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CRISIS OF THE EFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Abstract. The article discusses the question that time-tested public administration mechanisms lose their relevance gradually, there is a deligitimation of the traditional system of relations between state administration and civil society, as well as revision of the terms of the social contract between states and civil society, taking into account the requirements of the present time. Proceeding from the fact that the epoch of “great governments” is coming to an end, the problems of de-bureaucratization of state administration, the search for a new model of state power with significantly limited functions and power-administrative powers are becoming more urgent.

Considering Ukraine through the prism of these transformation processes, it should be noted that with the attainment of independence, a process opposite to that which occurs in the developed countries of the world began, namely, the growth in geometric progression of a self-sufficient and uncontrolled neo-patrimonial bureaucracy. It is a question of the total expansion of state administrative structures into all spheres of public life with the aim of gaining full control over them, the verticalization of state administration, the de facto refusal to implement the principle of separation of powers, and, in recent times, the suppression of civil society through the use of force.

The main task of the political elite and public managers of different levels, according to the author, should be a moderate and wise use of achievements in the field of public administration in other countries, which have tested their effectiveness on their own experience. For example, the introduction of the elements of the “zero-based budgeting” system into the national public administration would create the opportunity to actually start the process of fighting corruption through, at least, through the reorganization of the activities of certain agencies on homogeneous functions.

Key words: public administration, civil society, efficiency crisis, zero-based budgeting, non-patrimonial bureaucracy, de-bureaucratization.

КРИЗА ЕФЕКТИВНОСТІ ДЕРЖАВНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ: ТЕОРІЯ І ПРАКТИКА

Анотація. Дискутується питання про те, що перевірені часом механізми державного управління втрачають поступово свою актуальність, відбувається делігітимація традиційної системи взаємовідносин між державним управлінням та громадянським суспільством, а також переглянуто, з урахуванням вимог сьогодення, умови суспільного договору між державами та громадянським суспільством. Виходячи із того, що епоха “великих урядів” добігає свого кінця, як ніколи актуалізується проблематика дебіюрократизації державного управління, пошуку нової моделі державної влади зі значно обмеженими функціями та владно-розпорядчими повноваженнями.

Розглядаючи Україну кризь призму даних трансформаційних процесів, слід зазначити, що з набуттям незалежності розпочався процес прями протилежний тому, який відбувається у розвинених країнах світу, а саме зростання у геометричній прогресії самодостатньої та безконтрольної неопатримоніальної бюрократії. Йдеться про тотальну експансію державних управлінських структур в усі сфери суспільного життя з метою отримання там повного контролю, вертикалізацію державного управління, відмову “де-факто” від реалізації принципу розподілу влади, а також (і це спостерігається останнім часом) придушення процесів формування громадянського суспільства із застосуванням силових методів.

Головним завданням політичної еліти та державних управлінців різних рівнів має бути помірковане та мудре використання здобутків у галузі дер-

жавного управління інших країн, які на власному досвіді апробували їх дієвість. Наприклад, запровадження елементів системи “бюджетування на нульовій основі” у вітчизняне державне управління, створило б можливість реально розпочати процес боротьби з корупцією через, принаймні, реорганізацію діяльності певних відомств з однорідними функціями.

Ключові слова: державне управління, громадянське суспільство, криза ефективності, бюджетування на нульовій основі, неопатримоніальна бюрократія, дебіюрократизація.

КРИЗИС ЭФФЕКТИВНОСТИ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ: ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА

Аннотация. Дискутируется вопрос о том, что проверенные временем механизмы государственного управления теряют постепенно свою актуальность, происходит делигитимация традиционной системы взаимоотношений между государственным управлением и гражданским обществом, а также пересмотр с учетом требований настоящего времени условий общественного договора между государствами и гражданским обществом. Исходя из того, что эпоха “великих правительств” подходит к концу, как никогда актуализируется проблематика дебіюрократизации государственного управления, поиска новой модели государственной власти со значительно ограниченными функциями и властно-распорядительными полномочиями.

