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Citizens' attitudes towards the digitalisation of public services in contemporary Russia

Abstract. A digital government is relevant topic. It is associated with hopes for improving the institutions of public policy and administration. Russia has adopted programs for the development of the digital economy. So that, there is planned the transition to digital government in Russia. The transition to digital government is accompanied by several challenges such as control, centralization, excessive control, etc. An important factor in the success of responding to these challenges is the attitude of citizens to the digitalization of public services. This article presents empirical materials from a sociological study conducted in two regions of the Russian Federation: St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region. The sample size was 300 respondents. The study is the empirical basis for a multistage study conducted by the author as part of the research team of St. Petersburg State University in the period from 2017 to 2020. The article presents the empirical material of the study and analysis on its basis of the attitudes of Russian citizens in relation to the implementation of new management models in a transforming social, economic and political environment. Since the article is based primarily on original empirical material, the presented references to other theoretical and practical works are informative.
Keywords: digitalization, digital government, civic participation, public policy, governability, Russia.

Introduction

Russia has been making considerable efforts over the last two decades not only to introduce the elements of e-government into everyday practices of citizens' interaction with state power institutions, but also to optimize the social sphere and transfer the economy to an entirely new level of development. Speaking about public services, already in the middle of the first decade of the 2000s, the idea of involving citizens not only as consumers, but as participants in the process of forming a complex of services was emphasized. Smorgunov L. [1] raised this issue among Russian researchers. Dawes S., Gregg V., Agouris P. [2], Asgarkhani M. [3] are starting to use the term digital government, but in the context of e-government. A conceptual transition from portals to platforms is noticeable in the works of Dais A., Nikolaidou M., Alexopoulou N., Anagnostopoulos D. [4] etc. Eriksson K. and Vogt H. [5] especially emphasize in this regard the possibilities of civic participation. In 2012, several countries began reforming the transition from e-government to digital government. Since 2016, this movement has become global [6]. There are published works describing this transition in the context of political and administrative reforms and civic participation Leith P. [7], Cavallo S., Lynch J., Scull P. [8]. Despite the widespread interest in the topic, there is an acute lack of empirical data across countries, which hinders the development of a practical view of citizen interaction with digital

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government platforms. The presented research makes a significant contribution to the development of this topic on the example of Russia.

The control parameters of the sample strictly correspond to the following characteristics of the population: gender, age, educational level.

The main research objective was to test a series of working hypotheses related to the study of the state of demand by the population for e-government services and steps to transition to the digital economy, as well as satisfaction with the results of use and attitude to quality. A series of research tasks was associated with an attempt to identify the most stable patterns in the system of these relations and the factors that determine them.

The small sample size during the study determines that some data processing tools allow to identify only the most significant, stable patterns, but do not allow to detect statistically significant features, but depending on the sample size.

This concerns, for example, the use of such an analytical tool as the analysis of standardized residuals associated with a nonparametric criterion - the calculation of the chi-square statistic, which is very sensitive to the sample size.

As a result, at the stage of this study, not all patterns could be found, and therefore conclusions about the absence of a connection in one case or another would be methodically inconsistent. As a result, the report will reflect only those patterns that can be characterized as significant and stable at the stage of exploratory research.

In strict accordance with the parameters of the quota sample, 48% of men and 52% of women were interviewed.

Among the respondents, 18-29-year-old respondents accounted for 18.7%, 30-39-year-olds - 20.7%, 40-49-year-olds - 15.3%, 50-59-year-olds - 17.3%, 60-year-olds and older - 28.0%.

The respondents with the lowest level of education accounted for 1.3% of the respondents, with complete secondary education - 8%, with primary vocational education - 3.3%, with secondary vocational education - 42%, with incomplete higher education - 8%, with higher education - 37.3%.

The share of respondents with the lowest incomes under $ 150 per family member was 4.7%, with incomes from $ 150 to $ 250 - 21.3%, from $ 250 to $ 400 - 26%, from $ 400 to USD 700 - 28%, over USD 700 - 12.0%. Found it difficult to answer the question about income 2%, refused to answer - 6.0%.

Less than 1% of the respondents considered themselves to be the upper stratum, 8.7% referred to the intermediate stratum between the highest and the middle class, 41.3% to the middle stratum, 33.3% to the intermediate stratum between the middle and the highest stratum, 14.0 %. It was difficult to answer the question about the status self-assessment of 2.0% of the respondents. Thus, almost 50% of the respondents identified themselves as low-status social groups.

Among the respondents, the most significant group were pensioners - 20%, 12.7% were workers in culture, education, and science, 10% - workers (including in the agricultural sector) and students, about 9% - workers in the service sector. The rest of the categories were less than 7%.

Among the respondents, residents of the megalopolis accounted for 48%, 19.3% - residents of villages and villages, 16.7% - urban-type settlements, 16.0% - residents of cities of regional subordination.

Use of e-government services

Question: «Multifunctional centers have been operating in the country for several years now. Have you personally ever applied to multifunctional centers (further MFC) to solve your problems - to obtain any documents you need? » MFC is a multifunctional center, a category of state institutions in Russia that provide state and municipal services on the principle of «one window» after a single application by the applicant with a corresponding request. At the same time, interaction with bodies providing public services or bodies providing municipal services is carried out by a multifunctional

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center without the participation of the applicant.

