

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOUND GOVERNANCE IN BULGARIA: ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS

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Abstract

This article analyses the concept of “bound governance” which aims to deepen the citizen participation and to improve its contribution to government services. Bound governance transforms the understanding of the relationship between government, business and citizens. It is directly linked to the importance of the monitoring and the effectiveness of public policies implementation. The lack of such an effectiveness became apparent in the post-communist countries during the last decades. Recent trends in the administrative reform in Bulgaria and the development of e-government provide evidence of the existence of bound governance fundamentals in the country. Bound governance focuses on the rule of law and rational bureaucracy, on the economic approach to property management and on the evaluation of administrative results, the importance of the quality and the efficiency of public services.

The objective of the research is, analyzing what has been done so far, to present the difficulties and limitations to the development of bound governance in Bulgaria in the context of the European perspective. Three pillars can be identified here: (1) feedback on the regulation of state performance monitoring; (2) citizen participation in the process of standardization of services; (3) portals for public services and electronic consultations at the central and local levels of e-government. All of the above have some problems and limitations in their development.

Key words: bound governance, public services, citizens, Bulgarian administrative reform

SHORT RETROSPECTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM ACHIEVEMENTS AND DRAWBACKS IN BULGARIA WITHIN THE BOUND GOVERNANCE PHILOSOPHY CONTEXT

The formation of the system of public administration in Bulgaria which started in 1990 has not yet been fully completed. The implementation of the rule of law, privatization and transition to a market economy significantly influenced this process. Problems related to market economy such as democratic consolidation and centralization of power, the rights of private property and justice, stability and development, openness to the world, national identity, etc. needed to find their right solutions. All of the above mentioned belong to the circle of problems without the solution of which the implementation of public policies would be impossible. In the early stages of transition in most of the Eastern European countries public administration reform has not been perceived as a process of paramount importance. The importance of public administration for creating the framework of economic activity in the conditions of market economy is underestimated in Bulgaria. State reforms have lagged behind the market reforms. These weak components are the biggest obstacles to

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deepening both political and economic reforms. The situation has changed since the 1997 economic crisis. The necessity of political and administrative reforms became apparent. There followed a period of transition from a privatized economy to building of state capacity for effective economic activities. Civil service, administrative and budgetary reforms are aimed in this transition. During the whole transformation process, the performance appraisal system is gradually formed. A new impetus was given by the initiatives in the field of e-government in the Bulgarian public administration which was borrowed from foreign experience and good state practices in other countries.

The transformation of the state budget was characterized by a transition to results-based budget management and civil service reform focused on efficiency and competition. New guidelines related to the provision of public services were adopted in this area.(Вълков, А., 2010 [Valkov, A. 2010]) In the recent years in Bulgaria the processes of improving the provision of public services for businesses and citizens are accelerating. This is linked to the European perspectives for network management and public value creation. These perspectives are guided by the idea of moving from service provision to service value reporting – an idea reforming the understanding of the relationship between government, business and citizens and making public policy extremely important, as well as service monitoring policy and feedback. The latest trends in the Bulgarian administrative reform offer some evidences of acceptance of the related governance perspective.(Вълков, В., 2018 [Valkov, V. 2018])

The main focus of the Bulgarian administrative reform involves: 1) institutional change to improve access to public services; 2) feedback on the regulation of the state monitoring of public policies implementation; 3) the process of standardization of public services and civic participation; 4) state portals for services and electronic consultations at the central and regional levels of e-government. These aspects however have been inevitably accompanied by obstacles and limitations.

In June 2002, Bulgaria adopted a Strategy for Modernization of the State Administration. It is based on five main principles: openness to citizens, participation of social and economic partners and civil society in policy development, accountability of the administration, effectiveness of national policies, coherence of the political process. Specific measures are envisaged, primarily aimed at strengthening the civil service through a number of improvements in administrative capacity and working methods, including measures to improve planning and policy development, mechanisms for consulting the economic and social partners, to prevent and combat corruption, to integrate minorities and vulnerable groups, and to improve the business climate. Specific measures are envisaged, primarily aimed at strengthening the civil service through a number of improvements in administrative capacity and working methods, including measures to improve planning and policy development, mechanisms for consulting the economic and social partners, to prevent and combat corruption, to integrate minorities and vulnerable groups, and to improve the business climate.

