INTRODUCTION

In modern Russian society municipal management plays very important role. The quality of life of the population depends on its efficiency, which is ensured by social housing, landscaping, organization of urban transport schedule and housing and communal services. The importance of the management activities of municipal authorities predetermined the increased interest in it from legislators. In the end of the 1980s, the search for the most optimal model of local self-government, which would have the necessary potential to solve the assigned tasks, had been begun. In the first projects there was an idea of solving the problem in a comprehensive manner: to provide local authorities with administrative autonomy from the state and give them the necessary amount of resources as a condition for increasing managerial efficiency.

However, gradually the tilt of changes began to shift towards the curtailment of the concept of local self-government as a democratic project, and its absorption by the state power as a lower management layer. The immaturity of civil society, or, alternatively, the reluctance of the authorities to use its resources, led to a sharp rejection of the idea of autonomy of local self-government and the ability of local authorities to work effectively at the federal level. Since 2015, when amendments to the Federal Law No. 131 “On General Principles of Local Self-Government Organization” were adopted, the federal center has been purposefully pursuing a policy of strengthening vertical ties between municipal and state authorities. State power is shifting to the state-managerial type of municipal management. The priority goal, which is associated with the new principles of municipal governance, is to increase the efficiency of municipal government while maintaining external democracy in the organization of local self-government. According to the initiators of the project, the new model provides the necessary level of professionalization of management, which is endowed with appropriate resource base, thanks to inclusion of local authorities in the unified system of public administration.

This article purposes to develop a concept for studying the tools of state managerialism in the practice of increasing the efficiency of Russian municipal government.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The tradition of studying managerialism was established by American sociologists (COATE, KNIGHT, 2011; HOOD, 1991; FREDERICKSON, 1997). This issue has acquired relevance after the institutionalization of this model in local government at the beginning of the XX century. Initially, the discourse consisted of questions related to the conformity of managerialism to historically established democratic values. However, after the managerial model proved to be effective, many questions were dropped at the discussion.

Russian sociologists have been interested in city management since the adoption of the current Federal Law “On the General Principles of Organization of Local Self-Government in the Russian Federation”. At this time, there are two main approaches. Within the framework of the first of them, managerialism is assessed through negative connotations, from the point of view of the second - positive. Within these approaches, the discussion, as a rule, is substantively related to three aspects: political, managerial and economic. Opponents of the managerial
model proceed from the fact that it leads to distortion of the principles of democracy (NEUSTROEV, 2016; GAZIZOVA, 2015), it is not effective in municipal management (BABOSHIN, 2018), and is not able to ensure the economic development of territories (USKOVA, BUCHWALD, VOROSHILOV, 2016). On the other hand, supporters of the managerial model believe that the values of democracy are secondary to economic efficiency (MAIKOVA, SIMONOVA, 2017), and insist results to be evaluated over a longer period of time (SAKHRANOV, MARTYNENKO, 2019; STALSKAYA, 2016). In our opinion, discussion of the problem in such a limited framework cannot objectively contribute to the solution to the raised issues. First, there are practically no sociologists among specialists, and those who are nevertheless included in the discussion do not use standard sociological procedures in their scientific activities. It leads the controversy into the area of speculative reasoning, out of context with real-life management practices. Secondly, managerialism has not yet become a subject of theoretical and methodological analysis. In particular, sociologists practically do not use the potential of the resource approach. Thirdly, it does not take into account the fact that the reform, initiated by the authorities may not correspond to the formed model by its design.

METHODOLOGY

We are going to build the methodological foundations based on the theory of rational choice. The analyzed paradigm contains a set of nuances and possibilities. A galaxy of sociologists and economists developed it. Our research will be conceptually based on the ideas outlined in one of the last articles in the J.S. Coleman’s (2001) legacy "Social and human capital" (AUCOIN, 1990). The sociologist explains the choice of alternatives by the social characteristics of the actors’ three forms of capital: physical, human and social. The physical capital includes material resources and formal norms. The human capital is understood as values, motives, interests – some incentive factors flow from the individual characteristics of a particular social actor. And finally, the social capital is a set of stable structures of informal norms, social ties, acquaintances, etc.

In the context of the rational choice, these three types of capital act as a set of resources that provide the ability to achieve individual goals determined for themselves by social actors. At the same time, as J.S. Coleman (1982) says, actors can be as physical as corporate persons (CHIKHLADZE, 2017), which seems convenient for us to study the organizational structures that arise in the system of municipal management. It is obviously, the degree of rationality of the made choice is assessed through the validity of the goal in relation to the resources available to social actors to achieve it. Assuming to analyze the efficiency of such a kind of professional activity as municipal management, we intend to investigate the ability to achieve goals with the amount of resources available to local authorities.