4/5 of respondents from St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region currently have experience of contacting multifunctional centers.

Less than 6% of respondents were dissatisfied with the results of contacting the MFC, almost 41% of respondents rated it extremely high («completely satisfied»), rather satisfied - 30.0%. 21.7% noted conflicting feelings about the results of contacting the MFC («in some ways yes, in others no»). Thus, almost 71% of respondents in general positively assessed the work of the MFC.

An analysis of the combined tables of the experience of contacting the MFC and assessments of the attitude towards various indicators of the assessment of e-government, considering the standardized balances, showed the following showed that at present, contacting the MFC is not a factor:

- the formation of a certain - positive or negative - attitude towards the development of the digital economy in Russia and the expansion of electronic document flow;
- the level of confidence in electronic document management;
- assessing the personal information security of citizens when using electronic document management, convenience for users of the electronic public services system, the speed of office work in government agencies after the introduction of electronic document management, the quality of informing the population about electronic public services;
- ideas about the level of confidentiality of personal data when using electronic platforms and the preferred method of submitting documents.

However, people who have no experience of contacting the MFC on all these issues tend to find it difficult to answer much more than those who received any services there.

Of all the respondents, 32.7% and 24.1% of the respondents, respectively, stated that they are completely satisfied or, rather, satisfied with the results of this appeal; the share of positive assessments of the work of the MFC from the number of people who applied to this structure is 71%, which can be assessed as a high indicator of the quality of work.

Using the portal of public services

Question: «The Unified Portal of State and Municipal Services (further «Gosuslugi») has been operating in the country for several years. According to official data, already over 40% of the Russian population is registered on this portal. Have you used the services of the Unified Portal of State and Municipal Services? »

In St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Region, the level of access to the portal of public services corresponds to the national average and is 50.7%.

Question: «In your opinion, which services to the population can be obtained through the Unified Portal of State and Municipal Services («Gosuslugi»)? »

The question was asked as open, without prompts (the list of functions of the public services portal was not shown to the respondents). According to the distribution, the answers of the respondents strictly correspond to the most frequent services of the portal.

Question: «Which of the services are important for you personally? Check all required options».

The following functions of the public services portal turned out to be in high demand (relevant for more than half of the respondents): making an appointment with a doctor - 63.3%, ordering a foreign passport - 54.7%, paying utility bills - 50.7%.

The second most important group (significant for at least one third of the population; considering the sampling error, this group included those functions that scored 32% of positive answers) included the following functions provided by the public services portal: checking taxes and debts - 46, 0%, payment of duties and taxes - 44.0%, ordering a Russian passport - 42.7%, applying to a pension fund - 36.7%, obtaining a TIN (tax individual number) - 36.0%,

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registration at the place of residence or stay - 32.7 %, car registration - 32.0%.

The following possibilities of the portal of public services are significant for at least every fifth inhabitant of two constituent entities of the Russian Federation: job search and employment - 29.3%, obtaining a certificate of no criminal record - 27.3%, state technical inspection of vehicles - 26.0%, registration of benefits and payments - 26.0%, information on administrative offenses in the field of road traffic with the ability to order SMS informing about issued fines - 25.3%, registering with the State Traffic Inspectorate - 25.3%, registering a child in a kindergarten and checking the queue - 24.7%, information on the provision of state social assistance, social services - 24.0%, changing data in the documents of a citizen - 22.7%, taking qualification exams and issuing driver's licenses - 20.7%, consultations on labor law - 20.0%.

The third most important group (relevant at least for every tenth respondent) included the following options: registration of the birth of a child - 17.3%, registration of legal entities and entrepreneurs - 16.0%, information on legal debt of an individual - 14.7 %, information of insured persons on the state of their individual personal accounts in the compulsory pension insurance system - 14.0%, filing an application for marriage registration - 14.0%, registration of maternity capital and its disposal - 12.0%, filing claims – 10.0%.

The least demanded were the following services provided by the portal of State services: issuance of hunting tickets of a single federal sample - 10.7%, submission of information on voluntary certification of goods - 4.7%, filing applications for violation of advertising legislation - 4.7%, others - 4.0%.

In addition, an analysis was made of the size of groups potentially willing to use a different number of electronic government services provided by the portal.

It turned out that from 0 to 5 different services up to 40% of the population are ready to use, from 6 to 10 services - 32%, from 11 to 15 services - 13.3% of the population, from 16 to 20 services - 7.3% of respondents, from 21 to 25 different services - 4.7% of the population, 26 services and more - 2.7% of the population.

Analysis of the socio-demographic profile of respondents who rated the importance of a certain number of public services for themselves showed the following socio-demographic profile of potential users:

From 0 to 5 functions of the portal of public services are considered important for themselves to a greater extent than other groups, respondents aged 60 and over, pensioners, residents of a small town or urban-type settlement.

From 6 to 10 functions of the portal of public services are considered significant for themselves to a greater extent than other groups, respondents with incomplete higher education, engineers, and technicians in production, as well as housewives (including women on postnatal care leave for the child).

