain supplementary. The government should institutionalize elderly welfare on the basis of obligation and social citizenship, and accordingly should respond to the need of welfare recipients actively and preemptively with well-prepared administrative, personnel, budget systems.

Fifth, elderly welfare in Article 1 focused on in-kind allowances, such as treating foods and sending gifts. It was due to the intention of enforcing elderly welfare with small budget under the then poor financial capability of local government. In the past, cash benefits were rarely provided. Even for those who were suffering from disasters, in-kind allowances such as the provision of grains were primarily given. Meanwhile, cash benefits become pivotal in contemporary elderly welfare, whereas in-kind allowances are supplementary (Thane 2016). However, even today, we need to actively utilize in-kind allowances for the elderly with financial capabilities who are excluded from cash benefits. The method of quasi-market, such as the Boucher system, can also be activated in elderly welfare.

Sixth, elderly welfare in Article 1 showed event-oriented characteristics, such as holding banquets and sending food at the end of the year. However, many of event-oriented welfare services are caused not by the need of recipients but by the satisfaction of providers (Kim S., 2014). Even though these events could promote the spirit of respecting the elderly in the community, we need to consider the inconvenience of the elderly who must walk a long distance to government offices in downtown, just to consume a single meal. Many aged people should participate in the banquets reluctantly, as they could not refuse the invitation of local governors. Learning from Article 1, it will be advisable to reduce event-oriented elderly welfare and assembling elders in particular sites. Local government can send in-kind allowances via a mail or by hand after grasping the need of elders.

Seventh, Article 1 attached importance to encouraging the spontaneous good will of local governors in performing elderly welfare. This was due to the influence of Confucianism that

underlined the virtuous governing and of rulers. Confucianism emphasized rather ruler's voluntary benevolence than institutions and regulations in governing the people (Yao, 2010). However, the excessive dependence on the individual virtue of rulers or local governors can impede the consistency and predictability of elderly welfare. This is why M. Weber (2009), a German social scientist, preferred legal domination to traditional and charismatic ones. If we do not institutionalize the criteria of welfare eligibility, contents of welfare services, and methods of service provision, public officials may misuse or overuse their discretionary power in implementing elderly welfare (Ellis, 2013). Nevertheless, welfare officials should not be mere technicians but be professionals with the sense of calling and moral responsibility. They should have a good will toward the disadvantaged. At present, even though local elderly welfare operates according to well-ordered institutions, it needs flexibility and consideration in order to supplement the rigidity and missing points of institutions.

Eighth, Article 1 emphasized the procedure of respecting the elderly. This might be influenced by the Confucian thought underlining formality and decorum. In a traditional society, symbolism played an important role in governing the people, and it was expressed by the form of decorum (Langer, 2009). However, if we put an excessive emphasis on decorum and procedure in performing elderly welfare, it can produce the harmful consequences of formalism, which displays superficiality over substance (Cho S., 2004). Such red-tape formality wastes time and budget, whilst rendering elderly welfare recipients cumbersome. At present, we should attach weight to ensuring substance by cutting red-tape procedures. Elderly welfare for mere exhibition should be abolished. Meanwhile, if we understand procedure and decorum from the perspective of placing genuine heart in carrying out elderly welfare, the contention of Article 1 can provide us with some lessons. We should prepare meticulous plans in performing elderly welfare in order to evade confusion on the spot.

Lastly, Article 1 largely described the moral responsibility of local governors, instead of suggesting structural and institutional prescriptions. There is almost no description on structural and institutional contents. This was mainly because systematic knowledge on welfare administration was deficient at the time. Welfare administration was not regarded as an independent area of public administration. However, today, it might be more important to formulate the structural and institutional aspects concerning the selection criteria, selection process, benefits, and delivery system of elderly welfare (Gilbert & Terrell, 2013).

V. Concluding Remarks

This paper examined the Article 1 of Chapter 4 and interpreted its significance in conjunction with contemporary elderly welfare. Certainly, there is limitation to understand the whole context of Mokminsimseo through the analysis of single part. Another limitation concerns understanding the then situation from the contemporary perspective of elderly welfare, because environmental contexts are very different from each other. Further, the fundamental intention of Mokminsimseo was to awaken local governors to be moral and responsible, thus, there is limitation in debating structural and institutional aspects through the analysis of Mokminsimseo. Nevertheless, the welfare thought of Dasan as well as that of Confucianism and Pragmatic Learning School is well articulated in Article 1 (Lee G., 2010). Re-examining Article 1 can provide contemporary elderly welfare with the following insights.

