

Does Citizens' Self-Identification of Their Public Role Affect Their Satisfaction with Public Services?*

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Abstract: This study investigates how citizens define their role qua citizen and how the public role they assign themselves matters in their assessment of satisfaction with public service performance. We compared survey respondents who identified their citizen role as customer (n=280), partner (n=353) or owner (n=467) to test this relation. Theoretically, the dominance of New Public Management (NPM) scholarship has resulted in the framing of citizens as simply customers, but our empirical study finds that citizens consider themselves more as partners or owners of government. This mismatch in conception was our research hypothesis for further research. We then ran a number of t-tests and carried out a MANOVA analysis, the results of which indicate that there is a significant difference between the customer and partner groups regarding expectations and satisfaction on the quality of their living area but not regarding performance. There is also evidence that shows that the role citizens assign to themselves is related to their public service expectations but that the connection between their view of their role and their assessment of performance is weak.

Keywords: citizen role, citizen satisfaction, expectation, public service performance

* The authors thank the three anonymous reviewers and the editor for their helpful comments. The draft of this paper was presented at the 2019 International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM) conference; New Researchers Panel, Wellington, New Zealand. This research is supported by National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2014S1A3A2044898).

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Manuscript received November 21, 2019; out for review November 21, 2019; review completed January 30, 2020; accepted February 3, 2020.

Korean Journal of Policy Studies, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2020), pp. 75-100.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that citizens are at the heart of public administration theories, managerial approaches often neglect the importance of citizens' views (e.g., Bozeman, 2019). One of main reason for this is that the set of New Public Management (NPM) methods developed to ensure the productivity of an organization directly targets public managers, aiming to change their behavior, not that of citizens (Kettl, 2006). NPM's primary goal is how to make government more competitive based on experiences drawn from the private sector using market strategies (Olsen, 2004). Consequently, NPM scholarship's main interest has been to understand what citizens want and how to use citizens' preferences as information to help government perform better. Seen from this point of view, citizens are nothing more than managerially identified subjects. However, as the administrative paradigm has begun to shift from a management to governance approach, it has become apparent that it is necessary to address the role of citizens and their relation to the government (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005).

Indeed, research on citizen participation has attempted to fill the gap in the NPM literature by arguing for the importance of citizenship (Lowndes, Pratchett, & Stoker, 2001; Nabatchi, 2010). This approach, however, to citizen roles, is largely focused on how to strengthen civil society by fostering collaborative, democratic citizenship and the ability of citizens to voice their individual and collective views on public issues (Delli Carpini, Cook, & Jacobs, 2004). Moreover, although the role of citizens has been discussed in government-citizen relationships studies, this discussion is limited to theoretical debates regarding the government's perspective on this topic. This study thus begins by criticizing this focus on the theoretical role of citizens. The purpose of this study is to understand how citizens identify their public role as well as how their understanding of their role affects their evaluation of public services. The limitation of current studies comes from the fact that scholars and theories define the role of citizen for their research purposes. The unique aspect of our research is that we directly asked citizens to define their role in relation to their city government.

Government occasionally overlooks the fact that there are numerous different types of citizens who often have conflicting views about different issues (Alford & Hughes, 2008). Scholars, moreover, have tended to over reduce the role of the citizen to that of voter, client, or customer. Not only is that reductive, but it also implies that there is a clear separation between these roles, which is questionable (Judge, Stoker, & Wolman, 1995).

Despite the difficulties in ascertaining citizens' perceptions of their role, it is

important to explore the subject because their views about their role can be associated with their evaluation of public services. The determinant of negative evaluations of government performance is not citizens' attitude toward government but to their unconscious biases (Marvel, 2015). Unfortunately, not many public service evaluation studies have considered the citizens' perception of their role as an unconscious factor. Using existing survey data on how citizens in Seoul view their role, we attempted to test our hypothesis that how citizens see their role is associated with their public service evaluation.

The study is organized as follows. First, we review the literature on citizenship and show how the conception of citizen as customer, citizen as partner, and citizen as owner are theoretically different. Then, in the following section, only using samples from respondents who identified as either a customer or partner, we explore how differences in citizens' perception of their role affect their evaluation of public service. Although we used existing survey data rather than our own, we believe that our exploration of the role of citizen from citizen's perspective will contribute to the literature because the empirical evidence suggests why the role citizens assign to themselves matters in their public service performance evaluations and in their satisfaction with these services. The article concludes with a summary of our findings and a discussion of its limitations.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW: THE ROLE OF CITIZEN AND THEIR EVALUATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES PERFORMANCE

Traditionally, "citizen" referred simply to a person who lived within the boundaries of a geographically defined area and who was a member of a political community with rights and responsibilities in respect of that community (Judge, Stoker, & Wolman, 1995). In public administration research, by contrast, citizens are defined as the main beneficiary of public services and as clients requiring assistance (Merton, 1940). Since then, various metaphors to describe the role of citizens have been proposed.