From 11 to 15 functions of the portal of public services are considered significant for themselves to a greater extent than other groups, respondents aged 40 to 49 years old, with higher education, workers in science, culture, and education, as well as referring themselves to the category of «others» determining the type of activity, residents of the metropolis.

From 16 to 20 functions of the portal of public services are considered important for themselves to a greater extent than other groups, respondents aged 50 to 59, workers and managers.

From 21 to 25 functions of the portal of public services are considered important for themselves to a greater extent than other groups, respondents aged 50 to 59 years old, with secondary vocational education.

From 26 or more functions of the portal of public services are considered important for themselves to a greater extent than other groups, respondents with primary vocational education, as well as university students and students of secondary specialized institutions, as well as the wealthiest residents with an income of more than 500 USD per month for each family member.

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The data on the cumulative / accumulated percentage show that one third of the respondents consider no more than 4 services to be significant for themselves, half of the respondents - no more than 6 services, 2/3 of the population - no more than 6 out of more than 30 functions provided by the Gosuslugi portal.

Analysis of the demanded functions, considering the level of use of the portal of State services, indicates three significant points:

first, the very uneven level of use of various functions by the population in the present;

secondly, the effectiveness of the target strategy of targeting the portal of public services to various social groups;

thirdly, on the need to update work with target groups of the population and improve the information policy on e-government.

During the study, it was found that the experience of using electronic services on the Gosuslugi portal is associated with:

- a positive attitude to the expansion of electronic document management (direct connection, statistically significant, Pearson's correlation coefficient is +0.408;

- a positive assessment of the convenience for users of the system of electronic public services and document circulation (the connection is direct, statistically significant, the Pearson correlation coefficient is +0.46);

- the idea that it is much more convenient to submit documents via electronic channels, without communicating with the employee (the connection is direct, statistically significant, the Pearson correlation coefficient is +0.507).

Those who have experience of accessing the Gosusulugi portal are also inclined to trust electronic document flow, positively assess, and recognize the acceleration of office work in government agencies after the introduction of electronic document flow, recognize the guarantee of the confidentiality of personal data when using electronic platforms (this is evidenced by positive statistically significant standardized balances in the corresponding cells of the tables).

To find out the joint occurrence of significant for respondents' opportunities offered by the Gosuslugi portal, a procedure of multidimensional scaling was performed.

The analysis made it possible to identify several groups of the most used e-government services (arranged in order of decreasing number of respondents using them).

Group 1 - solving household and family problems - combines the following functions: making an appointment with a doctor, paying utility bills.

Group 2 - fulfilling obligations to the state - combines the following functions: checking taxes and arrears, paying duties and taxes, ordering a Russian passport, ordering a foreign passport, obtaining a TIN.

Group 3 - registration obligations in relation to permons and automotive equipment - combines the following functions: registration of a car, registration with the State Traffic Inspectorate, taking qualification exams and issuing driver's licenses, state technical inspection of vehicles, information on administrative offenses in the field of road traffic with the ability to order SMS-informing about issued fines, registration at the place of residence or stay, changing data in a citizen's documents, obtaining a certificate of no criminal record, information on legal debt of an individual, registration of legal entities and entrepreneurs.

Group 4 - solving social problems - combines the following functions: enrolling a child in kindergarten and checking the queue, processing benefits and payments, applying to a pension fund, information on the provision of state social assistance, social services, advice on labor law, job search and employment.

Group 5 unites the following functions affecting special social groups (spouses, young parents, entrepreneurs, interest groups): filing claims, filing an application for marriage registration, registration and disposal of maternity capital, registration of the birth of a child, information of

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insured persons about the state of their individual personal accounts in the system of compulsory pension insurance, issuance of hunting tickets of a unified federal standard, submission of information on voluntary certification of goods, filing applications for violation of advertising legislation, etc.

It is extremely rare that the registration of the car and the appeal to the pension fund are used together.

The analysis showed that the greater the number of electronic services of the Gosuslugi portal (the lower limit is 16 types of potentially significant services) the respondents consider significant for themselves, the more they tend to consider all electronic public services systems unconditionally convenient for themselves.

The smaller the number of electronic services on the Gosuslugi portal the respondent considers significant for himself, the more he is indifferent to the expansion of electronic document circulation. They are inclined to recognize the increase in the speed of office work in government agencies after the introduction of electronic document management, the respondents who consider 6 to 10 functions, which are provided by the State Services portal, to be significant for themselves.

At the same time, people with high rates of potential demand for the functions offered by the Gosuslugi portal (from 21 to 25 significant services) are more inclined than other groups to worry about the risks of total control over their private life by the state and, in general, negatively. relate to the implementation of the digital economy in Russia.

The analysis showed that the remaining 4 functioning Internet platforms of e-government, which provide services not to the entire population, but to its individual categories, are currently in very little demand. Only the unified system of interdepartmental electronic interaction was outside the limits of the statistical error indicators (4.7% of respondents said that they used its services). Between ¾ and 9/10 of the population have never even heard of them.

