

THE LATEST PARADIGMS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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Book review: Basu R. 2019. *Public Administration in the 21st Century: A Global South Perspective*. United Kingdom: Routledge. 110 s

Abstract: The experience of so-called "developing" countries is often underestimated by European and American researchers. The Indian researcher R. Basu's work seeks to debunk the myth of the weakness of management theories and technologies in India, China and other non-Western countries. The book provides an in-depth analysis of the existing management theory, and the results of which are supplemented by the practical experience of the countries of the Global South, which are not often brought to the attention of researchers. The author offers alternative solutions to classical management problems, and also substantiates the relevance of the country level of knowledge and cross-country comparative studies in the modern theory of public administration, on the basis of which new paradigms are formed, that are adequate to the challenges of our time.

Keywords: social policy theory, New Public Management, democracy, quality of public administration, comparative analysis, sustainable development.

Indian researcher Rumka Basu's book "Public Administration in the 21st Century: A Global South Perspective" was released in 2019 by Routledge as a continuation of her series on public administration in South Asia in general and in India in particular. R. Basu has been conducting research since 1987, and this book provides an interim summary of her extensive theoretical and empirical work. R. Basu is a Professor, Department of political science at celebrated its centenary University of Millia, Jamia Islamia (*JMI, New Delhi*); over the course of her work she has published 12 books and many articles on public policy and governance, international organizations and the political economy of India's development, for many years represented the results of their work at the world Congress of political science (*The IPSA World Congress of Political Science*).

The book, that will be discussed in this review, reflects the scientific trend of finding solutions to domestic problems of the country in foreign experience. In addition to the growing demand for interdisciplinary research (Guedes and Faria, 2007, 24), there is a similarly-relevant demand for cross-country transfer of public administration experience, since such transfer can be a source of

alternative vision, which is difficult to formulate, from within the system (Krasilnikov, SivintsevaStreet, Troitskaya, 2015, 209-210).

R. Basu begins its work with this thesis, talking about the changing academic and managerial vision of public policy in connection with globalization, changes in ideologies, agendas and discourses around the world (Basu, 2019, 9). The book's vision of the potential for transformation of public administration allows us to go beyond the traditional Western-centric analysis, and also allows a wide range of readers to form a comprehensive view of the problems raised in the text.

The book is constructed according to the standard scheme for theoretical-and applied analysis: first, an overview of general provisions, is presented, basic definitions are given; then a detailed analysis of the “middle level” aspects is presented, supplemented by the results of the author's applied research; in the final part, the current dilemmas and challenges in the field of public administration are summed up, and conclusions on the work done are proposed.

What problems does R. address? Basu, speaking of public administration in the 21st century? The aim of the book is to: “provide an updated assessment of the functions of Governments in the face of political diversity from the point of view of public administration in a rapidly globalizing and changing world of the twenty-first century” (Basu, 2019, 14). Today, managers and researchers are rethinking the main theories, concepts and goals of management, and the book raises the problem *of changes in global societies, economies and politics, that cause the need for such rethinking*. Generally accepted models of bureaucratic management, that claim to be universal, for example, in the formulation of M. Weber, 's ideas are no longer applicable to management problems in conditions of deep differences between countries, and the book presents *arguments against applying typical Western, albeit updated, models* to management in heterogeneous countries of the “developing”¹ bloc. It is especially important to abandon these principles, analysis, when it comes to understanding *the situation of marginalized groups* of society (the elderly, the poor, without professional qualifications, refugees), as they rely on this state-of-support models, and analysis from a privileged position may not qualify for usefulness and benefit to managers in the field (Basu, 2019, 32).

The author considers *the expansion of the range of tasks and activities of state administrative institutions with multi-level cooperation of many actors*, such as civil society, people in general, and even the private sector as a partner in the management process. The author *revises the principles of political science, in order to offer his vision of solving intellectual dilemmas*, that modern management theories and practices face or will have to face in future management situations.

