

Social background of the development of “public service” model in Russia

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ABSTRACT

The development of “service” model of public administration, focused on improving the quality of public and municipal services, increasingly contribute to better meeting the needs of citizens and creation of conditions for their self-realization. However, this progressive model can be fully implemented only with certain social assumptions. The main are activity and independence of citizens. This research is dedicated to social conditions identification of the development of “service” state and municipal administration in Russia in 21st century. Document analysis and opinion poll were the basic methods of the research. It has been established that the degree of independence already allows citizens to change the “trust” of the state and local authorities to the public “service”. Nevertheless, low social activity with regard to insistence to administrating authorities for the quality of public services does not contribute to appropriate development of “service” model of public administration. Consequently, the main subject of transformations in Russia remains the state. That is for governmental bodies that can influence the development of citizens’ insistence by increasing their awareness and improving “responsiveness” of the authorities concerning the needs of the population. In this case, the main factor is an awareness, including at the local level, of modern issues of public administration and motivation for positive transformations primarily by heads of government.

Key words : “Service” state, local public services, Russia, activity, independence.

Introduction

Since 2003 the problem of the development of “service” state and municipal administration has been formulated in the Russian Federation in the official documents and speeches by heads of the state. One of the last important documents in this series – the Presidential Decree on May 7, 2012 No. 601 “On the main directions of improving the public administration system”. The Decree directly establishes a connection of such improvement with the development of system of public and municipal services.

This problem specification is fully consistent with

the modern concept of public administration, in which the role of government is defined in a new way: the state is seen as an institution that provides quality services to the population. The same “service” predetermination applies on the municipal level as well.

Scientific studies reveal different aspects of “public service”. Largely, the authors’ attention is dedicated to economic [Bruns HJ]. Accounting change...; Andreea-Ioana Coste, Adriana Tiron Tudor. Service Performance...; Aiko Shono, Masahide Kondo, Hiroshi Ohmae, Ichiro Okubo. Willingness to pay...; Oscar Afonso. The impact of public goods...; Romain

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Pirard. Payments for Environmental Services... etc.], technological (information and communication technologies) [Davide Arduini, Mario Denni, Matteo Lucchese, Alessandra Nurra, Antonello Zanfei. The role of technology...; Mark Borman, Marijn Janssen. Reconciling two approaches ...; Dong-Hee Shin. User centric cloud... etc.], political [Jorge Guardiola, Francisco González - Gómez, Miguel A. García - Rubio. Is time really...], psychological [Yibing Wang, Jingqiu Guo, Avishai (Avi) Ceder, Graham Currie, Wei Dong, Hao Yuan. Waiting for public...] issues related to the provision of public and municipal services.

Our research interest focuses on sociological aspects of the development of "service" public administration pattern. In the literature we have singled out, first, those studies in which sociological research tools not only applied to the solution, e.g. of the same economic problems (in particular, the determination of prices for public services). From our perspective, a deeper sociological issues disclosed in publications that focus on relationship between governmental bodies and citizens in regard to the quality of services. In this connection, it may be noted a number of articles examining customer satisfaction with public services [Purcărea Victor Lorin, Gheorghea Iuliana Raluca, Petrescu Consuela Mădălina. The Assessment of Perceived...; Hiroyuki Umegaki, Madoka Yanagawa, Zen Nonogaki, Hirotaka Nakashima, Masafumi Kuzuya, Hidetoshi Endo. Burden reduction of caregivers ...]. Satisfaction score is the basis for the correction of the quality of services. Recognizing the importance of such an assessment, we believe that not only a presence of a citizens' opinions about the service, but their insistence on high standards provided by governmental bodies is even more significant than for the development of "service" model of public administration (for the "nomenclature" of services and quality of the "service"). Precisely an active position of citizens and their participation in decision-making regarding public "service" is a main "driving force" of the development of a new control model. Within this framework, our work is included in a number of publications [Matthew S. Winters, Abdul Gaffar Karim, Berly Martawardaya. Public Service Provision...; Asmu'i, Rachma Fitriati. Applying Interactive Planning...; Mehmet Zahid Sobaci, Naci Karkin. The use of twitter...; GABRIELLE KRUKS-WISNER. Seeking the Local State...; JOHANNA SPEER. Participatory Governance Reform...].