Secondly, the Strategy provides for measures to strengthen the administrative capacity to implement the acquis. The strategy also addresses the issue of strengthening Bulgaria's administrative capacity to manage the Structural Funds, a problem that could not be resolved even years after Bulgaria's accession to the EU, although the strategy is set for 2002-2005. Corruption in the administration is a very important problem both in the opinion of the ordinary Bulgarian and in the opinion of a number of international organizations. Some practical measures have been taken. The Council of Ministers adopts the National Anti-Corruption Strategy and the Program for Implementation of the Strategy. An Anti-Corruption Commission has been set up. The Institute of

Public Administration is launching a training course on "Prevention of Corruption - Risks and Challenges for Public Administration".

In response to criticisms that there has been no real change in public sector accountability and the fact that "transparent and competitive recruitment and promotion schemes are not mandatory but are the exception rather than the rule". The government has accepted some measures to link pay and career with the knowledge, skills and individual results obtained by individual employees. An annual certificate for civil servants has been introduced. In 2002, the number of people with the status of civil servants increased to 22,660, which represents about one third of the total number of employees in the central administration. In March 2003, a Council for Modernization of the State Administration was established, which is responsible for the management and control of the action plan of the Strategy for Modernization of the State Administration. The European Commission's 2003 report notes that the amendments to the Civil Servants Act adopted in early October 2003 provide new conditions for entering the civil service (requirements for professional experience and compulsory competition), better merit-based professional development opportunities, the introduction of a performance-based pay system, the right to training (including funding mechanisms), and procedures to prevent conflicts of interest. The general conclusions of the EU are that "continuous efforts will be needed to further reform the public administration and to meet Bulgaria's goal of having a qualified and efficient civil service in the medium term. What are the subsequent changes in the Bulgarian state administration that allow the country's accession and full membership in the EU?"

The government approved the one-stop shop concept in December 2002. The concept introduced standards for administrative services, in particular those for the processing of public service applications, improved access to services and built better cooperation between services. In September 2004, 77% of the structures in the central administration provided one-stop shops. Progress has also been made in implementing the e - Government Strategy. All these measures to improve the administration give grounds for the European Parliament to vote by an absolute majority on 13 April 2005 in support of the signing of the Treaty of Accession of Bulgaria to the EU on 1 January 2007.

In the period May 2013 - June 2014, other important reforms in the field of administration were launched and initiatives were implemented in accordance with the government's program, which aims to create an effective and motivated administration. In the period the central administration was reduced by 5% or 6186 full-time positions and a total of 1811 announced competitions of the state administration were announced. The main results of the activity can be summarized in the following:

- 1) The Council for Administrative Reform is actively working, where the policies, projects and activities for administrative reforms are coordinated.
- 2) A Strategy for the Development of the State Administration for the next programming period has been prepared, which is highly praised by the European Commission. It sets the framework and forthcoming reforms in the administration. In this way, EUR 285 million have been provided for the development of the administration through the Operational Program "Good Governance". A Plan for implementation of the strategy for the period 2014-2015 has been prepared, as in the first seven months 3 of the set 6 measures for 2014 have been implemented. The implementation of a total of 22 measures out of the 71 adopted has started.
- 3) Changes were made in the Administrative Procedure Code (APC), which introduced the general framework of complex administrative services by the end of March 2015. An action plan for the implementation of the requirements of the APC is being implemented.

- 4) Ministers prepare comprehensive functional analyzes of the administrative structures in their systems and propose optimizing the number of 8 administrative structures and closing 6 structures.
- 5) In consultation and dialogue with business organizations, non-governmental organizations, district governors, municipal administrations and citizens, measures are taken to reduce the administrative and regulatory burden. The government is adopting three new packages of measures to reduce the regulatory burden, the financial effect of which amounts to nearly BGN 65 million, which will save citizens and businesses. 19 measures have been adopted to improve the business environment under the World Bank's Doing Business indicator. In the period a total of 126 measures are implemented, and for this purpose amendments and supplements to 23 laws and 74 by-laws are adopted.
- 6) A review of the strategic planning processes and a total of nearly 120 strategic documents is made, recommendations are made for improving the planning system, 70 interdepartmental advisory councils are reviewed and 5 councils are closed in order to optimize the work.