¹The author uses the terms “developed”, “developing” and “underdeveloped countries” based on the typology proposed by F.V. Riggs. According to his approach, countries, depending on the administrative system, are divided into merged (underdeveloped), prismatic (developing) and differentiated (developed) societies. For more information, see: Riggs F. W. Ecology of public administration. 1961.

Approaches to solving the problems posed by R. Basu reveals on the basis of several theses about fundamental changes in the management paradigm in the modern world.

1. The meaning of public administration in the 21st century is changing.

In the theoretical landscape, there is a division of public administration functions into supporting ones (for example, collecting taxes, maintaining order and legality, and ensuring public infrastructure needs) and specific ones, that is, depending on the country, region, history, culture, and ideology — the context in the broad sense of the word. The author emphasizes, that it is contextual changes that lead to the need for readaptation of public policy measures and procedures, since global processes of the recent past and present have made it impossible for any country to be isolated by management (Basu, 2019, 14-15). Since many states, according to the author, are not able to meet even the necessary minimum of “effective governance”, as the UN has formulated, *it, measures to overcome unprecedented inequality come to the fore* (Basu, 2019, 15). The author cites data from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and concludes, that despite the growth of indicators such, as the Human Development Index (HDI) and a number of “egalitarian” revolutions, today there is no talk of improving living standards, since such indicators “often hide huge discrepancies in living conditions” (Basu, 2019, 17), and “policy orders, administration executes” governance does not address the problem of centuries of economic and social exploitation by the “developed” regions of the global North and the “developing” countries of the global South. It is for this reason that the accepted division of public administration functions cannot be discounted: *the specific conditions for implementing public policy today are always unique*, even if the country is exposed to globalization trends.

In support of this thesis, the author cites the case of the Republic of Mauritius, an island State to the south of the African continent. In 1968, the island gained independence from the United Kingdom, and from that moment on, the country began to experience unprecedented growth in economic and social indicators, which at the time of writing were among the highest among all African countries. The multinational and multicultural territory managed to achieve a minimum level of corruption, the development of education and health systems, a high level of employment and profitability of investment in the country's economy. This example shows, that *the regions, that Western-centric managers and researchers look at from the height of their own experience, are able to develop their own highly effective management systems*. The author argues, that attention to such “home” systems can be a source of new approaches to solving global problems, since the world is at a point of instability, where the United States and Europe are forced to invest less in the well-being of the population, while, for example, China and India, on the contrary, are overcoming internal difficulties, by increasing the share of the budget, allocated to this category of expenditure (Basu, 2019, 19).

In this part of the text, the author pays special attention to the arguments against *the absolutization of democracy as a management strategy*. Citing Russia and China as examples, the author points to the ability of more authoritarian states to overcome the consequences of global unrestricted capitalism. The events of the Arab Spring show, that education, Internet use, and the

demand for meaningful employment are elements, ограничивающими авторитаризм that limit authoritarianism,, so authoritarian tendencies cannot be said to be unchecked (Basu, 2019, 20). Another characteristic, that the author offers a special look at is the desire for a "green" economy, which is characteristic of modern managers and is perceived as the norm of goal setting. In China, In India and Brazil, countries, often accused of ignoring the environmental issue, resource consumption is only half that of the "accusers" countries, из which is why the author comes to unusual conclusions. First, the study showed, that the environmental situation is better in countries, where there are fewer wage differences. Second, *overcoming material inequality, including through ideological integration, is more effective for the environment*, than other strategies (Basu, 2019, 21).

The same applies to the issue of national security. Typical of many militaristic approach to this question overlooks the fact, that the feeling of personal insecurity of citizens affected by the potential instability is much stronger: the inability to feed themselves by labour, lack of maintenance of the internal market products, material qualification for access to quality health care -- all of these elements weaken the state stronger, than the lack of weapons or trained military (Basu, 2019, 23).