Undoubtedly, only a quarter of the respondents (26%) considered the convenience of using e-government Internet platforms to be convenient. Slightly more than half of the respondents considered them convenient only partially (52.7%), about 7% - categorically inconvenient, 14.7% - found it difficult to answer. Considering the level of awareness of the various platforms by the respondents and the experience of using them, it is obvious that it was just about the Gosuslugi portal.

Experience of using electronic signature

22% of the surveyed respondents stated that they already use an electronic signature. Almost half of the surveyed respondents (48%) have heard about an electronic signature but have no experience of using it. About 29% of respondents have no idea about electronic signatures. At the same time, the analysis of the combined tables showed the tendency of people with experience in using electronic signatures to fully trust the practices of electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is +0.371), to fully support the expansion of electronic document flow, to believe that there is no reason for alarm about the risks of deploying total control from the state. The results of multidimensional scaling show a significant dispersion of groups in the use of various e-government capabilities.

The variations in the use of e-government forms

To clarify the significance of the factor of the multiplicity of forms of appeal to various platforms and tools of using e-government for the formation of attitudes towards it, additional calculations were carried out.

It was found that none of the respondents uses all 5 platforms, as well as the MFC and the electronic signature. The maximum number of platforms and tools used is 4.

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15.3% of respondents do not use any tool and / or platform, one - 25.3%, two - 36.7% (this is the MFC and the Gosuslugi portal), three - 19.3%, four - 3.3% people interviewed.

The following features of the socio-demographic profile of groups using a different number of e-government tools and platforms were identified.

Respondents over 60 years of age, unemployed pensioners, self-identified people, people with the lowest and relatively low incomes less than 250 USD per family member per month have no experience of using e-government services.

One e-government tool / platform is more likely to be used by service workers and non-working retirees than other groups.

Two e-government tools / platforms are more likely than other groups to be used by respondents aged 30 to 39, as well as students.

Three e-government tools / platforms are more likely than other groups to be used by respondents aged 40 to 49, those with higher education, and middle-class entrepreneurs with incomes over 700 USD per month per family member.

Four e-government tools / platforms are more likely than other groups to be used by people who consider themselves to be in between the upper and middle strata, with incomes over 700 USD per month per family member.

The use of a variety of different platforms and e-government tools is associated with an assessment of the convenience for users of the system of electronic government services: the greater the number of platforms used, the less they are prone to negative assessments (Pearson's correlation coefficient is - 0.411).

The relationship between the number of platforms and e-government tools used is similarly confirmed:

• an assessment of the convenience for users of the system of electronic government services (Pearson's correlation coefficient is - 0.411);

• attitude to the expansion of electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is - 0.48);

• trust in electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is - 0.414);

• an assessment of the speed of office work in government agencies after the introduction of electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is - 0.433);

• preferred method of submission of documents (Pearson's correlation coefficient is - 0.425); the less experience in using various tools and platforms, the greater the craving for the traditional way of filing documents through employees - specific people; this more and more varied experience, preferable people seem to be an impersonal, electronic way of submitting documents for consideration.

In relation to the digital economy and in assessing the adequacy of informing the population by the state about the forms of electronic services, no statistically significant correlation coefficients were found, however, at the level of statistically significant standardized residuals, it was confirmed that the more e-government tools the respondents use, the more they have a positive attitude. to the digital economy and consider the level of information sufficient. This is especially true for people who use at least 4 platforms / tools.

Multidimensional scaling and correlation analysis showed that the most significant in terms of forming attitudes towards e-government and various indicators of its assessment is the experience of contacting the MFC and using the Gosuslugi portal (47.3% of respondents shared them).

The most significant factor in addressing these 2 structures is the age of citizens; the older people are, the less practice they have of such appeals (Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.384). Also, people with low status self-esteem, unemployed pensioners, people with incomes of up to 250 USD per month for each family member (estimated by statistically significant standardized residuals)

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have less experience.

It is typical for these structures to be addressed by people with an income of more than 400 USD per month.

As in the case of assessments of e-government indicators of people with different experience in using platforms and tools, when assessing a subsample of people with experience of contacting the MFC and the Gosuslugi portal, statistically significant correlation coefficients were identified with the following indicators:

• an assessment of the convenience for users of the electronic public services system (Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.395);

• attitude to the expansion of electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is equal to 0.392);

• trust in electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.374);

• an assessment of the speed of office work in government agencies after the introduction of electronic document management (Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.395);

• preferred method of submission of documents (Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.501); the less experience in using various tools and platforms, the greater the craving for the traditional way of filing documents through employees - specific people; this more and more varied experience, the preferable people seem to be an impersonal, electronic way of submitting documents for consideration.

In addition, the analysis showed that the experience of simultaneously using the Gosuslugi portal and contacting the MFC is associated with the belief of people in:

• guarantees of confidentiality of personal data when using electronic platforms;

• personal information security of citizens when using electronic document management;

• optimality of informing the population about electronic government services;

• the need to develop the digital economy in Russia.

The attitude of citizens to electronic forms of documents

Currently, there is a split in the views of citizens regarding the preference for a personal or impersonal way of submitting documents to government agencies. More than half - 54% - believe that the electronic method is better than communicating with an official / clerk, 41.3% believe that the submission of documents, applications, etc. when communicating with an employee is preferable. About 5% were unable to express their position.