Assessing the administrative reform as a whole, it is necessary to clarify that this is a combination of elements of three administrative ideologies. First, it is undoubtedly based on the idea of rational bureaucracy, creation of subordinate administrative structures, rational functioning based on laws and regulations. This direction is related to the fight against informal norms in the administrative activities, with the desire to achieve greater organization, order, responsibility, control and unity of government. The second direction is stimulated by the new public administration, whose ideology is based on the recognition of the possibility of using business management mechanisms in public administration. Here, the Bulgarian reform uses elements such as performance appraisal, performance budgeting, consumer-oriented public services, elements of competition between public service providers, and a competitive system for recruiting civil servants. The third area includes the ideas of democratic governance, which are generally represented by the principles of managerial transparency and accountability to civil society.

In general, the Bulgarian administrative reform combines different methodological models of public administration - bureaucratic organization, economic neo-institutionalism and theories of network management, thus not differing much from the general direction of administrative reforms in other countries in post-crisis periods which try to establish the universal model of new public administration. [Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow, Tinkler, 2005]. Johan Olsen, a Norwegian researcher in public administration and one of the pioneers of neo-institutionalism, acknowledged the diversity of national administrative reforms and spoke of the need to modernize the approach to bureaucracy theory through conditions for a combination of bureaucratic organization, effective control and network democratic participation. (Olsen, 2005, p. 16). In fact, the Bulgarian administrative reform in terms of functions and their implementation consists of three reforms (with different levels of development): public administration reform, public property management reform and administrative reform for the provision of public services.

These three reforms clearly emphasize three components: 1) the administrative state with its ideas of the rule of law and rational bureaucracy; 2) for the state owner, which is determined by the economic approach to property management and the principle of evaluation of administrative activities based on results and rational costs; 3) regarding the state providing public services, the approach which is based on the importance of their quality and efficiency.

THE CONCEPTS OF “BOUND GOVERNANCE” AND “PUBLIC VALUE MANAGEMENT”: LITERATURE REVIEW AND MAIN IDEAS

In recent years, the development of a combination of e-government and administrative transformations has led to a new conceptual framework for improving service delivery. Bound

Government is the new name for this concept. Integrated governance aims to improve cooperation between public services, deepen consultation and citizen engagement, which will allow the participation of regional and international stakeholders in the process. On the other hand, the concept of connected governance is related to the idea of public value management. The latter is the result of an intellectual transition from traditional public administration, to the management of interaction with consumers and subsequently to the management of public values (Stoker, 2006; Schedler, Summermatter, 2007;). Traditional public administration disseminates a government-oriented approach to the provision of public services. Citizens are usually seen simply as consumers. The consumer approach has been criticized for the economic inefficiency of public service delivery. The concept of focusing on clients in public administration reached its greatest heights in the literature in the early 1990s. It affects the development of public administration in general and e-government in particular. E-government programs are implemented mainly on the basis of the ideology of the new government with the main goal – the government to be more efficient and cheaper.

At the very least, this meant that e-government needed to make the delivery of public services to citizens and businesses more efficient and cheaper. This is most clearly presented in the research dedicated to the initial stage of development of e-government. Thus Dan Tenpscott, one of the proponents of this idea, wrote in his book *The Digital Economy* (1995):

ICT “not only ... reduces management costs, but also radically transforms the way government programs are implemented and the very nature of governance. E-government can overcome barriers over time and provide people with public information and services where they need it. (Tapscott, 1995, p. 163; Chadwick, May, 2003, p. 276). Regarding the problems of intergovernmental coordination and information processes, they are related to the focus on saving resources in the management process (Kaczorowski, 2004). Even the elements of e-democracy (e-voting, consultations) are mainly assessed using economic indicators (Sheridan, Riley, 2006).