2. The content of public administration as a scientific discipline has changed.

The author counts down the life of public administration as an academic discipline from 1887 1887, when V. I. Popov was born. Wilson published his work "Public Administration Research", which resulted in the formation of five cores of academic research: government structures and public sector organizations; processes of formation and implementation of public policy measures; behavioral patterns of bureaucracy; ecology of public organizations; human-state interaction. In the same part of the text, the author defines the main concepts of these areas of research (Basu, 2019, 27). Today, according to the author, we are no longer talking about management as an action on the part (*of the government*: modern public administration is a joint effort of the state, the private sector and civil society to solve societal problems (*governance*).

Today, the dichotomy of public administration models is built between two poles. On the one hand, it is a model of separation of policy and administration by B. Wilson and the New Public Management (NPM) model that grew out of it – NPM. This model is aimed at preserving the political-administrative division with the addition of managerial categories and functions—for example, measuring performance, delegating managerial tasks, and increasing dependence on the personal initiative of the manager (Basu, 2019, 30-31). On the other hand, an academic revision of the NPM model was attempted NPM in order to preserve the best experience and return to bureaucracy in its sociological sense; thus the neo-democracy model was born. Вебериянского государства (*The Neo-Weberian State – NWS*). This model, as the author writes, is "a combination of the instrumental rationality of the Weberian bureaucracy in, terms of achieving legal and economic goals, and the principles of NPM related to public responsibility of the state and the focus on results to improve work efficiency" (Basu, 2019, 31).

The choice in favor of NPM or NWS is made in the context of changes in the general situation of public administration, and the author cites a number of such changes. Today, researchers and managers need to take into account *the inevitability of natural disasters* due to changes in the environmental situation; raising public awareness and *requesting increased awareness* of managers and administrations; and requesting *accountability of the government and administrations to the population* regarding the goals set.

One of the attempts to balance the existing academic models of public administration was an appeal to the concept of “public value” -*public value* the author's concept of M. V. Shvets. Moore, 2014, 466), which expressed a demand for a transition from a market-wide approach to prioritizing the provision of services to the population through the state exploitation of collective goods (Moore, 2014, 466). This approach was further developed in the New Public Service (*New Public Service – NPS*) model. The essence of this model is, that, unlike the capitalist NPM and the bureaucratic NWS, “The New State Service ” focuses specifically on providing infrastructure for fulfilling state obligations to citizens based on public values. R. and J.R. R. Tolkien. Denhardt formulates the postulates of this model, the essence of which boils down to the fact, that the state and managers should serve citizens, and not serve customers (Denhardt, Denhardt, 2015, 42-43). Nevertheless, the author comes to the conclusion, that despite the development of such models, *modern public administration tends more towards economic, than social efficiency*. Like the desire for democratization, the desire for economic efficiency restricts managers, although the academic basis for getting out of this situation has already been formed.

3. *Public policy measures require academic rethinking.*

The book presents classical and modern approaches to the analysis of the relationship between the political course and policy measures (*politics vs. policy*). The author comes to the conclusion, that today it is impossible to separate the nature of policy measures from the direction of the political course and country circumstances of their implementation, since today it is impossible not to take into account the demand of the population and global cross-country differences (Basu, 2019, 50). Just, as with the modeling of administrative regimes, researchers conclude, that policy measures today are more associated with the concepts of rationality, optimization, and limited awareness (Basu, 2019, 54). Based on an analysis of a wide range of research papers, the author concludes, that modern policy measures balance on fine lines between restricting democracy in favor of “enlightened elites” and reducing the role of the state to protective functions, and *neither of these poles has proved to be more effective, than the other* (Basu, 2019, 56). This inevitably affects the procedures for implementing these measures, as well as the assessment of consequences and results, which makes new academic knowledge, that focuses on public policy measures in demand. The author cites a number of authors, who have worked on this topic, but, gives a meaningful critique of their work, pointing out the need to revise some of the postulates, that are now perceived as classics of academic thinking in this area (Basu, 2019, 58-59).

