The Crisis of Power as a Problem of the Development of Public Administration in the Postmodern World

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Abstract: One of the leading problems of the theory of globalization is the interaction of the modern state, public groups and the power system as the main source of development of the state and society. Today there is a sharp decline in the economic role of the state in the context of globalization of national markets and the monopoly regulator of the political and social system, typical of the states of the industrial era, leading to a crisis of civil society, developing within the framework of national statehood. However, such a world in the form of a "world power" does not arise, just as a global social community arose, similar to a nation. There is also a significant differentiation of nations with a tendency to primitivization, clericalization and archaization of social structures and public consciousness and, in general, an increase in the heterogeneity and conflict of modern societies. Such dramatic changes have affected the degradation of the system of power relations, including the social mechanisms of subordination, which are fundamentally unconscious of either the economy or administrative sanctions. However, the modern state, although it has lost a significant part of its capabilities and functions, continues to be the basis of social life within its territorial borders. The main objective of the study is to study the characteristics of the crisis of power in the postmodern world.

Keywords: *crisis; pulic administration; postmodern world; modern; crisis of power.*

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1. Introduction

The clearest evidence of a social crisis is the decline of nation states. If earlier the crisis of local societies was isolated, then globalization turned societies into nonequilibrium and open systems, creating sources of supply of ideas of instability between them, and significantly reduced the stability of the world system as a whole.

Postindustrial countries are actively involved in the dismantling of institutions of the previous era. Such a tendency of the post-industrial state does not contradict the slogan of "sustainable development", which is often steadily regressive. As a result, under the pretext of changing the economic course, changes are taking place in the foundations of the state of the industrial era - more evolutionary in Western countries and more catastrophic - in the countries of the former "socialist camp" (Haass, 2008).

The question of the regression of the modern state, which has moved to the "post-national" stage of development, cannot be reduced to a decrease in the economic role and the flow of economic resources from the national level to the global one. The economy, of course, plays a significant role, but the existing degradation processes are social in nature, not reduced to economic categories.

A post-national country is the systematic destruction and degradation of the main social institutions of the nation-state, as well as the institutions of political power.

Identification (identification) is the most powerful mechanism of social integration and management, able to force to act in the interests of a particular social group contrary to their own interests, including economic motives and even personal life. That is why the identification of the object of power with its subject is one of the main mechanisms of power, as well as an indicator of the objective existence of a social group.

The main means of developing stable political structures, together with states, was the creation of social groups with a common identity. In order for a nation to be able to form and develop in defiance of private and group interests and contradictions, the necessary condition is cultural and psychological unity, complementing and shaping the content of political integration.

The rejection of the policy of ensuring cultural and psychological unity as the basis of national identity leads to the disintegration of nations on the verge of social groups of lower order both vertically (increasing stratification by income) and horizontally, along the borders of ethnic

enclaves, historical provinces, and important ethnocultural communities (Huntington, 1999).

A study of the problems of public administration development has always attracted the attention of scientists (Pujjastuti & Darmadi, 2017). Asatryan, Heinemann and Putlik (2015) investigated the features of public administration reform and what role the crisis of power plays in this. The problems and challenges of public administration were investigated by Sarker, Bingxin, Sultana and Prodhan (2017).

In a post-national state, an individual is influenced in action by several subjects of power at the same time, each of which is associated with his belonging to a particular social group. Thus, identity as the consciousness of belonging to a social group, or groups, also acquires a clear connection with certain institutions and areas of power.

2. Theoretical research

2.1. Theoretical features of state power

The weakening of the institutions of the national state and nation as an integrating social group objectively leads to their change by alternative, usually more archaic and primitive forms of group social organization that were previously "in the shadow" of prosperous nations. However, the archaization of the social system and social consciousness, the fragmentation of a single nation into ethnic fragments, contradicts modern forms of social production, and this discrepancy takes on increasingly clear forms not only of "cold" and "hot" ethnic and religious conflicts, but also of systemic regression institutions of political power and social management.