Empirical research aimed at confirming or refuting this hypothesis was carried out on the basis of the Southern Federal University with use of the following sociological tools. This sample was invariably formed on the basis of three federal subjects: Rostov Region (municipalities of Rostov-on-Don, Bataysk, Taganrog, Kamensk-Shakhtinsky, Semikarakorsky district), the republics of Adygea (municipalities of Maykop, Adygeysk, urban-type settlement Yablonovskoy) and Crimea (municipalities of Simferopol, Bakhchisarai, Yalta). In June-August 2018, an expert sociological survey was conducted, 87 experts answered the questions from standardized questionnaire, including 44 deputy heads of administrations (city managers), 19 local parliamentarians, 12 local media journalists and 12 sociological/political science teachers.

RESULTS

Efficiency of Municipal Management

There are several approaches in defining municipal management. According to the first, municipal management reflects the demand for democratization of the lower level of public administration. In this manifestation, the emphasis is made not only on traditional features typical for management, but also on the broad participation of territorial communities in management activities (COLEMAN, 2001). Scientists who adhere to the second approach insist on formalizing the concept from the standpoint of legal categories, and in fact identify it with public administration (CONSIDINE, 1988). And finally, within the framework of the third approach, it is said about the special quality of municipal management in connection with the
normative references to the delegation of the execution by municipal authorities of powers in the field of local self-government prescribed by the legislation of regional or federal authorities (DENHARDT, DENHARDT, 2015). The content of the first approach is closer to us. The second approach is not acceptable for us because the separation of the concepts of municipal self-government and municipal government does not emasculate its direct connection with territorial communities from the latter, but reflects to a greater extent tribute to the historical tradition. As for the third approach, the endowment of municipal authorities with state powers does not change their essence.

Taking into account the present interpretation, we can offer the following instrumental definition of the term municipal management. This is a special type of public activity, which is implemented by local authorities within their competence and resource capabilities and is focused on achieving goals that are relevant for a particular territorial community (municipal formation). As an additional explanation, we note: as the term "municipal" contains elements of direct and representative democracy, including forms of direct implementation of local self-government by the population, "municipal management" is implemented through the widest range of social actors: city manager, administration, deputy corps, structures of civil society, including business communities. In the transition to empirical research, we plan to assess the resource potential of each of these social actors from the point of view of the possibility of ensuring the achievement of the goal in the context of the rational choice made.

The next concept is the efficiency of municipal management. Efficiency is usually assessed from a position of the use of resources. That is why the methodology stated above will be used in relation to this concept with a view to the closest access to the subject field of research.

We can offer the following definition of the term efficiency of municipal management. This is achieving of the goals set for local authorities, implemented at such resource costs, which, from the point of view of well-established generally accepted practices, are recognized as reasonable, generally applicable and justified.

Despite the fact that we are tied to subjective assessments in this understanding, it is this approach that we are going to take as a basis for the study of the efficiency of municipal management. Overcoming subjectivity or the transformation of subjective assessments of efficiency into objective results of assessing the work of municipal management bodies can be implemented in the process of applying empirical research methods inherent in sociology. Here correlations are possible as with expert judgments (qualitative methods) as with the wishes of the population of municipalities (quantitative methods). Thus, according to our concept, three aspects are the object of measuring efficiency in municipal management. First, the achieving of socially significant goal. Secondly, the availability of resources for the achieving. Thirdly, rationality of spending resources.

State Managerialism as a Tool for Improving the Efficiency of Municipal Management

State managerialism was adopted by the ruling elites of Western countries in the 80s of the XX century. Its use was aimed at solving two main tasks: to relieve the budget in condition of increasing pressure on public finances from the public sector and to increase managerial efficiency by introducing market-based instruments into management. These two positions are going to be laid in the construction of the author's definition. State managerialism is an ideology used in order to improve the efficiency of management of public processes, which is achieved through the transfer of management principles developed in commercial organizations to the field of public administration. Municipal management is considered as one of the varieties of public administration.

Analysis of foreign and domestic researches has led to the conclusion that the basis for understanding managerialism in the field of municipal management can be based on three basic features: 1) decentralization of management; 2) widespread use of market principles in management activities; 3) use of quantitative indicators as indicators for assessing the effectiveness of management.

Decentralization of municipal management occurs itself primarily in the form of refusal from application the principles of classical bureaucracy in management activities. There is such a
redistribution of functions and prerogatives, in which the main powers are shifted to the lower levels of the management pyramid, including building strong ties with institutions of civil society and business, cooperating with authorities on the basis of municipal-private partnership. Under these conditions, the municipal government is considered as a public agent responsible for the redistribution of resources between various groups of actors, whose are necessary to improve the quality of life of the population of municipalities. Achieving of this goal is ensured by the action of a whole group of formal norms that support the social activity of territorial communities in resolving issues of local importance in the legal space of the Russian Federation.