Рассматривая Украину сквозь призму данных трансформационных процессов, следует отметить, что с обретением независимости начался процесс прямопротивоположный тому, который происходит в развитых странах мира, а именно рост в геометрической прогрессии самодостаточной и бесконтрольной неопатримоніальной бюрократии. Речь идет о тотальной экспансии государственных управленческих структур во все сферы общественной жизни с целью получения там полного контроля, вертикализация государственного управления, отказ “де-факто” от реализации принципа разделения власти, а также, и это наблюдается в последнее время, подавление процессов формирования гражданского общества с применением силовых методов.

Главной задачей политической элиты и государственных управленцев разных уровней, должно стать умеренное и мудрое использование достижений в области государственного управления других стран, которые на собственном опыте апробировали их действенность. Например, введение элементов системы “бюджетирования на нулевой основе” в отечественное государственное управление, создало бы возможность реально начать процесс борьбы с коррупцией с помощью реорганизации деятельности определенных ведомств с однородными функциями.

Ключевые слова: государственное управление, гражданское общество, кризис эффективности, бюджетирование на нулевой основе, неопатримоніальная бюрократия, дебіюрократизація.

Formulation of the problem. In the context of the globalization processes that have taken place in the world in the last decades, the problems of changing and modifying the state institutions and instruments, in particular, the government administration, taking into account the challenges of today, are updated. At present, there is a crisis of the democracy, even in those countries that are considered to be models of the democratic regimes. And it should be noted that the volume of the talks on this crisis is compounded each year because the existing state-legal regimes and forms of the government are ineffective in securing the public welfare through the proper performance of the state functions. In our opinion, such a situation is by no means a manifestation of the universal alarmism, and on the contrary, in a certain sense, there is a simplified idea of the higher crises that infiltrate all the state institutions in general, and the system of the government administration in particular.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The problem of the effectiveness of the government administration is fundamentally by such scholars as R. Acoff, I. Ansoff, J. Brennan, P. Bourdieu, J. Buchanan, E. Gray, T. Hebler, D. Halbright, K. Drur, R. Kaplan, M. Crozier, K. McConnell, D. North, D. Osborne, N. Owen, V. Pareto, P. Plastrick, H. Simon, L. Terry, L. Urvi, D. Foster, G. Eshurth, B. A. Binkin, V. I. Chernyak, V.N. Leksin, etc.

The purpose of the article is the general theoretical study of the world experience in the formulation of the main factors that imply the effectiveness of the implementation of the government administration and the de-

velopment of the ways to optimize the latter.

Presenting the main material. The issue of improving the quality of the state as a necessary, but not sufficient, essential feature, but also about the actual change in the type of the state, is the refusal of the administrative and bureaucratic model of the state “good governance” despite its functional efficiency on the state of the service type by analogy with the free access of Douglas Cecil North, an American economist, social philosopher, Nobel Prize winner in economics in 1993.

We propose, within the framework of our study, to take a few moments on the consideration of D. Norton’s position in the government administration. If summarized, published in 2009 by Douglass Cecil North, John Joseph Wallis and Barry R. Scheingast, “Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History”, then to the countries that he relates to the rules of the free access, it is possible to identify the core of the country for which there are no doubts about their access to the free access (US, UK, and its historical dominions, Scandinavia, Benelux, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal), and the periphery is a country with respect to which such doubts still exist (Spain, Austria, Czech Republic, South Korea, Taiwan) [1];

- there are three types of social orders known in the history of mankind: the primitive order inherent in the prehistoric social organizations; the order of the restricted access, or the natural state that arose as a result of the Neolithic revolution; and, finally, the order of the free access that is formed in the

process of the modern scientific and technological revolution;

- the free access procedures include the twenty countries with the highest index of the democracy development Polity IV (also Polity IV Project) which is calculated through the concepts such as the competitiveness and openness of the rotation institutions; the existence of institutional restraints of the executive branch; the availability of the institutional channels of the free and equal political participation of the citizens [2];

- the essence of the order of the restricted access is the prevalence of the social relations based on the personal ties, privileges and social hierarchies, the selectivity in the application of the law, the double standards, and the protection of the property rights, that is, the state refers to the elites;

- the essence of the order of the free access is the domination of the impersonal relations, the rule of the law, the protection of the property rights, that is, refers to the state for all [3, p. 199–202].