Currently, 20% of respondents do not have a formed point of view regarding the expansion of the number of electronic services in the country. Every fifth respondent assesses this process negatively (5.3% categorically do not support, 14.7% rather do not support). 3/5 of the respondents spoke positively about the expansion of the number of electronic documents (23.3% fully support, 36.7% rather support).

Confidence in the currently existing forms of electronic document management is expressed by about 40% of respondents (11.3% trust completely, 27.3% - rather, trust). Slightly more than a third express a contradictory assessment - they trust in some things and not in others (34.7%). More than 20% do not trust the existing forms of electronic document management (rather, they do not trust 14.7%, categorically do not trust - 7.3%). About 5% were unable to formulate their position.

Risks associated with data on government electronic platforms (ranked as the frequency of responses decreases) are assessed by respondents as follows:

a) unauthorized leaks of personal data due to hacking of sites («data security», «fear of leakage», «the data is in the Internet platform, when the system is hacked, my data will be available to hackers», «the likelihood of hacking, theft of personal information», «high level theft of electronic documents», «data

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may be lost», «hacking (possible)», «the possibility of using personal data for criminal purposes», «available to fraudsters, can easily be forged», «someone can secretly / illegally find out which information», «it is easy to hack and get our data», «insufficient data protection, the possibility of data loss», «unreliability, fake», «undeveloped cybersecurity», «the main reason is incomplete protection from outside interference», «piracy, hackers, hacking of emails, insecurity», «leakage of personal data», «I'm afraid that my data will fall into the hands of third parties»);

b) data loss due to technical failures («a virus will destroy everything», «viruses», «computer malfunction», «possible failures in the process of transferring information», «the program freezes, data is entered incorrectly», «electronics failure, human factor» , «state of technical support», «equipment is not reliable»);

c) technical difficulties in using the Internet and electronic forms of documents for certain categories of people («the fact that people are sometimes incompetent to use, it's difficult, etc.», «because I don't use it, this is an innovation», «bad acquaintance», «I can't fully master electronic technologies», «I don't understand how it all works», «I do not understand well, I don't know how to use devices, it's inconvenient», «You need to have a lot of passwords, keys, etc.», «Difficulty of use»);

d) generally, distrust of electronic forms, preference for documents in paper form («I trust documents, but some structures do not», «using old forms is more pragmatic», «the population is not too familiar with electronic document management», «I don't like the Internet», «I am afraid the possibility of forging documents», «the absence of a document here and now», «there is no responsible person»);

e) deliberate deception of people («I am afraid that they will be deceived», «all sorts of deceptions are going on, especially for the elderly», «many swindlers have gotten divorced», «I am paranoid»);

f) total control by the state («this is a plan for collecting information», «they will control me even more», «surveillance»).

Half of the respondents are convinced that the speed of consideration of their questions after the introduction of electronic document management has increased (50.7%), a quarter is convinced (26.7%) that nothing has changed, some more than 3% believe that everything, on the contrary, has slowed down. Almost every fifth person does not have a formed position on this issue (19.3%).

Understanding the information security of citizens

Half of the respondents (50.7%) are convinced that when using electronic platforms, the confidentiality of personal information is not violated (there is no risk of violation) when using electronic platforms. The 28.7% believe that confidentiality rules are not followed. The 20.7% cannot answer this question.

The 30% of respondents are convinced that electronic document management gives citizens guarantees of their information security, 51.3% deny it, 18.7% found it difficult to answer.

The level of anxiety of citizens about the risks of being under total control of the state, when their right to privacy is violated, is very high - 4/5 of the respondents (80.7%, including 42% are convinced that this risk is unconditional, 38.7% believe grounds for alarm are well founded). The 3.3% of respondents are unconditionally convinced that there is no reason for concern, 11.3% of respondents believe that most likely there is no reason for alarm. The 4.7% of respondents found it difficult to answer this question.

No more than a quarter of the population is aware of the need to adjust the information policy in relation to electronic services, providing citizens with more complete information (23.3% think so), almost 2/3 of the respondents (64.7%) deny this need. The 12% could not decide on their position.

When answering the question about their attitude to digitalization of the economy, 45.3% of respondents assessed it positively, 40.7% expressed a double attitude, 3.3% - negative. About 9% of respondents found it difficult to answer.

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Preferrable internet gadgets

Every tenth respondent stated that he does not use the Internet at all.

More than 2/3 use a smartphone to access the World Wide Web (69.3%), almost half (47.3%) use a laptop, every third (33.3%) use a stationary computer, every fourth (25.3%) use the tablet.

Additionally, the number of networks, channels, messengers shared by the respondents was calculated.

Only 4% of respondents do not use any of the named, they limit themselves to using one - 20%, two - 13.3%, three - 17.3%, four - 16.7%, use five networks - 13.3%, six - 8.0%, seven - 5.3%, eight - 2.0%.