Recognizing the conceptual role of this perspective of sociological aspects consideration, let us enforce this proposition with another argument concerning the very emergence of the "service" model. "Service" state – is a concept brought to life by the postindustrial sociality. Researchers note the central role of an actor in new sociality – the individual (Toffler A. The Third Wave; Sztompka P. New perspectives on trust...; Inglehart, R. Postmodern...; Touraine A. Sociology after sociology...), whose self-actualization and needs now identify a social life.

Active, intelligent and independent modern individuals became to implement their own life strategies and increase own income by means of their abilities, hence no longer need the trust of the state. Such sovereign personality is able to build its own life trajectory, expecting the state only to create conditions for self-actualization of citizens (Khvostikova, 2012). Accordingly, central and local governmental bodies began to focus on serving the needs of citizens in the role of "service" organization.

We consider it important to emphasize that the activity of modern citizens is manifested both in the economic and social spheres. Social activity exactly allows affect on the establishment of those rights and standards that would ensure maximum opportunities for personal fulfillment of citizens. As a result, inference should be drawn that it is for the independence and involvement of the population (especially in developed countries) that have contributed to the change of the control model from paternalistic to "service".

In this context, the aim of our study – to analyze social conditions of the development of "service" state and municipal government in Russia (note that the term "service "state" is more commonly used in Russian science). In the world science the development of "service" model is analyzed on the example of many countries on different continents. Thus, the abovementioned papers studied the experience of Germany, Italy, Spain, Romania, Turkey, India, Indonesia, Korea and Australia. Other scholars see the development of a new paradigm of public administration in Portugal [Paula Mendes, Ana Carina Santos, Fernando Perna, Margarida Ribau Teixeira. The balanced scorecard...], New Zealand [Randall Bess. Public management in New Zealand...], Uganda [KLAUS DEININGER and PAUL MPUGA. Does Greater Accountability Improve the Quality...], Latin America [JOHANNA SPEER. Participatory

Governance Reform...]. However, the studies on the development of "service" model in Russia are not actually observed. Along with the governance challenges set by the Russian government, this fact motivates the relevance of our research.

Main points

Thuswise, the main question that our research should answer – how activity and independence are peculiar to modern Russians to be able to talk about the development of the "service" concept. The point is about the time frame of the twenty-first century, since Russian leadership has proclaimed transition to a "service" model from the 2000s. The opinions of Russian scientists served as a material for the analysis were, as well as the results of our own research conducted by the methods of document analysis and opinion poll.

Results of study of activity and independence of Russian citizens in general

We turn now to the data of Russian science. Based on the fact that human behavior is determined by their attitudes, let us consider, first of all, the values of modern Russians. Thus, the researchers note such values as "freedom", "independence" [Petukhov. Dynamic...; Lapin. How feel...; Tikhonov. Russian society..., p. 28; Is civil society established...], the value of personal interests that cannot be restricted for the public good [Political and ideological values...; Magoon. In search of...], the possibility of implementing different models of individual behavior [Ryvkina. Social justice...].

Values of individual freedom are continued in the models of economic behavior. In the first decade of the XXI century, at least one third of the active population of the country was ready to meet the growing level of their assertions, relying mainly on their own resources and capabilities [Petukhov V.V. Modernization and prospects..., p. 4; Petukhov V.V. Dynamics of world outlook...], using active strategies of economic behavior [Lapin N.I. How feel...], greeting the opportunity to have own business, opportunities for double and informal employment [Ryvkina R.V. Social justice...]. In the second decade of the XXI century the majority of Russians (53%) believe that material success should be achieved by themselves [Gorshkov M.K., Tikhonova N.E. Socio-cultural factors of consolidation of Russian society..., p.33-34]. Such citizens are predominantly employed

in the private economy. The most active are the youth and professionals, residents of megalopolises.

There are other models in the behavior of the Russians that are typical to residents of foreign countries. For instance, in the second decade of the XXI century citizens began to build their own retirement savings (like in developed countries), not relying anymore on the state pension system. Correspondingly, it can be concluded that the population of Russia is more and more focused on their own efforts in ensuring their own well-being.

Let us analyze the social activity of Russians to identify the insistence to administrating authorities for the quality of public services. E.g., Russian scientists observe the growth of public claims to the quality of such services. In particular, we are talking about pre-school services and higher education services, personal security of citizens [Tikhonov A.V. Russian society..., p. 19], healthcare. In the context of creating an environment conducive to living and human development as a main subject of post-industrial economy, the quality of these services is recognized as of crucial importance [Strategy 2010: New Growth Model – new social policy..., p. 11-13].