Noticeable is the disintegration of large modern nations into ethnocultural communities associated with migration processes or the growth of peripheral ethnocultural minorities, a statement of which is the concept of multiculturalism. The transformation of multiculturalism into the legally enshrined social doctrine of a classical post-national country testifies to the rejection of the two-century practice of forming a nation (national construction) as a cohesive socio-cultural community and the transformation of nations into secondary groups united by nominal citizenship, but not by group consciousness or interests (Akhiezer et al., 2005).

Post-national states are characterized by a transition from a nation-state to a state of competing minorities and local entities. In the context of increasing fragmentation and competition of ethnic groups, the ethnic and religious fundamentalism of minorities significantly increases, contrasts itself with national cultures and state ethnic communities.

Thus, multiculturalism as an obvious attribute of a post-national state means cultural regression, the rejection of the achievements, institutions and practices of high culture created within the framework of national (i.e., national and, as a result, multi-ethnic and secular) cultures.

At the present stage of development of society, the disappearance of the boundaries of local societies, theories of political power are losing their significance (Barinova, 2014).

A significant part of theories of power is fixed on the individual aspects of subordination, including the sociobiological essence of power subordination.

It is characteristic that in the twentieth century. power relations and subjects of power that are not related to the state (ethnos, religion, customary law) were ignored as "nonexistent", non-essential, or "dying".

According to researchers, for an objective and systematic analysis of power relations in modern, the following points should be taken into account:

• Power as a stable system of interaction between the subject and the object of power does not exist outside a specific social group.

• Power is basically connected with the individual belonging to the corresponding social group and with the individual's place in the system of social relations.

• An individual's identity is a subjective reflection of an individual's participation in an objectively existing social group

• At the same time participating in many social groups (the phenomenon of simultaneous participation) and having an appropriate set of social statuses, the individual thereby simultaneously participates in the system of power relations characteristic of each group.

• The key link in any power system is the social mechanisms of subordination, which have a complex, systemic social nature and are usually called the foundations of power. Destruction of the foundations of power leads to the destruction of power relations.

• The dependence of the individual on the subject of power is determined by the significance for him of social statuses and roles associated with participation in the corresponding group and included in his status set. Accordingly, the emergence, disintegration, or weakening of a social group either leads to a change in the set of statuses of individuals included in the group and thereby changes the system of subordination of individuals to subjects of power. If such a process is of a group or mass nature, then a social crisis arises, during which the system of power and the hierarchy of its subjects change.

Based on structural institutions and the "vertical" processes of political power, emphasizing their universality and independence from social group affiliation, modern political science usually bypasses the problem of social mechanisms of subordination (Beck, 2018).

The most ancient and universally recognized concept of power and, accordingly, submission is the concept of "power-violence." In the context of this "first ancient" theory of power, the source of power is "legitimate violence" by the authorities, and in this case the state itself is regarded as the institution of "violence" and the "suppression apparatus" of dependent social communities. So, the primary foundation of power is the unwillingness of the object of power to be subjected to violence by the subject of this power, thus destroying the entire system of power relations.

Without rejecting the importance of direct violence or its threat as one of the elementary means of power, we should single out a number of laws that contradict the mechanism of preventing negative incentives as the main basis of power, especially in a highly developed society with its complex social structures (Bukhanov, 2010).

The study of history gives reason to argue that direct force as a source of power is most actively used in situations of social crises. From this point of view, direct violence does not so much "create" power as it eliminates pre-crisis power institutions and social structures, creating an "institutional vacuum" in which new social structures and new relations of power are created.

For example, violence by an external subject of power or its immediate threat, as a rule, does not "create" new power relations, but rather strengthens the foundations of power, commonly known as the "besieged fortress syndrome" (Kazantsev, 2018).