Widespread use of market principles in municipal government is expressed in the identification of public administration with the management of a commercial organization. Local authorities begin to function in the formation of a quasi-commercial structure that provides retaliation or gratuitous services to the population. They develop strategic plans of development, apply quality management system, allow commercial activities that do not contradict the functional focus, lay the assessment is based on market principles. Easily calculated quantitative indicators determine the efficiency of the work of local authorities that determines the formalization of the accounting of performance results.

Use of quantitative indicators as indicators for assessing the efficiency of municipal management. This feature is in many ways the core of managerialism, manifesting itself in the image of a universal category in all social institutions affected by managerial ideology. Their role is reduced to a kind of imitation of the production process, the efficiency of which is assessed by the number of works and services performed. There is focus on the word "imitation", because in real market conditions, consumers value goods and services through a purchase and sale agreement in a real competition mode, while the “production” of services in municipal administration does not have such a reliable indicator of valuation. Therefore, quantitative indicators not only absorb the entire philosophy of municipal management (goal, values, methods of activity), but act as a source for the formation of a special normative system, within which a new social reality is created, potentially capable of ending into an imitative one. There are seen threats to this in the absence of reliable subjects for assessing the quality of municipal management from among the actors who make and implement management decisions.

If there is work on imitation indicators, then the achieving of the goal of municipal management (improving the quality of life of the municipalities population), the suitability of the resources used for this (as a minimum in terms of physical and human capital) and the rationality of spending resources (in connection with production of low-quality services). In other words, we are talking about the failure to achieve real efficiency with formally “effective” management. We propose to consider this reasoning as a hypothesis, which will be tested in the process of conducting empirical research.

Taking into account the conducted analysis, we can offer the following formulations of managerial tools: 1) dependence of state funding on the growth of indicators of socio-economic development in the municipality; 2) stimulation of entrepreneurial activity in municipal administration; 3) replacement of managerial staff (institution of city management).

Results of Assessing the Resources of Managerialism by the Expert Community
The role of managerialism in increasing the efficiency of municipal management is associated with three dispositional advantages of just such a way of organizing municipal management (in comparison with the mayor’s model). 1) Shift in the source of legitimacy from being elected by the population towards the actual appointment of the head of the regional government, which is more conforms to the mentality of a Russian official. 2) A city manager is elected by professionals and is himself/herself a professional that reduces the risk of “random people” appearing on the post of mayor. 3) Threat of dismissal due to non-fulfillment of contractual obligations that provides high level of motivation and achieving different quality of management. We offered our experts to evaluate these and some other advantages that prompted the federal center to change the management model of the municipal formation.
Table 1: Dispositional advantages of city managers over mayors elected by population (in units (any number of answers), N = 87)

| RESPONSE OPTIONS                                                                 | SOCIAL STATUS |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
|                                                                                  | Deputy Heads of Administration | Parliamentarians | Public experts |
| City manager is not a politician, he is focused on solving economic issues       | 15            | 0              | 10           |
| Inefficient city manager may be dismissed early                                  | 18            | 0              | 4            |
| City manager has no political commitment to the population and he is therefore able to make unpopular but necessary decisions | 10            | 0              | 4            |
| City manager is a professional elected by professionals, in contrast to a mayor, who can be promoted through populist election tactics. | 21            | 0              | 7            |
| City manager has no professional advantages over the mayor elected by municipal community | 4             | 12             | 17           |

Source: Search data.

The data in the table testifies to the inconsistency of the obtained results.

New institutional conditions were supported by the immediate environment of city managers, their immediate management circle, within which administrative activities are carried out and the results required from municipal management are provided. The greatest importance is attached to the belief in the professionalism of city managers, their focus on solving economic issues, dependence of their career on obtained results. The main complaint about the mayor’s model can be formulated as a lack of proper professionalism. In this regard, the heads of municipalities associate with the current management procedure qualitative changes that can be achieved through other principles of selection and placement of personnel. The main one is the principle of rationalism. According to the consolidated opinion of our informants, the highest positions in the municipal management system should be occupied by specially educated and selected professionals, first, capable of solving complex issues of economic development of territories. Thus, in opinion of employees of municipal administrations, the management potential of city manager is higher than that of mayor elected by population.