However, the activity enhancement appears more unassuming against the background of the claims level increase. According to M.K. Gorshkov, the Russian society widely believe in small benefits of social and political participation. Yet researchers have noted examples of active involvement of citizens in the administration of education, culture, healthcare, social protection [Potehin V.A. Development of cooperation between the state..., p. 63]. Whereby the scope of civic engagement evaluated not so wide in the first decade of the XXI century (and until 2011) [Volkov D. Prospects of civil society..., p. 18, 31, 49].

However, in early 2013, the Russians have seen a significant increase in cases civil actions large-scale participation related to social services. In particular, for example, it is referred to the consolidation of St. Petersburg residents for the protection of pediatric cancer treatment center in the hospital No. 31. Several sociologists recognized that civil society has matured to intervene in the social policy, to assert itself as a collective entity, having its own interests [Os'muk L.A., Skalaban I.A. Using sociological methods..., p. 95]. Yet, other researchers, even in 2014, are still inclined to think that the Russians are not disposed to strive for something (Waiting for a miracle...). From our point of view, another fact says

in favor of the first statement. Thus, in early 2014 already 57% of Russians consider themselves as leaders, taking the lead in organizing events for a close circle of people and settlement of questions at work, able to persuade others [How many leaders in our country?...]. Thus, in its immediate surroundings Russians clearly show social activity. In turn, this can act as a prerequisite for activity release into the wider social life.

Results of investigation on activity and independence of citizens in the regions of Russia: Tomsk region

Since the above data on values and behavior of Russians characterizes the general population, our own research has been dedicated to revealing the social preconditions of the "service" model development in the regions of Russia. The necessity for research in the regions is conditioned by the large polarization of socio-economic development between the center (primarily cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg) and provinces. Based on the fact that the model is characteristic of post-industrial sociality, we focus on the subjects of the Russian Federation that have such features. In particular, Tomsk region may be included into the number of such regions. It is one of the few areas with postindustrial innovation economy. In the context of the new sociality this region has already attracted the attention of world-renowned scientists, in particular M. Castells [Castells M., Kiseleva E. Russia and the network society...]. As we mentioned, our own research, which we have dedicated to identification of social preconditions of the development of "service" model specifically in the Tomsk region, is undertaken by the methods of document analysis and opinion poll. As part of the documents analysis we have examined the documents of regional and municipal administering authorities, the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation. Materials containing information on the structure of the economy and subsequently on the structure of the Tomsk region population employment, led to the conclusion concerning the economic behavior of citizens. Documents of the Ministry of Justice gave an opportunity to assess the social activity of the region's population. Quantitative results of sociological surveys conducted by "face to face" interview allowed determining the degree of manifestation of citizens' affirmations to independence and activity in the economic and social sphere.

We proceed to the analysis of the residents economic behavior models. Thus, according to the documentary data, in the 2000s has significantly changed the employment patterns by ownership: a share of employees in private enterprises grew from 76.6 % to 84.9 %. While the share of employees in organizations of state and municipal type of ownership decreased from 12.4 % to 8.0 %. In general, the level of employment in the private sector of the Tomsk region is one of the highest in Russia. And the people of the region do not just work for hire, but actively start their own business. Thus, per capita Tomsk region takes third place in Russia in the growth of small businesses.

Our observations suggest that signs of post-industrial sociality are observed not only in big cities but also in rural municipalities of the Tomsk region. For instance, in Bakcharsky district (population – about 13 thousand people) the economy in post-Soviet era is represented primarily by small businesses, while 65% of the total number of small enterprises engaged in the service sector: trade, transportation, catering etc. And this scene is typical for rural municipal districts. It is appropriate to mention that the structure of the economy in the post-industrial society is changing in the direction of increasing the share of service sector.

Consequently, the development of private enterprise in the Tomsk region testifies that citizens are ready to provide their own welfare in its absolute discretion.

A conclusion on the independence of the population is confirmed by several sociological studies conducted during 2010-2013 under the direction of S.E. Martynova. All studies are dedicated to different aspects of life of municipal society and together elucidate a deeper understanding of residents affirmations in the region. Respondents were citizens from 18 years old. Data were collected according to the quotas by gender, age and place of residence of the respondents. Quotas are set on the basis of statistical data on the population structure. Number of respondents provided no more than the 4 percent data precision for each municipality with a confidence figure 0.95.