- The surface analysis of the issues of the free access to the subject of their stability, in our view, we should pay attention to the following factors that you have in this sense of the negative impact, namely:

- first of all, the phenomenon of the “deep state” that was first formulated in 2014 by Mike Lofgren, reflected the exit of the bureaucracy from the political control, and was perceived as a hybrid merger of the government executives and financiers and industrialists higher echelons that carry out the effective management in the USA, despite the voters’ opinion, thus violating

the essence of the electoral process [4, p. 224]; its essence is reduced to the fact that there is a coordinated and hierarchically constructed structure of the government administrators that have unlimited influence on the formation of a state policy despite the existence of a democratically elected top government; according to Jason Royce Lindsey, the “deep state” is based on the unlimited impact of the intelligence services, which, having the ability to receive secret information, enables the state officials to which they are subject, to use it as “levers of influence” in the formation of the state policy [5, p. 35–36];

- a dramatic decrease in the electoral activity of the citizens; the crisis of the traditional system of the political parties;

- a radical change in the information space that creates all the possibilities for easy manipulation of the social consciousness, the so-called phenomenon of “post-truth”; by the way, this term was acknowledged the word of the year 2016 in the Oxford Dictionary, and under it is understood such a situation where the objective facts are less important for the formation of the public opinion than for appealing to emotions and personal beliefs; it is such a relation to the language, when it is not important how truthful or false is the fact, and the degree of the effectiveness is the priority [6]. For example, in the feature film *Wag the Dog* (1997) it was clearly demonstrated how the modern political technologists have mastered the skill of deceiving people; studying in depth the psychology of the society, skillfully and at their discretion, using the achievements of the modern

information technologies “play” with the society; the professionalism of the PR and image makers is a guarantee that each step and the word of a senior official are premeditated and aim to achieve a definite result; the basic principle of politics is who in time and more has lied, who better masked his lie, in one word, who better “packed” his lie – that “won”; the skill of distracting the electorate from everyday problems, shifting attention to more global problems (the best option – disasters, catastrophes) [7];

- the actual disappearance of the social classes and the excessive fragmentation of the social environment that complicates the intergroup communication and the formation of a nationwide political consensus [1].

Of course, one can stay in the position that the crisis of the democracy is the next stage in the formation of a new nation state, but the problem is quite serious, and that the changes taking place in the world to date concern the very basic principles of the paradigm of the state. Therefore, “turning a person away from the windows of the high-speed train of our time” can not become a wise strategy for those who plan to play painless important roles in the modern state reality [8, p. 103–113].

The fact that time-tested mechanisms of the government administration are gradually losing their relevance, the deligitiation of the traditional system of the relations between the government and the civil society, as well as the revision, taking into account the requirements of the present conditions of a social contract between the states and the civil society is taking place.

Proceeding from the fact that the era of “big governments” comes to an end, the problems of the de-bureaucratization of the government administration, the search for a new model of the state power with considerably limited functions and power and administrative powers are never updated.

Considering Ukraine through the prism of these transformational processes, it should be noted that with the advent of independence, the process began directly opposite to that taking place in the developed countries of the world, namely the growth in the geometric progression of a self-sufficient and uncontrolled non-patrimonial bureaucracy [9, p. 14]. In this case, the total expansion of the government administrative structures in all the spheres of the public life is meant in order to get complete control there, to upgrade the government administration, to refuse “de facto” the implementation of the principle of the distribution of the power, and, as is observed recently, to suppress the processes of the formation of the civil society through the use of the force methods.

But it is impossible to stop the course of the history. Therefore, all the political speculation about the alleged “mentality of the hired” of the Ukrainian people, the “genetic incapacity” of the nation for the implementation of the normal and full democratic forms of the government and self-government, and often and consciously anti-state statements in this key, and the political steps taken on the basis of these allegations, are able to slow down the historical state-political changes in the organization of the government administration in Ukraine for a while, but in

no way will it be inevitable to return them in the opposite direction, and, moreover, to stop.