In many countries, the rapid use of government portals to provide the largest number of services is considered a key goal of the introduction of e-government. It turned out that the approach to buying e-government has many shortcomings, as well as the whole ideology of the new government, without specifically challenging e-services. Thus, the problem arose with the inclusion in the process of providing services to citizens and the possible provision of services via the Internet becomes the subject of widespread civil debate. Naturally, this process was fraught with problems and complexities. (Atkinson, Leigh, 2003)

Many authors see government functions as providing services and state relations with citizens through a socio-political prism. Andrew Chadwick and Christopher May point to the limited nature of government-citizen relations when they act as government clients. "ICTs are designed to improve the delivery of services through more targeted communication in response to citizens' requests and a faster response to them, but democratic opportunities for such communication are usually overlooked. At the heart of this model of governance is the assumption that change will come gradually, given that ICT can create challenges for government practice, and opportunities (interaction of the former more with business than with civil society), their main operational logic remains unchanged (Chadwick, May, 2003, p. 277-278). From this perspective, research in public administration needs to move away from focusing on business engagement and exploring what the government intends to do for society. Market and civic thinking are far from the same in many respects. For the purpose of this article, the main thing is to present the transition from services to their value. Within the concept of "public value management", this transition means that "the public value is greater than the sum of the individual preferences of consumers or producers of a social product, which is considered a jointly determined public value, resulting from

a discussion with members and appointed government and key stakeholders. Achieving public value in turn depends on the chosen reflexive mode of action, depending on a set of intervention options based on the creation and maintenance of supply networks. (Stoker, 2006, p. 42).

Accordingly, the joint approach to e-government demonstrates the new nature of the relationship between government and citizens and other users of public services:

"The role of successful e-government includes providing an effective platform for e-participation. Citizen participation in public decision-making requires governments to engage citizens as multilateral stakeholders.

There are some important features of the idea of the value of the service:

- the value of services for citizens;
- effective, responsive and well-developed government;
- citizen participation in public and service policy;
- strategy for cooperation in the interaction of citizens and the government;
- providing services based on effective communication;
- flexibility in the use of services, a combination of traditional and new channels for providing services.

The official ideology of the Bulgarian administrative reform and the special e-government program do not contain the concepts of public value management, related management and the value of services. It should be noted, however, that some of the trends belong to it. Various aspects of civic participation can be found in the system of policy evaluation, standardization of government functions and governance services, in the idea and practice and government portals.

REAL SMALL STEPS IN REGULATING PERFORMANCE MONITORING OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN BULGARIA

Bulgaria introduced a Mechanism for feedback and evaluation by citizens and businesses for their relations with regional and municipal administrations. This was implemented practically by the Foundation for Transparent Regulations and FLGS Consult EOOD under the project "The future is in your hands" with the financial support of the Operational Program "Good Governance", co-financed by the European Union through the European Social Fund. The aim of the activity is to develop such a mechanism, which would allow the administration to provide feedback to the citizens. In this way, citizens will have the opportunity to make assessments in the implementation of regional development policies at each stage. The main principle of civic participation is to receive feedback through opinions, suggestions from citizens, NGOs, business for all decisions made by regional authorities and local governments. The aim of this project (and some other similar projects) is to achieve more responsible, transparent and partnership management through the developed feedback mechanism.

The above-mentioned Mechanism is in full compliance with several important and fundamental civic participation in the formation, evaluation and monitoring of the policy document. First of all, reference should be made to the Guidelines on Civic Participation in the Political Decision-Making Process (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 27 September 2017 at the 1295th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies (Council of Europe)). The document emphasizes that citizen participation is at the heart of the idea of democracy, that representative democracy, based on the right of citizens to freely elect their representatives at reasonable intervals, is part of the common heritage of the Member States, that participatory democracy, based on the right to respect or influence the exercise of the powers and responsibilities of public authorities, contributes to representative and direct democracy and that the right of citizens to participate in political decision-making must be guaranteed to individuals, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil

society in general. The document emphasizes that the responsibility and accountability for decision-making ultimately rests with the public body, which has the democratic legitimacy to do so.

Consultations with the civil sector provide a real opportunity for stakeholders to take part in public debates and research by proposing innovative solutions and ideas for the development and implementation of specific projects and programs.(Gorchilova, D. 2019) Depending on the importance of public policies, consultations can be in a wider public circle, through which to gather as many opinions and ideas as possible, or to be implemented with a more expert focus on finding specific expertise, in the form of discussion forums, expert groups, working meetings, etc. All consultations usually go through the following steps:

- Periodic publication on the website of the administration of information on the implementation of the strategic document for regional development;
- conducting a periodic survey for evaluation and satisfaction with the regional development policy; acceptance of opinions and suggestions
- collecting and presenting evidence of the results of the feedback received.