When regrouping the data, 4 groups were singled out according to the indicator of the diversity of the channels and networks used. Half of the respondents use 1 to 3 different network sources and messengers - 50.7% (not high), from 4 to 6 - 38.0% of respondents (average), from 7 to 8 - 7.3% (high). The maximum variety of channels is observed mainly among young respondents under the age of 30, managers, university students. These people are rather positive about the expansion of electronic document management.

A moderate variety of channels is used primarily by people aged 30 to 60, complete secondary education, entrepreneurs, military personnel, as well as the poorest people with incomes up to 150 USD per month per family member, residents of small towns and urban-type villages. These people, rather, have a positive attitude towards the expansion of electronic document circulation, they believe that after the introduction of electronic document circulation, the speed of resolving issues has increased.

The extremely limited variety of channels is used to a greater extent by people over 60, those with primary vocational education, workers, unemployed pensioners, and those with incomes from 200 to 250 USD per month for each family member. These people tend not to support the expansion of electronic document management; they find it difficult to assess the change in the speed of consideration of cases after the introduction of electronic document management and believe that it is more convenient to hand over documents to a specific person, as it was before, than using electronic impersonal forms.

In general, not to use networks, channels and instant messengers are more inclined than other groups, the oldest respondents, unemployed retirees who consider themselves to be in the lower stratum, the poorest people with an income of up to 150 USD per month per family member. These people, to a greater extent than other groups, are indifferent to the expansion of electronic document management.

A smartphone as the most convenient means of accessing the Internet was rated by every third respondent (33.3%), a desktop computer and laptop - every fourth (26.7% and 24%, respectively), a tablet - only 6%.

Use of social networks and Internet communication channels

The most demanded respondents are Vkontakte (62.05) and WhatsApp (58.7%). About a third of respondents use YouTube (36.0%), Odnoklassniki (30.7%), Instagram (30.7%) and Skype (29.3%). Every fourth uses Viber (24.7%), every fifth (20.7%) - Telegram, every tenth (10.0%) - Facebook, every twelfth (8.0%) - Twitter. Less than 5% of respondents use «Moy Mir».

The multivariate scaling results identified 5 combinations of the most used networks, channels, and messengers.

Group 1 includes: Vkontakte and WhatsApp.

The second group includes channels in which the visual component is of particular importance: Instagram and YouTube.

Group 3 included: Odnoklassniki, Skype, Viber.

In the 4th group there is only 1 messenger - Telegram, it is in a special position for users.

Group 5 united the less frequently used networks, channels, and messengers: Facebook and Twitter, as well as Moy Mir, Flickr, Linkedln, Tumblr, other.

These groupings should be considered when disseminating information about e-government and the digital economy to raise awareness of target groups.

The analysis shows that at least a third of respondents' trust WhatsApp, about a quarter - Vkontakte, as well as other sites and channels, almost every fourth - Telegram, about 14% - Skype and Odnoklassniki, every ninth - Instagram, every tenth - Viber, every twelfth - YouTube. Facebook, Moy Mir, and Twitter - very few respondents.

Analysis of multidimensional scaling showed which channels, networks and messengers respondents tend to trust at the same time.

Trust group 1 includes: Vkontakte and WhatsApp.

Trust group 2 includes: Skype, Viber, YouTube.

Group 3 included: Odnoklassniki, Instagram.

In trust group 4 - only 2 have entered: Telegram

Trust group 5 includes: Moy Mir, Facebook, Flickr, Linkedln, Tumblr, Twitter.

Trust group 6 also has only one answer - other networks, channels, and messengers.

The situation with single objects in groups 4 and 6 is explained, on the one hand, by the special position in the views of Telegram respondents, after active attempts were made in the spring of 2018 to block access to this resource of Russian users, on the other hand, by the strong fragmentation of the preferred by the population. Internet resources in accordance with their personal interests.

This situation should be considered when planning an information campaign to increase its credibility.

Telegram is currently the most effective in terms of the level of trust. The 50% or more of the Facebook, WhatsApp and Skype audiences trust them.

From 40% to 44% of the audience trust the Vkontakte, Moy Mir, Odnoklassniki, Instagram and Viber. The level of audience trust on YouTube and Twitter is very low - respectively, no more than 22% and 16% of the audience of these channels.

The most effective in terms of promoting information are currently other, small sites.

Only 9.3% of respondents - every eleventh respondent - have experience of using infomats of information and communication terminals to communicate with the portal of public services.

Attitude towards institutions of power

5.3% of the respondents fully trust the local administration and the municipal council; they rather trust - 19.3%; they trust in something, and in some things they do not - 32.0%; rather, they do not trust - 17.3%, completely do not trust 17.3%. The 8.7% find it difficult to answer.

Fully trust the regional legislative assembly 4.7% of respondents, rather trust - 18.7%, trust in something, in something not - 32.7%, rather do not trust - 16.0%, do not completely trust 18.0%. The 10.0% find it difficult to answer.

The 8.7% of respondents fully trust the governor, rather trust - 14.7%, trust in something, in something not - 23.3%, rather do not trust - 17.3%, do not completely trust 22.7 %. The 13.3% find it difficult to answer. The 6.7% of respondents fully trust the State Duma, more likely they trust - 12.0%, in some ways they trust, in some things they do not - 19.3%, rather do not trust - 24.0%, do not completely trust 32, 0%. 6.0% find it difficult to answer. 6.7% of respondents fully trust the Federation Council, rather trust - 14.0%, trust in something, not in something - 21.3%, rather do not trust - 20.7%, do not completely trust 28, 7%. 8.7% find it difficult to answer.