In the first place, we turn to the study, which took place in 2011 in the largest city of the Tomsk region – Tomsk (number of residents – about 540 thousand people. In other cities – not more than 120 thousand). The selection consisted of 599 people. The results obtained indicate the orientation of the popu-

lation in solving personal problems mainly on their own (Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of answers of the Tomsk residents to the question "In order to provide yourself and your family a decent standard of living, do you account for: ...?" (multiple answers possible)

Answers	% of total respondents
using one's own resources	94,0
help from the state, local authorities	6,3
help from employer	2,7
help from relatives, friends	14,4

Now let's turn to the material allowing to assess the independence of residents not only of the regional center, but also other municipalities of the Tomsk region. Such data were obtained in 2010 and 2013 during the public opinion polls in the municipal areas and urban districts of the region. Total surveyed:

In 2010 – 9997 people in 18 (90%) municipalities and urban districts;

In 2013 – 11.385 people in 20 (100%) municipalities and urban districts.

This monitoring sociological information contains information of interest within the subject of the article. Particularly, it is reasonable to take into account the motives of life changes assessment in the municipality (MO) on the part of citizens who complain about such changes (Table 2). These data can be correlated with the expectations associated with the activities of municipal administrations.

As we can see, among three leading motives in the first category in 2010 were problems of self-suf-

ficiency (work, income, standard of living maintenance against rising prices). However, based on motives in the second category, the solution of the self-sufficiency problems citizens did not lay upon the bodies of municipal administration. Consequently, the population was ready to decide these problems independently, no matter how difficult they were.

However, in 2013 complaints in the absence of the conditions for self-sufficiency already were addressed to municipal governments (Table 3).

Note that in Tomsk, the largest city of the Tomsk region, the leading motives did not include accusations of lack of jobs. A growth of appropriate paternalistic expectations was more typical for rural municipalities and small towns. In particular, in the mentioned Bakcharsky district in 2013, the lack of jobs was the motive for the negative evaluation of the local administration for 2.1 % of respondents. In 2010, none of the respondents in the district did not express such complaints. According to statistics, at the beginning of 2013 in Bakcharsky district really

Table 3. Leading motives of negative evaluations on the performance of municipal administrations of the municipalities and urban districts in 2013 (in a number of MO)

Motives	Number of MO
Absence of performance, passivity	20 MO
Lack of jobs	16 MO
Poor condition of roads	9 MO
Back word	9 MO
Lack of public services and amenities	5 MO

Table 2. Leading motives of negative evaluations in 2010 (in a number of MO)

Motives of negative evaluation (first 4 positions)	Number of MO
1. Motives of negative evaluation of life changes in the municipality for the last year	
Lack of decent jobs / employment problems	17 MO
Lack of funding for road construction and maintenance	13 MO
Low income (wages, pensions, benefits)	12 MO
Price increase	12 MO
General absence of positive changes, prospects	10 MO
2. Motives of negative evaluation of performance of administrations of municipalities and urban districts	
Absence of performance, passivity	18 ÌÌ
Poor relations towards people (inattentive, rude and arrogant)	10 ÌÌ
Lack of assistance to citizens on their appeals	9 ÌÌ
Poor condition of roads	8 ÌÌ

turned out to be 21.5% fewer jobs compared with the beginning of 2011 but this reduction was not associated with a decrease of readiness of people to self-sufficiency at all. The main reason was a change in the legislation of the Russian Federation in terms of increase in insurance payments to the state funds.

Residents of large cities increasingly expect "service" functions from local authorities. Amongst others, the most popular the services on the improvement and maintenance of roads. Qualifying these functions as "service", we rely on the list of local public services, given in the article [Beatriz Cuadrado-Ballesteros, Isabel-María García-Sánchez, José-Manuel Prado-Lorenzo. Effect of modes ..., p. 24]. Among these local services the authors attribute street cleaning, road access, paving of public roads.

According to our sources, in rural areas and small towns the demand for these "service" functions is not leading, but also growing.

Let us draw attention to the expectations associated with the activities of local government bodies. On the basis of a broad interpretation, the subjects of "service" administration are considered to be not only the executive, but also representative/legislative bodies [Ryhtikova L.Yu. Servants of the people ...] that we recognize fair. How far the activities of these bodies associated with the provision of services can be traced on the material of the mentioned sociological survey results in Tomsk in 2011. Thus, natives of Tomsk named the challenges, which the Duma of the city must face in the coming year. The first three places – the activities with which one can associate the provision of municipal services. It is a case of public services and amenities, construction of new kindergartens, monitoring the work of housing and communal services. We attribute these activities to municipal services again according to the list given in the paper [Beatriz Cuadrado-Ballesteros, Isabel-María García-Sánchez, José-Manuel Prado-Lorenzo. Effect of modes..., p. 24]. Thus, the authors include in this list social services, food and drink control, domestic supply of drinking water, waste collection, sewer system and drains, waste treatment.