In a typical state, "legitimate violence", regulated, in particular, by criminal law, is aimed almost exclusively at marginalized sections of society (in this case, the civilian nation), which are more likely an external threat to the core of the group. Immediate "legitimate violence" directed against the core of the managed group irreversibly destroys the foundations of power (Stories, 2018).

Theories of power-violence, fixed on negative incentives of social management, ignore the fact that any society is built on cooperation, which is based on positive incentives for economic, psychological (identity) development. A society built solely on negative incentives is doomed to decay (Sychev, 2013a). A modern, post-national state is characterized by a tendency to accumulate negative social incentives, as well as total regulation and control as the basis for the application of punishments.

Thus, the foundations of power can be defined as the willingness and even interest in subordination to the subject of power and, more broadly, as the willingness and interest of the object of power to participate in a certain system of social relations (Sychev, 2013b). The phenomenon of the foundations of power as a "deep" basis for relations of power and subordination is quite transparent: the refusal of cooperation with the authorities from submission means at least exclusion from the group.

2.2. The characteristic of the crisis of state power as a problem of public administration

The decline in the role of violence as a result of the development and complexity of society is reflected in a number of theories. These are theories of a "social (social) contract", this interpretation of power as a relationship between the exchange of an object and a subject of power by "social services" (exchange theory), it is economic reductionism, which deduces social relations exclusively from "free" acts of market exchange, etc. But even these theories do not reveal the social mechanisms that form the basis of power, do not allow explaining and predicting crisis social processes that are characteristic, in particular, of globalization.

The only possible way out of the crisis of the theory of power is a systematic structuralist approach, the main objects of which are social groups and social structures within which the individual acts.

From this it follows that relations of power and subordination are formed within the leading groups that determine social relations, primarily in the framework of a civil nation. A change in the social significance of groups means a change in the entire system of power, the transfer of power to other social groups and subjects of power.

The social function of the state is much wider than political power. The interference of power in people's lives can be traced also in the participation of the state in the system of reproduction of the population, primarily of "human potential", and the cultural code, which provides for the integration of new generations into the system of social relations. In this context, the constructivist approach, which considers the nation as the political foundation of the elites, is quite adequate, although not sufficient (Shalimova, 2018).

A post-national country with its open rejection of "state paternalism" and relying on negative incentives, unilateral total regulation and control of private life objectively destroys the foundations of power, pushing citizens to integrate into non-governmental and non-national social groups, alternative to the decline of the nation (Schmitt, 2000).

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So, the deactivation of the nation as a social community in economic relations takes place: belonging to a nation, a stable orientation of an individual or group towards a state does not provide additional social or economic opportunities. Moreover, in the context of globalization and "denationalization" of the economic sphere, national national economic interests objectively disappear; in the past, national states and national identities were formed (Makhamatov, 2016). There is a differentiation of national interests with the interests of lower order groups. But, economic deactivation of a nation as a social community, devaluing the social statuses, positions and opportunities associated with it, thereby destroys the foundations of power: submission as payment for inclusion in a nation less and less justifies the opportunities, advantages and guarantees obtained.

The economic deactivation of the nation, the loss of state economic opportunities and governance mechanisms are closely related to the loss of social resources of power, is seen as the ability of the government to increase or decrease social status or rank, the individual's place in social stratification.

In the industrial era, nations as social communities were not only a form of social cooperation, but also the most effective form of group competition involved in the distribution of world resources. The state has ceased to be a guarantor of people's safety against an external threat, citizens have ceased to be an indispensable mobilization resource, testifies to the collapse of another state institution, and formed the foundations of power.

The weakening of nations, the decline in the integral power of the post-national state, translates the struggle for the redistribution of resources into other social spheres, leads to increased other types of group competition and the corresponding social groups, primarily corporate, ethnic and religious (Pyastolov, 2015). A post-national state not only devalues the participation of individuals and groups in a nation, but also contributes to the formation and strengthening of social communities, alternative to the nation and opposing the political system of the state.