All the political rhetoric based on this kind of pseudo-rights is doomed to a complete rejection and abruption, thereby increasing the “exclusion zone” between the state power and the civil society. For a long time to remain in such an unstable state-political state, the society is indomitable, the social discontent reaches the point of its bifurcation that, and this is only a matter of time, it will lead to a social explosion with consequences that are quite incomprehensible in accordance with the “butterfly effect”.

It should be noted that over the past several decades there has been a rethinking of the fundamental principles of the interaction between the state and the society which is essentially a modernized reincarnation of a liberal paradigm. The extreme liberal in the understanding of these relationships is Brian Doherty whose radical position is reduced to the fact that the technological evolution created a world that does not require any government, and the whole system of the government administration can be gradually eliminated, since the latter is a huge fiction due to which one tries to live at the expense of another [10, p. 4]. This position, despite its extreme anti-theatricalism, has the right to life, however, according to our belief, is now mostly emotional, since any society outside the state-organizational structure in the present day will be a priori deprived of the future. Therefore, we do not see the need to pay more attention to its study and description. Although, for the sake of justice, it should be noted that there was enough

supporters of this understanding of the relations between the state and the society. For example, such representatives of the School of Public Choice as Jams McGill Buchanan Jr. and Gordon Tullock, who, criticizing the rent seeking behaviour, expressed their opinion more leniently, emphasizing that the state, providing the state power to its officials, actually forces others to pay for their maintenance costs.

Recently, there is really a leveling of the authority of the state, a crisis of the faith in its ability to be an effective mechanism for ensuring the universal welfare. In our opinion, agreeing with A.V. Oblonsky, one can read in the following reading the main reasons that led to the emergence of such state nihilism, namely:

- an increase in the general level of the political consciousness and political culture of the population of the developed countries which caused the appearance of the conscious citizens of the fear that a strong and hierarchically constructed structure of the government administration must necessarily create the conditions for the emergence of totalitarianism in various forms of its manifestation;

- the apparent discrepancy between the classical state institutions and the methods of the government administration of the realities and challenges of the present; the lack of time to make the government administration decisions, the lack of prompt response to the events of the real reality, a number of administrative and management measures and related services compared to the private sector that are now perceived by the society as a new class as inferior;

- the powerful expansion of the bureaucratic ambitions that argued for the privileged position of their carriers that the state alone is a real and effective mechanism for ensuring the welfare is now in response to the current trends of the civil society [8, p. 148].

In the end, adding to the above mentioned the persistent corruption manifestations, the abuse of the office by the government, in some cases the immoral actions of the politicians and the state officials of the different levels, as well as their absolute inefficiency in ensuring the normal functioning of the state and the realization of the functions of the latter, there is a rapid fall trust in the state institutions, and, in particular, the authority and prestige of the government administration apparatus [11].

Let's pay attention to the fact that skepticism towards the government administration has not arisen today, and this process has been going on for quite some time, indicating this is the scientific position, namely:

- 1968 – *Dwight Waldo* – as a supporter of the humanitarian approach, criticizing the existing system of the public administration, did not speak at all to “put into the press” all the organizational mechanisms worked out for a long time, but insisted that adaptation of the capabilities of the bureaucratic organization are not yet fully exhausted, but the actual bureaucracy itself is a force that not only aims at achieving the profit and stability, but also changes in accordance with the requirements of the time. However, he insisted on the need for the radical changes in existing organizational structures (for example, the replacement of the perma-

nent organizations to the temporary, the relaxation of the formal hierarchical factors in the relationship between the specialists and the strengthening of the professional and ethical foundations of these relationships) [12, p. 56]. D. Waldo wrote about the crisis of the confidence in the government administration in terms of the identity crisis with an absolutely pessimistic assessment of the prospects for overcoming it [13].

Particularly noteworthy are the views of D. Waldo on the fundamental principles of the government administration, namely:

- the bureaucracy should be studied not through scientific management, but within the political sciences (the process of administration in the state apparatus is much more complicated than in business); there is no fundamental difference between the bureaucrats and the politicians, since both of them should serve the people; for the government administration not “efficiency” is important, but the conformity of the government-management activities of the Constitution and the national goals [14]; one of today's challenges is the conflict between the bureaucracy and the democracy; the basis of the conflict is as follows: the main task of the democracy should be to serve the people, not the scientific management and efficiency; the confrontation between the bureaucracy and the democracy can help protect the bureaucrats of the democratic values; the division of the politicians and the state officials is false; the state officials implement the value-defined policies in the existing state procedures and processes; it is not possible to carry out the government

administration on the principle of business; in the exercise of the government administration, the democratic values and the Constitution should be a priority [15].