The Bulgarian performance appraisal system has several elements of effective communication. The main feedback mechanism of this official system is public opinion polls on citizens' satisfaction with public services, or the activities of executive bodies. However, the documents do not indicate how often the results of such studies should be provided. The main tasks of this interaction should be the requirements and interests of citizens, protection of their rights and freedoms, the rights of civil associations related to the implementation of policy and civil control over the activities of state law enforcement agencies and law enforcement agencies of central and local government. Various executive bodies should set up advisory boards and expert groups to improve decision-making and oversee the activities of different departments. The expert assessment shows the insufficient and heterogeneous implementation of these problems in general and by the individual executive authorities at central and regional level. The reports are often prepared with a limited sample of surveys or not at all.

There are significant shortcomings in the established system for evaluating the effectiveness. First, despite the presence of a large number of criteria for assessing structural and technological characteristics, the system works poorly, does not allow to assess the role of the executive in terms of social and economic efficiency of the industries concerned. For example, what is the impact of the activity of the economic department on the economic efficiency of the regional economy? Assessment of the activity of the executive bodies according to the criteria for social and economic development is indirect and does not speak about the role of the administrative activity in the process. Little research is being done on general policy and governance and on public service structures. As a result, the developed system for evaluation of the work of the executive bodies has no stimulating effect on the activities government employees.

Second, the performance appraisal system is usually internal. There is no "external example of evaluation" in this system. Such external evaluators can be financial structures (eg Central Bank), independent evaluation agencies, centers of expertise and research groups. The potential of civil society is not actively involved in this process.

In this respect, it can be noted that the outcome of the evaluation is influenced by the intention of the enforcement authorities to present their case in a positive light. Engaging evaluation experts within the respective budgets of research units does not solve the problem of objectivity and competence, especially in the case of direct evaluation of the activities of the executive bodies. Instead of efficiency, they assess the general social and economic situation or the general parameters of implementation.

The process of standardization of civic participation in decision making needs to be further improved. The right of citizens to participate in law-making is enshrined in national law and confirmed by international documents. (Toncheva-Zlatkova, V. 2020). Citizens and civil society organizations can state their position, propose alternative solutions and make recommendations to the institutions. The laws in the country are adopted after consulting with the citizens and their organizations as a guarantee that they reflect the public and not the private interest of any group of people. The opportunity to participate in the process of discussion and consultation of the legislation is provided in Art. 26 of the Law on Normative Acts (LNA). Before being submitted for discussion and adoption by the relevant institution, the draft legislation must be published on its website and the Portal for public consultations - www.strategy.bg.

The draft act must be accompanied by reasons justifying the need for its adoption and a preliminary impact assessment. The project must be published in at least 30 days, and citizens and organizations have the opportunity to submit proposals and opinions on the project. The institutions have the obligation to consider the opinions submitted and, if sufficiently substantiated, to reflect them in the draft. There are also obligations to prepare a report to reflect the proposals received and motivate those not accepted. The report is published on the Internet in the above places. The same legal requirements apply to municipal councils when rules and regulations are discussed and adopted. In addition to the legislation, in 2010 the Council for Administrative Reform at the Council of Ministers approved Standards for Public Consultations. Apart from public consultations, citizens and their organizations have the right to participate in the drafting of normative and political acts with direct proposals. Such a possibility is provided for in the Code of Good Practice for Civil Participation of the Council of Europe and is guaranteed as a fundamental right in the Constitution, the Law on Normative Acts (LNA) and the Code of Administrative Procedure (APC). Art. 45 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria (CRB) provides for the right of citizens to submit proposals and petitions to state bodies. The procedure by which this is done is regulated by law.

However, these opportunities provided by the legislation are insufficient for the system for assessing the performance of civil servants. Despite their positive effect, a number of new problems and limitations arise in the administration and provision of services. There is a problem with redundancies in administrative procedures. Despite the fact that the administrative provisions in general, it makes the control system and the provision of services more streamlined, also caused system clumsiness and slow speed operation. The regulations are aimed at increasing the predictability of civil servants, but they do not provide for the frequency of extraordinary circumstances that arise in the field of administrative activities and the provision of services to specific users.