So, we can draw the following conclusions:

• The main social aspect of globalization is the loss by the state as the center of the political system and, as a result, of the global crisis of civil nations forming the political system of social groups and the strengthening of alternative power entities associated with alternative social groups.

• Eliminating the leading role of the national state in the political, economic and social sphere, globalization has formed a new type of "post-national" state, which is characterized by the degradation and fragmentation of the civil nation and the social structures ensuring its reproduction.

• The rejection of social functions and positive social incentives characteristic of a post-national state leads to the destruction of the foundations of power as the willingness of the object of power to obey and, more broadly, the readiness of the individual to actively participate in a particular social group.

The rejection of post-national states from the policy of building nations as culturally homogeneous communities with the dominance of a common identity and the transition to a policy of "multiculturalism" is both an indicator of the destruction of the foundations of power and a means of degradation and fragmentation of nations as objects of political power. The ethnization and clericalization of society and mass consciousness is accompanied by systemic social regression, which are objective in nature.

Through the deep transformations of almost all spheres of life, modern society is in a state of systemic crisis. The concept of "crisis" is perceived here in several meanings - firstly, as a sharp change in something and a difficult transitional state, and secondly, as complications with something, a difficult situation. Experts are of the opinion that the fundamental sign of the onset of a social crisis is a violation of the existing integrity and the precarious situation of forms, connections and relations in society and its subsystems (Shapovalov & Varonina, 2011).

The term "crisis" itself can be a necessary tool for a dialectical transition to a new, orderly state of the system, an obligatory factor and catalyst for modern processes. It is believed that it is precisely the absence of a crisis state of society for a long time that is capable of hindering its development (Stepin, 2016). However, even recognizing the important role of crises in development, society must protect itself from their possible negative consequences, reduce the risks of the transition period, and possibly shorten the transition process itself (Fukuyama, 2014). Thus, the modern citizen faces an important task - to decide how to prevent risks and dangers, to make the process of "becoming" safe, to trace the modernization process without going beyond the limits (environmental, medical, psychological, social) of what is acceptable in society. It is worth noting that the solution to these problems should be carried out by different people, with different fields of activity: business entities, civil society associations, scientific institutions. The highest degree of responsibility for carrying out this task, of course, rests with political power, whose main functions include ensuring stable development and security in society. In addition, political power should not only resolve conflicts and ensure order in society, but also find a better balance between the common good and the aspirations of various social groups to realize their interests (Stepin, 2016). Thus, the task

of overcoming society from the modern crisis is the responsibility of political power - the state, which must accumulate all resources and coordinate the actions of business, science, religion for the effective resolution of conflicts.

As experience shows, a political entity demonstrates itself in the best way precisely in emergency, crisis situations, when standard legal regulators are ineffective and politicians should take responsibility. Analysis of the responsible or irresponsible actions of the authorities in a crisis is an important way to determine the legitimacy of a particular government, and, possibly, to identify the nature of power (Fukuyama, 2004). The crisis situation in this case acts as an indicator of the real forces and capabilities of the authorities regarding what it actually can bring to society.

In the cycle "crisis-power-responsibility", the key term is precisely responsibility - social and moral. Unlike legal, moral responsibility is much wider, because it is not limited to the field of causality (Tlostanova, 2019). If in law the wine is responsible only for those actions or the state for which it is the cause, then from the moral point of view, the subject can be responsible for those states in which he is not directly to blame. The definition of "social" about responsibility implies that the main instance of responsibility for the state is civil society.

The problem of responsibility in a social crisis is actualized by theoretical and methodological issues of studying the phenomenon of power on the one hand, and on the other with problems and contradictions that arise in modern practice of power. The phenomenon of political power seems especially relevant in the modern world, since we are witnesses to a systemic acute crisis of social institutions both in the general civilizational plan as a whole and in modern Ukraine in particular. As a result, in society more and more expectations are intensified, not so much quantitative as qualitative changes in power, as well as an adequate understanding by the authorities of social security issues.