- *since the 1970s* — a campaign under the so-called “rake of the political dirt” has been launched.

Daniel Ellsberg began exposing the backroom secrets in 1969, as an expert on Vietnam, he received the permission to work with the secret files, the so-called “Pentagon documents”, on the Vietnam War that contained insider information about the real motives and goals of the American high-ranking officials, as well as their attitude to the suffering and death of the civilians. In 1971, the copies of these documents were published by him (9 pages out of 7000) in the “Times” newspaper. After that, D. Ellsberg was arrested and transferred to the court, he was threatened with 115 years of imprisonment, but the methods of gathering evidences that obviously violated the human rights provoked massive public support actions, and, in the end, he was justified [16].

Subsequently, in 1972, the following “explosion” occurred — the Watergate, when Richard Milhous Nixon, the only one from all the presidents, instructed the special services to listen to the Oval Office (Presidential Office), which eventually led to his political collapse and resignation under the threat of impeachment. In a tense struggle for a second term reelection for the US president, he agreed with his assistants to plan to listen to the Democratic Party office leased in the fashionable residential complex “Watergate” in central Washington hoping to gather as much

information as possible about the tactical plans of the Democrats during pre-election race. The “Watergate” caused an extremely strong blow to the presidency, and its consequences were politically difficult and prolonged. The civil society was indignant at the edge of the country that under the oath of allegiance usually condemn ordinary scammers, and here it turned out to be the president himself from whom they expected to be an example of clear moral standards and an example of compliance with the laws. The impressions of events at the Watergate were reinforced by the defeat in the Vietnam War and disclosed information about its real course. Above, brutal abuse of the power and routine crime in higher echelons of the state power were committed [17]. It is worth noting that in the developed democratic society of America, the President Nixon faced impeachment not because of the penetration into the premises for the purpose of eavesdropping, namely for a lie and an impediment to the administration of justice.

- *1973* — *Vincent Ostrom* in his book “The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration” identified the government as a mechanism in which all the professional government officials are organically linked into a strong chain, and the citizens are assigned the role of “amateurs” that are entirely dependent on the “political rulers”; the domination of a developed bureaucracy turns a priori all the forms of the constitutional rule into identical fictions, and the only really important political reality is the bureaucracy [18, p. 28].

- *1977–1981* — *James Earl “Jimmy” Carter, Jr.*, the 39th President of the

United States. Since the 1960s, the state budget deficit has been recorded in the United States. The situation was complicated by the fact that, in addition to federal expenditures for current, mostly social, needs, it was necessary to pay interest on the external debt. The chronic deficits, coupled with ever-increasing debt, were used to raise constantly growing interest rates in the federal budget. The expansion of the bureaucracy from an economic point of view prevented the normal work of the government administration, and the obscene and poorly coordinated structure of the ministries and departments produced, as a rule, contradictory and mutually exclusive administrative and managerial decisions. Thus, and naturally, such eternal companions as corruption, bribery and other types of abuse by the authorities intensified against the backdrop of the total bureaucratization.

An attempt to overcome this disease was carried out by J. Carter, who was one of the first state officials to introduce the principle of “zero-budgeting”. The purpose of this system was to reduce the irrational expenditures and balance of the state budget. The bottom line was that every year the budget should be discussed from “zero”. Similarly, every state program must be re-examined. According to the principles of the “zero-budgeting”, the need for all the kinds of resources necessary for the realization of a program — human, material, financial, informational — first of all, it was necessary to carefully analyze the relevance of the program to the requirements of the modernity, the expediency of a certain goal and their degree possible implementation

without reference to the budget expenditures of the last year. After this, the head of the department had to combine all the information about the programs under his control into a one-page report on his activities which necessarily should indicate the priorities of the department [19, p. 60]. By the way, the head would also have to propose several alternatives to the program, as well as alternative methods for achieving the identified goals. The introduction of such a system made it possible to identify and minimize unnecessary costs that occurred year after year. In short, the “zero-budgeting” established a clear and transparent link between the budget funds and the results of the implementation of the state programs [20, p. 112–113].