DISCUSSION

The discourse on state managerialism does not have a very long history. In the West, this concept has been studied since the late 1980s (OSBORN, GAEBLER, 1992; POLLITT, 1990; COLEMAN, 1982). In Russia request for an assessment of managerial practices of managerialism came to science a few years later. This is not surprising, because reforms of the corresponding direction began to be carried out a quarter of a century later. Therefore, when characterizing the discourse that has developed in management around managerialism, it is very important to understand that, to a large extent, Russian scientists make attempts not so much to develop new management theories reflecting unknown edges of managerialism, but to understand how these theories work in Russian conditions and what original peculiarities policy of “new state management” acquire in the Russian Federation. It is indicative that there are practically no special works in the subject of municipal management. There are separate researches on the area of managerial policy in the field of the implementation of municipal authority: analysis of performance indicators or the institutional basis of the functioning of city management. But, it should be noted that there is no holistic theory of application of managerialism in municipal management.

CONCLUSION

There has been developed a theoretical model, aimed at researching managerial tools to ensure the efficiency of municipal management. This model consists of two basic elements: methodological foundations and operationalization of concepts. The methodological platform is based on the J.S. Coleman’s (2001) rational choice theory, which, in our opinion, has the necessary potential to provide a researcher with cognitive resources to study the subject field declared in the title of the article fully. The core of the methodology is the idea of three forms of capital - physical, human and social, which, in the process of choosing the most rational
Alternative of social action, are transformed into set of resources used by the actor as a means to achieve the goal. The second element of the construct is the operationalization of concepts. After substantiating the methodological principles, we conducted operations with such concepts as "municipal management", "efficiency of municipal management", "state managerialism", "tools of state managerialism in municipal management". In the course of operationalization, an internal consistent connection was established between the concepts and all the necessary features of them that are relevant for structuring the subject of research were highlighted. The solution to this problem allowed us to formulate quantitatively measurable empirical indicators, which are necessary for development of sociological tools. The following formulations are proposed: 1) dependence of state funding on the growth of indicators of the socio-economic development of the municipality; 2) stimulation of entrepreneurial activity in municipal administration; 3) replacement of specialist managers with effective managers/replacement of managerial staff (city management institution).

The empirical research has confirmed that the managerial model has great potential for improving the efficiency of municipal management. What are the barriers and obstacles that hinder the realization of this potential remains to be learned in the process of further sociological research.

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Resumo
Estabelecer as oportunidades potenciais para o alcance de maior eficiência da gestão municipal na teoria e na prática do uso das ferramentas do gerencialismo estadual. Este artigo utiliza a teoria da escolha racional, que se baseia na ideia de três formas de capital: físico, humano e social. Essas formas são transformadas em um conjunto de recursos utilizados pelo ator para atingir o objetivo no processo de escolha da alternativa mais racional. A pesquisa empírica foi realizada para a aplicação prática do modelo teórico desenvolvido. Substancialmente, esta pesquisa se concentrará em aspectos das atividades de autogoverno, como trabalho para indicadores, gestão na forma de prestação de serviços, reestruturação de órgãos governamentais, eficácia da interação com ativistas cívicos e comunidades empresariais.

Palavras-chave: Gestão estatal. Gestão municipal. Eficiência da gestão municipal. Indicadores empíricos. Ferramentas gerenciais.

Abstract
To establish the potential opportunities to achieve more efficiency of municipal management in the theory and practice of using the tools of state managerialism. This article uses rational choice theory, which is based on the idea of three forms of capital: physical, human and social. These forms are transformed into a set of resources used by the actor to achieve the goal in the process of choosing the most rational alternative. There was the research and presentation of its results on the third empirical indicator. The empirical research was carried out for the practical use of the developed theoretical model. Substantively this research will focus on such aspects of the activities of self-governments as work for indicators, management in the form of service delivery, restructuring of government bodies, effectiveness of interaction with civic activists and business communities.

Keywords: State managerialism. Municipal management. Efficiency of municipal management. Empirical indicators. Managerial tools.

Resumen
Establecer las oportunidades potenciales para lograr una mayor eficiencia de la gestión municipal en la teoría y práctica del uso de las herramientas del gerencialismo estatal. Este artículo utiliza la teoría de la elección racional, que se basa en la idea de tres formas de capital: físico, humano y social. Estas formas se transforman en un conjunto de recursos que utiliza el actor para lograr la meta en el proceso de elección de la alternativa más racional. Se realizó la investigación y presentación de sus resultados sobre el tercer indicador empírico. La investigación empírica se realizó para el uso práctico del modelo teórico desarrollado. Básicamente, esta investigación se centrará en aspectos de las actividades de los autogobiernos como el trabajo por los indicadores, la gestión en forma de prestación de servicios, la reestructuración de los órganos gubernamentales, la eficacia de la interacción con los activistas cívicos y las comunidades empresariales.

Palabras-clave: Gerencialismo de Estado. Gestión municipal. Eficiencia de la gestión municipal. Indicadores empíricos. Herramientas de gestión.