Article 1 admonished local governors and welfare officials to perform their tasks of elderly welfare with sincerity. Performing jobs with sense of duty is important. Dasan recommended local governors to accompany with their family members to treat the elderly in banquets. Today, if welfare officials treat the elderly with the mind set of respecting their parents, the elderly will be satisfied with even small amount of welfare services. Now, elderly welfare should strive to move the heart of recipients.

Elderly welfare should be offered to appropriate targets, timely and with determination. Currently, quantity over quality is pursued. Targeting and timing are important. Services should be provided to those who require them, what they need, and at appropriate time. In providing elderly welfare, we need to differentiate between those needed in summer and winter, between wealthy and poor elders, and between elders in rural and urban sectors. We can also subdivide elders according to their age band. Local governors and welfare officials should make a good diagnosis regarding the need of the elderly in order to provide them with customized services.

Article 1 also recommends contemporary elderly welfare to learn lessons from overseas or previous examples. Dasan exemplified successful cases of elderly welfare. Elderly welfare administration should be a learning organization, which benchmarks the model exemplars of overseas or previous cases. However, benchmarking should not be blindly imitated. Learning and benchmarking should be flexible in accordance with the context.

Elderly welfare should be carried out within the limitation of circumstances. Article 1 admonished local governors to achieve the goal of respecting the elderly without spending much money under the then substandard financial situation of local government. The welfare finance of local government is as minuscule and unhealthy as ever. Accordingly, local governors should be frugal in carrying out elderly welfare and provide customized services based on priority setting by

demand urgency. Elderly welfare should sublate loose management and overlapping and follow the principle of selection and concentration.

Elderly welfare ought to establish the open communication system with recipients and actively grasp their difficulties. Article 1 recommended local governors to ask the need of the elderly and consider their difficulties while treating them. At present, elderly welfare tends to be unilateral and policies are made in closed arena, failing to respond to the need of elders. The administrative and delivery systems of elderly welfare should be widely opened to better reflect the opinion of recipients. Local governors and welfare officials should have open minds to hear the voices of recipients and solve problems on the spot.

In conclusion, even though Mokminsimseo was written at a place of exile, it is a pragmatic textbook that contains Dasan's diverse experiences. Mokminsimseo suggested prescriptions to be a good local governor on the basis of grasping the contemporary situation and underlying problems, regarding the posture of local governors and the method of treating their jobs. Despite the contextual difference between the past and the present, there are many cases for useful references for contemporary elderly welfare. If there are some incompatible items with current situation, we can make use of them conversely. However, it is difficult to directly align Article 1 with contemporary elderly welfare, because environmental contexts are different and policy instruments that local governors can employ are different between the past and the present. In this case, this paper tried to interpret them against the backdrop that Mokminsimseo was written, rather than sticking to realities. When we admit that Mokminsimseo can be utilized to improve contemporary elderly welfare, it is deserved to learn its lessons.

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국문요약

고전으로부터의 학습: 목민심서의 노인복지행정에 대한 시사점 탐색

김 순 양

이 연구는 다산 정약용이 저술한 목민심서 중에서 오늘날의 노인복지행정에 해당하는 부분인 제4장 제1조의 의미 및 한계점을 심층적으로 분석하고, 이를 토대로 오늘날의 노인복지행정에 유추 적용할 수 있는 점들이 무엇인지를 탐색하고자 한 것이다. 이를 통해 시대적 배경은 다소 상이하지만, 우리의 고전으로부터 배울만한 지혜와 교훈을 얻고자 한다. 이는 사장되기 쉬운 지식의 재발견 및 현대적 적용이라는 점에서 의의가 있다.

이러한 연구목적을 달성하기 위해 이 논문은 우선 목민심서가 쓰인 당시의 시대적 상황, 목민심서의 주요내용을 고찰하였다. 다음은 목민심서 제4장 제1조의 세부 항목들을 당시의 환경적 맥락과 결부하여 구체적으로 분석하였다. 이어서 목민심서 제4장 제1조를 오늘날의 노인복지행정에 결부하여 체계적으로 재해석하였다. 마지막으로 목민심서 제4장 제1조가 오늘날의 노인복지행정의 발달에 어떠한 시사점을 줄 수 있는지를 토의하였다.

주제어: 목민심서, 다산(茶山), 실학파, 경로(敬老), 조선시대, 노인복지행정