However, it should be emphasized that the attempt to introduce such a system within the United States faces the problem of non-compliance with the principles of the latest state scale. After all, the “zero-budgeting” testing was conducted at the state of Virginia where the system was successful. But, for example, the annual review of the appropriations for the national programs turned out to be almost unrealizable, since the funding was made solely in accordance with the current legislation. Therefore, to introduce a system of “zero-budgeting” it would be necessary to amend the legislation in this part. J. Carter also faced the refusal of the heads of the structural divisions of some ministries to indicate in their applications the alternative levels of funding for numerous social programs, referring to the fact that the size of the assistance and the categories of its recipients were determined by special laws, and not by

the regulations of the relevant departments. Also, the administration of J. Carter was forced to abandon most of the requirements of the “zero-budgeting” because of the reluctance of the ministries, agencies, departments, commissions, committees and bureaux to include the alternatives to the programs with reduced funding [21].

Despite the fact that at the state level of the US J. Carter failed to actively use all the achievements of the system of the “zero-budgeting”, but such a step can fairly be considered innovative, considered as a moment of a new tendency in the management of the bureaucracy, as well as one from effective tools to reduce the irrational public spending.

Conclusions. Summarizing the above, I would like to agree with D. Norton to emphasize that any social institutions, including the state institutions, create the basic structures through which the society during its history managed to achieve order and increase its own stability. However, the fundamental institutional changes take place extremely slowly, because the institutions themselves are the result of the historical transformations, as well as the factor of the formation of the individual behavior of the subjects of the social relations. Here is the formula: the higher the institutional instability, the higher will be the cost of the maintaining the law and order and the welfare. Therefore, the in-depth analysis of the social processes provides an opportunity to assume that

- the political and state institutions can be stable only if the latter have support from the stakeholders in their stability;

- the successful implementation of the reforms is possible only with a total change in the institutional system;

- the modification of the norms of the behavior of the subjects of the public relations that legitimize and support the new laws is a process prolonged in time, but in the absence of such a stimulating mechanism, the government administration can not be implemented effectively and the state system is considered to be stable;

- in the short term, the authoritarianism is only possible for the economic growth in the state; otherwise, the prospect is long-term, and requires the creation of a regulatory framework

- even in the case of an unfavourable and unstable political situation, the economic growth in the state can be achieved by introducing the informal constraints in exceptional cases for short periods of time, etc. Therefore, agreeing with D. Norton, we can say that the effective political and state systems, and the system of the government administration, in particular, must be formed by the flexible institutional structures that are capable of satisfactorily enjoying the social shocks and changes that, in turn, is a powerful element of the successful state development. But here one should clearly understand that the formation of such systems is the result of a long process, since creating efficient systems, designed for the short-term perspective, people have not learned yet [22].

So, for Ukraine that has just started to form its own system of the government administration, it is absolutely superfluous to “create its own bicycle”. The main task of the political elite and state officials of the different levels

should be to moderate and wise use of the achievements in the field of the government administration of other countries that in their own experience have tested their effectiveness. For example, the introduction of elements of the system of the “zero-budgeting” in the domestic government administration, in our opinion, would provide an opportunity to really start the process of fighting the corruption through, at least, the reorganization of the activities of the certain agencies with similar functions. On the basis of the consolidation and association of the staff structures, it would become possible to increase allocations for most state programs, that until now has taken place automatically, when allocating funds for the next year added just a few percent to the actual last year’s estimates. Also, each state program, despite its experience and pre-allocation, should undergo a revaluation every year, and the new budget should be formed taking into account the change of the inflation index that will allow securing the state budget from the additional negative consequences, and the amounts laid down will be reasonable and realistic and will guarantee economic security and confidence in tomorrow. Lastly, the “zero-budgeting” would allow a significant reduction in the number of the state officials.

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