Rethinking of these postulates should be carried out, according to the author's perspective, in several directions. Its analysis shows, that today there are difficulties in defining the goals of public policy measures, it is difficult to determine causal relationships, there are problems with assessing the diffuse consequences of implementing measures, it is difficult to collect data on the results, and new "holes" appear in the legislative framework of states. The author suggests that the Western reader should refer to the experience of the southern and eastern regions of the world, where some of these difficulties are solved by increasing the number of specialized analytical centers (*think tanks*), transferring part of the decision-making process to electronic format (*e-government*) and increasing the rationality of consumption (Basu, 2019, 62-63). Some scientists are still trying to find innovative ways of improving the process of rational decision-making, while others believe, that the use of such tools is purely symbolic -- basically to create an image of rationality for public consumption, because the decisions have already been made and are primarily determined by political factors and changes in social, economic or political climate decision-making. Of course, no definitive conclusions can be drawn on this issue, but it would be good to stick to the institutional analysis, first proposed by E. A. Shumakov. Ostrom and her colleagues in 2010, which boils down to the following: with a certain institutional infrastructure and resources, an agreement can be reached and optimal results can be achieved at the same time, despite the shortcomings of individual or collective public policy decisions (Poteete, Jansen, Ostrom, 2010, 28).

It should also be noted, that the book notes subtle terminological differences, and the academic reinterpretation of measures is expressed through nuances of language: the author draws a line from government (*government*) to governance (*governance*), and then justifies the use of the term "management as a process" (*governing*). The change in the terms used clearly illustrates the change in the paradigm of thinking about the problems under study.

4. It is impossible to apply a unified approach to democracy on a global scale.

The book presents two approaches to the definition of democracy: procedural and substantive. The first focuses on democracy as a political and administrative system, while the second -- focuses on the concept of civil society and civil claims in politics, economics, and the social sphere. The author refers to the term "good governance", introduced by the World Bank in 1989, the year in order, to "developing" countries are more accurately reported on the effectiveness received development funds, and this approach is demonstrated, how extensive such things as a "development" or "sustainability" are not global, universal nature, which he attributed to the (Basu, 2019, 66). With this example, the author emphasizes the need to raise qualitatively different questions for modern managers; not questions of spreading democracy and striving for development, but questions of increasing the quality of life from the point of view, of how each individual country and each individual region understands this. Эта задача, According to the author, this task can be solved by answering five main questions: the question of implementing policy measures, the question of setting standards, the question of audit and reporting, the question of encouragement, the question of change and innovation.

As an example, of how productive such an “individual” approach to democratic procedurisation, the author cites the case of India, considering it as a "democratic experiment". Historically, the concept of democracy for the Indian people was synonymous with self-government, as this system began to take shape only in the second half of the twentieth century. Curious, what Western scholars of the time, these sentiments did not seem optimistic: they are characterized India as “unmanaged” and “rebel”, although the country almost immediately after independence, started to develop the institutions of civil participation, still preserved, with a vigilant press, sensitive judicial system, social movements and the growing number of civic groups, creating a strong "culture of dissent" at the beginning of the hierarchical feudal society (Basu, 2019, 68). In the context of the broadest cultural and social diversity within the country, the most productive strategy is the “power sharing” *method*-the formation of dynamic electoral diversity, that reflects the changing needs of different groups.

Difficulties, faced by India, are more economic, than political in nature, and if the economic side of democracy are not always provided with the corresponding economic growth, then the rest of the country, according to the author, copes with the theoretical developments in the field of control -- from socialism (1950-1990-ies.) to liberal capitalism in its offset by a number of measures of the form (our day). This is largely due to the policy of “double responsibility”, which can be observed in India and China. According to this policy, local officials are responsible for ensuring that the resources allocated and the results obtained correspond to both the State, and the population group, under their management. That is why, despite the fact that resources are more scarce, than in the "developed" countries, India is steadily increasing the quality of life of its population. The results of this work are reflected in the Public Relations Index, , which is being developed by the Public Relations Center of India based on surveys in 29 federal districts of the country², and the districts compete with each other to increase the index values, which encourages the growth of the average level (Basu, 2019, 71). Of course, the country also faces problems - the author identifies four key problems, that the Indian model of democracy cannot solve at the moment: environmental problems, human development, infrastructure development and the problem of servicing the population's problems. The author sees the solution to these problems in increasing the level of trust between citizens and the state, as well as in reducing the degree of inequality. The author considers inequality in access to governance to be the most significant problem of all the democracies of “developing” countries.