8.0% of respondents fully trust the government of the Russian Federation, more likely trust - 13.3%, trust in something, not in something - 23.3%, rather do not trust - 22.0%, do not completely trust 28,

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7%. 4.7% find it difficult to answer.

16.0% of the respondents completely trust the President of Russia V.V. Putin. 21.3% of the respondents are more likely to trust, in some ways they trust, in some they do not - 25.3%, rather do not trust - 7.3%, completely do not trust 24.7%. The 5.3% find it difficult to answer.

Institutional trust balance is the difference between positive and negative assessments of institutions. The most stable situation is in relation to the President (+ 5%), the worst - in relation to the State Duma (-37.3%). The stable negative attitude towards the government of the Russian Federation (-29.4%) and the Federation Council (-28.7%). Attitude towards the local administration (-10%), the regional parliament (-10.6%) and the governor (-16.6%) is moderately negative.

The index of trust in government institutions (the ratio of the difference between positive and negative assessments to the total number of respondents who expressed certain positive or negative assessments) is currently very low among respondents living in the Leningrad Region and St. Petersburg. Only the President has a positive index (+0.08). The index of confidence of the prime minister is -0.54, the State Duma is -0.5, the government and the Federation Council is -0.41, the governor is -0.26, the regional parliament is -0.18, the local administration is -0.16.

Multidimensional scaling after recoding the data on trust in institutions of power into binomial variables showed the degree of differences in attitudes towards them.

The findings show that the same groups tend to trust the chambers of the federal parliament as well as the government. There is some overlap between groups of people who trust regional parliaments and local administrations. At the same time, the groups of trust in the president and the heads of the regional executive power differ as much as possible. Also, the analysis showed statistically significant correlation coefficients between the variables of the level of trust in government institutions.

The correlation analysis showed the maximum coherence of self-assessments of respondents' trust in authorities of various levels (high statistically significant Pearson correlation coefficients), except for trust in the prime minister and local governments. The analysis of trust in the institutions of power showed the following.

The 46.7% of respondents do not trust any institution of power. Trust only 1 institution of power - 15.3%, trust 2 institutions of power - 11.3%, trust 3 institutions of power - 7.3%, four - 4.0%, five - 1.3%, six - 2.7% %, seven - 2%, eight - 9.3% of respondents.

After additional grouping of the data, groups of respondents were identified with different levels of trust in government institutions. The group of those who do not trust included 46.7% (do not trust any institution of government), the group with a low indicator of trust in government (to one degree or another trust 1–3 government institutions) includes 34% of respondents, with an average (trust 4 or 5 government institutions) - 5.3%, in the group with high trust - 14.0% of respondents (trust 6, 7 or 8 government institutions).

Those with an income per household member in the range of 150 to 250 USD are more likely than other groups to demonstrate high to moderate trust in government; respondents with rather low status self-esteem (between the lower and middle strata) - do not trust the authorities.

Those with high trust in the authorities are not inclined to use the Vkontakte website; they are more inclined than other groups to assess the system of electronic public services as convenient for the population, but at the same time tend not to support the expansion of electronic document flow and find it difficult to answer questions about the personal information security of citizens when using electronic document flow. At the same time, this category of people shows less inclination to worry about violation of the right to privacy, total control by the state in the process of using electronic document management. These people tend to consider the level of government awareness of the population about e-government, platforms, and tools as sufficient.

Those with average trust in government tend to trust YouTube's use of information as well.

People with low trust in government tend to find it more difficult than other groups to talk about their experience of using a public service portal. Respondents with a complete lack of trust in government bodies deny more than other groups that there are guarantees of confidentiality of personal data when using electronic platforms.

During the research project, there were no identified other statistically confirmed relationships between the trust of the authorities and the attitude to the policy of e-government development.

Conclusion

The study established a high level of information education, skills, and culture of using modern information online technologies among the population of St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Region.

The Internet resources related to the implementation of the tasks of the digital government are available to the population of these two constituent entities of the Russian Federation, but only the portal of State services is used; the other 4 portals are used by an insignificant number of respondents. Of the other tools and institutions of e-government, only the MFC is actively used. The low rates of electronic signature use.

Infomats are used very little as a way of accessing the website of the Gosuslugi portal. The respondents give preference to smartphones. The level of use of stationary computers and laptops in terms of convenience is about the same. Tablets are clearly inferior to other gadgets for Internet access. Assessment of citizens' perceptions about the comfort of using the current electronic platforms of digital government is determined by indicators of the number of platforms and tools used; there is a functional dependence: the more they use, the more comfortable they consider it, and vice versa.

Identifying the level of subjective perceptions of citizens about personal information security and confidentiality of transferring their data to public service sites is also associated with the sustainability of the use of e-government tools and the number of tasks that respondents consider relevant for themselves.