We proceed to analyze social activity of citizens. It is illustrated by the data on non-profit organizations established since 2000. Thus, in 2000-2012, 3130 non-profit organizations included in the register. In 2012, 279 NGOs created. Consequently, if an average growth amounted to 241 organization in the year during the period of 13 years, then the forma-

tion of NGOs went faster in 2012. For 5 months in 2013 another 67 organizations has been created. However, the newly created non-profit organizations, whose activities would be designed to affect the quality of public services, were few and far between. The latter include the Association for Consumer Protection and Public Land Control, partnership for gas infrastructure development, social movement "Roads of Tomsk", the body of public initiative of the Tomsk gymnasium No. 56. Basically, residents of the Tomsk region get together in communities of interest (leisure and professional), as well as for the provision of public services (driving training, pre-school, supplementary and higher education, psychological services, etc.). This confirms the conclusion that the activity of citizens is mainly manifested in the economic sphere and in the sphere of social relations that affect the immediate environment of the individual.

Findings

Our observations suggest the following findings:

1. Independence of Russian citizens in ensuring their own well-being is growing. For the time being, more than half of Russians are ready to achieve material success relying on their own resources and capabilities.
2. Affirmation on self-sufficiency is not always realized. One of the factors that affect the implementation – business environment regulated by the state. If this environment changes unfavorably for the entrepreneur, people begin to expect job creation from the authorities.
3. The need in "service" functions of local governments is more common for residents of major cities. In particular, generally valid (rather than individual) services are most in demand. In rural areas and small towns the demand for these "service" functions though not leading, but still growing.
4. Expectations associated with the activities of representative government authorities, first and foremost, are connected with the provision of generally valid public services. At least, such situation is in large cities.
5. Socially active citizens only now begin to approve oneself in terms of insistence to administrating authorities for the quality of public services. Exemplification of mass civil claims related to public services are still rare.

To a considerable degree, social activity of the

individual occurs only in solving problems related to its immediate surroundings. Here more than half of Russians feel confident and take the initiative. However, this activity still does not make itself in the broader social life. Thus, there is a need for a "service", but there is no insistence on high standards.

Conclusion

In summary, answering about the social preconditions of the development of "service" model of public administration in Russia, we can point out the following. A degree of independence of citizens already allows them to dispense with "trust" of the state and local authorities. However, low social activity does not contribute to the full development of "service" model of public administration. As a result, we observe a non-linear trajectory: scatter from "service" to paternalistic expectations and back. If the conditions set by the authorities allow for self-actualization, citizens demonstrate "service" expectations. As soon as conditions become unfavorable, the citizens instead of demanding the change of "game rules" begin to show more paternalistic expectations. Such wavering are more typical for residents of rural municipalities and small urban districts, where objectively fewer opportunities for self-realization.

Consequently, the main actor, who promote or hinder the development of "service" model in Russia, is the state. We must pay tribute to the leaders of the state that the introduction of this advanced model has been initiated in the first decade of the XXI century. At that point in time social attitudes for self-sufficiency have not been sufficiently developed yet.

Nevertheless, low demands of citizens to the availability and quality of the significant public services resulted in the fact that the "service" in a number of recent documents being interpreted in the narrowest sense. This narrow sense is confined to the provision of individual services (mainly on the processing and issuance of documents), and only by the executive government bodies. This understanding demonstrates the adopted in 2010 Federal Law on 27 July 2010 N 210-FZ "On the organization of public and municipal services". Thus, despite the increase of self-sufficiency of Russian citizens, the fullest terms for self-realization will be open for them when their needs will be accompanied with

the insistence.

First, we associate the insistence development for quality of public services with the awareness of the population on the list of standards of quality of public services provided by the government. We also agree with Matthew S. Winters, Abdul Gaffar Karim, Berly Martawardaya in the necessity of educational programs that will encourage citizens to insistence on high standards (Matthew S. Winters, Abdul Gaffar Karim, Berly Martawardaya. *Public Service Provision ...*, p. 31).

Second, the insistence will be developing if the citizens will receive a response to their requests. With provision for the role of government bodies as main subjects of change, we believe that the leaders of these bodies can influence both on the increase of the information amount and "responsiveness" to the needs of citizens. In turn, such a position of leaders is possible within their understanding of modern problems of public administration and motivation for positive change.

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