The author also gives an example of the African model of democracy and its differences from European and American approaches. In the countries of this region, the key point for ensuring the interests of the population by means of the state is the rejection of a purely-majority view of elections. The author quotes N. Mandela and his warning, that the rule of the” winning majority ” poses a threat to democracy, which makes it productive to include representatives of the opposition and minorities in the elected bodies: these groups also represent someone's interests,

²Gollerkeri G., Sivaraman A., Pandey S., Kabbur M., Venkatesh A. Public Affairs Index (2020): Governance in the States of India, Bangalore: PAC. 2020.

and without their participation in the country's governance, the interests of some groups will not be taken into account. Despite the difficulties in implementing this principle, Africans are still determined to further democratize the region in the direction, that they think is appropriate (Basu, 2019, 75). A similar logic applies to the inhabitants of South Asian countries, where permanent power imitating democratic procedures is a stage, that is inevitably followed by real democratization.

5. Comparative studies should become a priority method of public administration research.

The author justifies the need for comparative research through a number of arguments. ВоFirstпервых, the experience of "developing" countries in the field of administration and management structure contributes to the renewal of management theory. ВоSecondlyвторых, as already mentioned, the experience of management today cannot be reduced to a number of universal formulas, it requires an understanding of the specific conditions of each country. Comparative studies allow us to identify such factors, clarifying the theoretical models and approaches used for analysis. Here you can recall the methodology of the "ideal type" of M. Вебера, According to Weber's theory, it is impossible to detect "pure" types, and the study is limited to measuring deviations of reality from the theoretically-developed construction (Weber, 1949, 96). ВThirdтретьих, comparative studies can more accurately identify the conditions for the success or failure of certain administrative measures in different settings; comparative studies can identify significant environmental factors and conditions for borrowing successful practices between countries (Basu, 2019, 79).

The author sees the methodology of conducting comparative research as follows. First, the level of analysis is selected: macro-, meso-, or micro-level. At the macro level, administrative systems as a whole are analyzed, taking into account the full context of their existence and activity, .Here, a detailed structural-and functional analysis of important parts of the administrative systems of selected countries (different, like China and the United States, or similar, like India and the United States), as well as the relationship between the administrative system and the external environment is made. At the meso-level of analysis, researchers select specific significant large-scale parts of the administrative system, for example, local authorities of two countries. At the micro level, individual organizations or small parts of administrative systems are examined (for example, hiring or education systems in private and public organizations); micro-studies are often based on similar comparisons that have already been made.

Researchers, working in the direction of comparative studies of "developed" and "developing" countries, have identified a number of areas of work, where this approach is most productive. These are empirical studies of the economy and management in specific countries, dependency theories in connection with the economic stagnation of undeveloped country systems, and a comparative focus on the development of management systems. A common feature is "development" as the center of scientific discourse, which reduces the potential for comparison,

as some countries are taken as a benchmark, while others need to change (Basu, 2019, 82-83). In many ways, this is a product of the "Weberian" perspective in management sciences, and only now is this perspective getting its alternative. However, researchers often face a lack of complete data, research resources, and assistance from national researchers, who are more familiar with the specifics of their country. The request for quantification of research results and mathematical-and statistical modeling in management also creates difficulties, since not all realities can be adequately evaluated in quantitative terms (Basu, 2019, 86).