The degree of optimization of the performance of public functions and the provision of public services needs to be improved. In general, it is possible to control administrative activities and the provision of services. First, however, it is often not clear who is responsible to perform specific actions; secondly, the set of detailed instructions and norms contained in the rules, in the opinion of civil servants, complicates the external control of the respective action. New challenges remain: integrating the actions of different departments and officials in cases where a function or service is interdepartmental or it is necessary to resolve the issue in case of disagreement.

The creation and adoption of administrative provisions is sometimes accompanied by public hearings or public expertise, which is particularly important obviously at the regional or municipal level. This is one of the feedback mechanisms between the authorities and the citizens. But this procedure is still rare. Thus, the issues of the optimization of the activities, the criteria for the efficiency of the provision of services and the legislative design of the administrative provisions

remain unresolved. The state regulates its activities based on how it understands standards and quality. But comparing administrative provisions with actual service delivery practices allows citizens to make demands on the authorities and monitor their activities.

Through the *portal for public consultations*, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria actually made a large-scale transformation of the model of administrative services such as

- transformation of certification services for citizens and businesses into internal administrative services;

- digitalization of new services for citizens and businesses;

- grouping of services on the principle of "Episodes of Life" and "Business Events";

- standardization of the services of the territorial and specialized territorial administrations;

- transition to complex administrative services.

The transformations explained above have been carried out through changes in the Administrative Procedure Code. Thus both improving the legislation and limiting the administrative burden result in improving the administrative services for citizens and businesses. The scale of the changes has an impact on the entire legislation since the transitional and final provisions of the bill provide for changes in a total of 142 laws.

In the period December 4, 2018 - January 3, 2019, the first preliminary public consultation on the changes in the Administrative Procedure Code has been opened. 18 opinions were received through the Public Consultation Portal and 13 by official or e-mail. In view of the scope of the changes in the basic provisions of the Code, a second round of public consultations on the proposed changes has been launched, targeting specific stakeholders - both end users of administrative services and individuals and organizations providing administrative services. The focus is on non-institutional providers of administrative services - persons performing public functions and organizations providing public services.

The system of public portals is considered a productive and effective means of providing public services, from the point of view of the government and citizens. For citizens, this is, first and foremost, a single source of appropriate, complete, systematic and accurate information on public services and the possibility of accepting public services on a "one-stop shop" basis. For the executive body, public portals are a factor for improving the system of control over the implementation of public services, as well as a mechanism for organizing interdepartmental interaction and the fullest use of information resources. As a conclusion, we can summarize that the goals of the public portals are:

- increasing the information openness and transparency of the activities of executive bodies of the Bulgarian government;

- raising the awareness of citizens and organizations about the provision of services and the executive functions of the authorities;

- providing convenience and comfort (reduction of financial and time costs) for citizens and legal entities when receiving state and municipal services in accordance with the requirements specified in the administrative provisions of the relevant service (function);

- increasing the efficiency of the interdepartmental exchange of information and the interaction of government departments in the provision of public services and the performance of public functions by various bodies.

The effectiveness of the electronic provision of public services is determined not only by the electronic equipment, but also by the attitude of the citizens towards this innovation. According to Bulgaria, the majority of the population is informed and knows that most of the services will be available via the Internet. This is more true for larger cities. In smaller towns and villages, people are less informed. Electronic complaints are still used to a very limited extent. In principle, the

traditional personal complaint prevails. The elderly and the rural population remain largely conservative.

CONCLUSION

An important condition for overcoming inefficiency with the least losses is the ability of the state to bear responsibility. It is provided by institutions - economic, political, legal and moral, but no less internal attitude, by responsible behavior. It is essential for public administration. In recent years, a number of economic, political, legal and moral measures have been taken to increase the accountability of public authorities and civil servants. However, today in Bulgaria the difference between the requirements of society for a responsible state and the level of its implementation has not been overcome. This gap is indicated by survey data showing a low level of public confidence in government. During the administrative reform measures such as: standardization of services, monitoring of government performance, information portals, etc., laid the groundwork for change in this area. Increased citizen participation in the evaluation of public services and the implementation of public policies, decision-making, can radically change public confidence in institutions and the ability of the state to be responsible.

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