Differentiation of attitudes towards e-government and various indicators of its assessment are determined mainly by age, educational, status characteristics of social groups. Younger, educated respondents with relatively high-status self-esteem and an average income level prefer to use public services in an impersonal form - without contacting employees in offices. Gaps between different generations were fixed in relation to intermediaries-employees when submitting documents.

Subjective assessments of the personal information security of the population when using Internet portals are quite low. The level of actual trust in electronic document flow is low; the risks assessed are related to the possibilities of hacking websites by intruders, leakage of personal data into open access on the Internet, direct fraud against people whose data is stored on the websites of state electronic services, technical failures, and difficulties in working with programs when submitting documents, concern about total control with sides of the state and violation of the privacy of citizens. Given the evidentiary impossibility for people to fall under the pressure of these risks, the potential for trust in electronic document flow is high.

A linear way of assessing the institutions of power in the mass consciousness of people is revealed. In this intelligence study, no statistically confirmed significant links were found between trust in various institutions of government and representatives of the political elite with the assessment of various indicators of the functioning of e-government.

While declaring a positive attitude of citizens to the digital economy, e-government and various manifestations of its activities, the level of real understanding of these phenomena and a positive attitude towards them is clearly low.

Assessment of informing the population about the activities of e-government is associated with the fact of using its platforms and tools: users tend to consider information sufficient, those who do not use tend to disagree with this.

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At present, the level of awareness of the functioning of the digital government among most of the population is limited to certain functions, such as the Gosuslugi portal and the MFC and some others, which is due to the lack of an advanced request for obtaining information of the corresponding type about the activities of the state.

The low level of knowledge and demand for e-government services (electronic forms of digital government) is partly determined by the ineffectiveness of the information policy of the state itself.

Assessment of the importance of electronic platforms and digital government tools for various groups of the population is associated mainly with such socio-demographic indicators as: age, status positions, income level.

The greatest differences in the development of sustainable practices for using various electronic platforms of digital government are observed among social groups that differ in age, level of information literacy and the nature of professional activity.

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Қазіргі Ресейдегі азаматтардың мемлекеттік қызметтерді цифрландыруға қатысты ұстанымы

Аңдатпа. Цифрлық үкімет тақырыбы өзекті болып тұр. Мемлекеттік саясат пен басқару институттарын жетілдіруге деген үміт сонымен байланысты. Ресейде цифрлық экономиканы дамыту бойынша бағдарламалар қабылданды, олардың аясында цифрлық Үкіметке көшу жоспарлануда. Цифрлық Үкіметке көшу бірқатар сын-қатерлермен қатар жүреді: бақылау,

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орталықтандыру, шамадан тыс басқару және т.б. Бұл сын-қатерлерге жауап қайтарудың маңызды факторы азаматтардың мемлекеттік қызметтерді цифрландыруға қатынасы болып табылады. Бұл мақалада Ресей Федерациясының екі аймағында: Санкт-Петербургте және Ленинград облысында жүргізілген социологиялық зерттеудің эмпирикалық материалдары берілген. Іріктемелі жиынтық көлемі 300 респондентті құрады. Зерттеу 2017-2020 жылдар аралығында Санкт-Петербург мемлекеттік университетінің зерттеу тобының құрамында автор жүргізген көп сатылы зерттеудің эмпирикалық негізі болып табылады. Мақалада өзгермелі әлеуметтік, экономикалық және саяси орта жағдайында басқарудың жаңа модельдерін жүзеге асыруға қатысты Ресей азаматтарының көзқарастарына негізделген эмпирикалық зерттеу материалы мен талдау келтірілген. Мақала ең алдымен бастапқы эмпирикалық материалға негізделгендіктен, басқа теориялық және практикалық жұмыстарға сілтемелер Ақпараттық болып табылады.

Түйін сөздер: цифрландыру, цифрлық үкімет, азаматтық қатысу, қоғамдық саясат, Басқару, Ресей.

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Отношение граждан к цифровизации государственных услуг в современной России

Аннотация. Тема цифрового правительства звучит актуально. С ней связаны надежды по совершенствованию институтов публичной политики и управления. В России приняты программы по развитию цифровой экономики, в контексте которых и планируется переход к цифровому правительству. Переход к цифровому правительству сопровождается рядом вызовов: контроль, централизация, чрезмерная управляемость и прочее. Важным фактором успешного ответа на эти вызовы является отношение граждан к цифровизации государственных услуг. В данной статье представлены эмпирические материалы социологического исследования, проведенного в двух регионах Российской Федерации: Санкт-Петербурге и Ленинградской области. Объем выборочной совокупности составил 300 респондентов. Исследование является эмпирической базой многоэтапного исследования, проведенного автором в составе исследовательской команды Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета в период с 2017 по 2020 гг. В статье представлены эмпирический материал исследования и анализ на его основе установок граждан России в отношении реализации новых моделей управления в условиях трансформирующейся социальной, экономической и политической среды. Поскольку статья базируется прежде всего на оригинальном эмпирическом материале, представленные ссылки на другие теоретические и практические работы носят информативный характер.

Ключевые слова: цифровизация, цифровое правительство, гражданское участие, публичная политика, управляемость, Россия.

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