The author refers to a wide range of theories, mainly classical theories in the field of public administration. These are concepts in. Wilson (Administrative efficiency model), including with F. Goodnow (the dichotomy of politics and administration). Models of public administration-the model of new public administration (management) New Public Management are given. Osborne, etc. Gabler's model of the Neoveberian state. Pollitt and G. Bucaerta. The analysis involves the concept of social value of R. By J. Rhodes and J.R. R. Tolkien. Ванны, For example, the new public administration model of R. and J.R. R. Tolkien. Derhardtauthors, as well as a large number of less well-known works on control theory by authors of the XX and XXI centuries.

The paper uses secondary data from official sources (UN, government departments of India), as well as the results of other researchers are presented. Relying on data allowed us to fully implement the comparative method *выбранный автором* chosen by the author, including historical dynamics of indicators and analysis of academic changes over the past decades.

The work is written in a high-level academic language, which, however, will not prevent practitioners from the field of management from getting all the necessary information about the problems of modern management. The book is aimed more at an academic audience, as it requires familiarity with the main works and terms of management theory, and this is the main limitation of the applicability of this work.

The paper does not explicitly indicate possible sources of bias. The author does not make any preferences in favor of certain sources, all the cases presented are considered comprehensively, based on both Western, and Eastern perspectives. The use of the terms "developed" and "developing" countries, as well as the term "Third World countries" is not evaluative in nature and only reflects the world academic tradition.

The high quality of the text, however, leaves some room for criticism. First of all, it is necessary to say, that the author analyzes international relations from the perspective of "developed" and "developing" countries, justifying the use of such a division by classical theories. However, in modern sources, this approach is always accompanied by clarifications, since initially it has a Western-centric, somewhat colonialist character³. A good example of alternatives to such

³ Opinion | The End of the "Developing World" // The New York Times URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/opinion/sunday/forget-developing-fat-nations-must-go-lean.html?_r=0 (дата обращения: 25.09.2021).

categorization is the terms “income disparity” or “level of sustainable development” proposed by the World Bank staff⁴. The author notes, that the differences between the countries, that she refers to as developing, countries are very large, but, nevertheless, relies on such a generalizing term, which somewhat does not correspond to modern realities.

Another significant drawback of the work is the contradiction between the task of forming a specific body of knowledge and experience (the so-called “southern” or “eastern”) and the actual theoretical material. In fact, the contribution to this task is mainly made by the empirical, case-based part of the work; the theories and authors, mentioned in the book, in the absolute majority, represent European and American experience in understanding management issues. This choice is surprising, since the author has decades of theoretical work experience *измеряемый десятилетиями*, and even this experience did not allow her to turn to works from her home region. This is clearly not enough in the text, which is stated as a definite perspective on the issues raised.

You should also note semantic repetitions between parts of the text. The final sections to each chapter of the text help to summarize a certain intermediate result, but, the final section repeats these intermediate conclusions and the introductory part in terms of content. In a small work (110 pages), such repetitions are noticeable, *из-which* may give the impression, that the author has expressed everything, that was planned, but for some-reason wants to increase the volume of the text.

Despite the listed weaknesses of the text, the book can definitely be recommended for reading. The text really contains the declared regional view of the classic problems of management theory - the relationship between the administrative apparatus and the political structure, the quality of public administration and the transformation of management functions in the modern global world. The author supports these arguments with a wide range of empirical data, both statistical, and qualitative. Of particular interest is the author's approach to the selection of cases and their analysis: after reading it, it becomes obvious that cross-country borrowing of management practices is possible and really productive in modern conditions, despite significant differences between countries, that remain different even in the context of large-scale globalization.

The book raises questions about whether, the role and objectives of government and public administration need to be reviewed in the context of globalization and the rise of the “global South”, how and for whom public administration works in the diverse societies of “developing” regions, and, what are the new challenges and challenges in the twenty-first century. All these questions are answered by the author, so we can conclude, that the task of the book is completed.

⁴ Should we continue to use the term “developing world” // The World Bank Group URL: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/should-we-continue-use-term-developing-world> (дата обращения: 25.09.2021).

This book can be useful for both academic specialists, and practitioners of public administration; it is of particular interest as an additional literature for-international students, as it has a compact volume and a wide range of modern materials.

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Conflict of interest

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