According to scientific studies, responsibility is the basis of strong power, since this concept is a category of ethics and law, reflects a particular social and moral-legal attitude of a person to society, which is characterized by the fulfillment of their moral and legal duties (Mignolo, 2000). The responsibility of the authorities is a clear commitment, the purpose of which is to achieve and approve the common good, the provision of which is determined by legal and moral standards, the interests of civil society and specific historical circumstances.

Often the concept of "legality" and "responsibility" are not identical, because often irresponsible actions of the authorities do not fall under the

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articles of laws. In this regard, it should be determined what kind of responsible authority should be. The analysis of scientific works allows us to conclude that justice, honesty, diligence, punctuality, accuracy, reasonableness, value attitude to the assigned business are fundamental factors in this matter. At the same time, the opposite term - irresponsible power is characterized as a phenomenon, leads to destructive consequences, and which is not able to deal with them. The result of irresponsibility of work on the part of the authorities may be a decrease in support from the population, since the consequences of the crisis are always tragic for the people. They entail anxiety, confusion, all kinds of upheavals, revolutions, wars. The irresponsibility of the authorities is an important indicator of the crisis in the political sphere, just as the indicator of the economic crisis is the decline in production, and the spiritual crisis is the destruction of universally recognized value guidelines.

Society is a complex system, is developing, and between the elements of which there is not a linear relationship, but a system of heterogeneous relationships. Accordingly, disorder in one of the spheres of public life leads to a decrease in the stability of the subsystem, and the entire system as a whole. In a state of systemic crisis, the process of demoralization of the population, aggravation of legal and economic injustice is largely shaped by the disregard of the authorities on issues of security, stability, stability, balance of interests, social justice. The common good is often less significant than the private or narrow corporate interest.

A crisis in the legal sphere is manifested both at the stage of the formation of certain laws, and at the stage of their implementation. In the first case, we are talking about insufficient participation of the population in deciding on the adoption of a law, which is why laws are not adopted in favor of public interests, but as a result of lobbying of individual business entities. About the problems that arise during the implementation of laws, they are usually caused by the ambiguity of interpretation and the quality of the judicial system itself. So, among the country's development prospects, the foreground is not the development and welfare of all social groups, but the security and security of the ruling elite, the merging of business and government, which do not contribute to the establishment of responsibility. Obviously, only a strong civil society is able to reorient the activities of economic organizations so that corporate social responsibility of business is not just declared, but expressed in real actions.

3. Conclusions

The interaction of the ruling and subordinate, which occurs in the process of communication of citizens with representatives of public service bodies in the space of law, economics, morality, makes it clear that in a social crisis, the state often does not fulfill the function of reconciling the interests of various social groups that conflict with each other. The conflict between representatives of the authorities and the rest of the country's population in such a situation has a tendency to aggravate, as a result of which the level of public confidence in government bodies is noticeably reduced.

Modern social researchers point to the high role of trust in public life, showing a clear relationship between the level of trust and economic well-being, quality of life and human development, in general. Social science, considering the level of interpersonal trust, shows that it can be raised by activating the activities of civil society institutions. It is also important to say about trust in government, which depends on the degree of responsibility of the government itself. Raising the level of trust in the state can only be demonstrated by real responsible actions on the part of the authorities. Social responsibility of the state from this point of view is a kind of mediator between interpersonal trust and trust in the state.

Power in a democratic state is both the state and civil society. The responsibility of the authorities in this regard is not only the responsibility of the state for the decisions taken, but also the responsibility of civil society for the state to periodically report to it for its actions. The dominants in building a unifying idea between the people and the state should be consolidation and cohesion, which provide for the real involvement of civil society in the formation of social and economic policies, culture, and regulatory frameworks. The main characteristic feature of state power in this case should be its comprehensive responsibility to society, its readiness to be responsible for its actions in relation to the people.

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