Identifying Citizens' Role in Government and Governance

In the last few decades, since the wave of public administration reform in the 1990s, NPM scholarship has formulated and developed a set of strategies for a managerial reform of government. NPM's proposed a marriage of "the new institu-

tional economics movement and business-type ‘managerialism’ in the public sector” (Hood, 1991), and so several new concepts that emphasized the value of efficiency and accountability such as performance management, competition, and the need to offer quality and choice to citizens were introduced as means to ensure the better provision of public services (Lindberg, Czarniawska, & Solli, 2015).

Market-type ideas such as that “government should be run like a business” gave rise to an idea of public administration as “cheaper, more efficient, and more responsive to its ‘customers’” (Pollitt & Dan, 2011). Under NPM, citizens are conceptualized as customers, and customer satisfaction is regarded as a superior value (Carroll, 1995). On this approach, government plays the role of manager and the citizen plays the role of a serviced customer, government is called on to better respond to the needs of citizens. In this model, citizens are “consumer-responsive” end users.

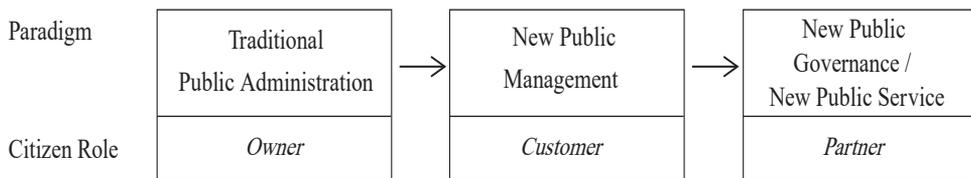
Since the early 1990s, the “reinventing government” movement in the United States and NPM approaches in the world have pushed the idea that if governments treat citizens as customers as businesses in the private sector do, then citizens will be satisfied. In order to maximize citizen satisfaction, governments tried to reform themselves rather than seeking to understand citizens better (Stoker, 2006). In this model, citizens were reduced to consumers.

In the early 2000s, criticisms of this government-centered approach became widespread and the term “governance” became immensely popular. Governance is meant to be a wider, more inclusive concept than government (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). Collaboration, networking, and public participation are stressed in the governance framework, and various forms of coproduction with other agencies and with citizens themselves through partnerships and community involvement are highlighted (Dwyer, 1998; Barnes & Prior, 2000; Balloch & Taylor, 2001; Glendinning, & Powell, 2002; Newman et al, 2004).

New Public Governance scholarship claims that the NPM constrained public administration discourse to an organizational managerial perspective, and that there needed to be a transitory stage from NPM in the evolution toward a governance paradigm (Osborne, 2010). As NPM approaches were frequently accompanied by lower willingness to share, participate, collaborate, and partner with citizens (Vigoda, 2002), the criticism of it made the idea of coproduction briefly popular in US back in 1980s (Ostrom et al. 1978; Whitaker, 1980; Brudney & England, 1983); however, in recent years, it has been more of interest in Europe. Coproduction occurs when governments partner with nongovernmental entities, including members of the public, to jointly produce services that governments previously produced on their own (Thomas, 2013).

New Public Service similarly refers to a framework of thinking value creation through interactions between customers and service providers (e.g., government). On this approach, coproduction refers to interactions pertaining to the design, management, delivery and/or evaluation of public services that citizens voluntarily participate in (Osborne, Radnor, & Strokosch, 2016). New Public Governance also values the active collaboration of citizens, maintain that government should organize the training and coordination of voluntary citizen activities and elucidate citizen responsibilities by helping citizens to actively participate in the governing over assets and services in their communities, and to socialize others regarding the value of shared responsibility (Dougherty & Easton, 2011). Figure 1 summarizes the outlook of traditional, NPM, and governance/service models of the role of citizens.

Figure 1. Public Management Paradigm Shift



The service paradigm only takes interactions between customers and service providers (e.g., government) into account, but it is more critical to the concept of coproduction, since it requires interactions at all levels of the public service delivery process (Osborne, Radnor, & Strokosch, 2016). New Public Service scholarship maintains that ownership of the government belongs to its citizens (Cooper, 1991; Thomas, 1995; Box, 1998; King, Feltey & O’Neill, 1998), while NPM overwhelmingly emphasizes a vision of public managers as steerers, neglecting their value as servers (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). On the service view, citizens are not the customers of government but are its owners, and their job is to elect leaders that will represent their interests (Frederickson, 1994). Schachter (1995) points out that under new conceptions of governance, citizens had a more expansive public role and had more of an opportunity to decide the government’s agenda than was traditionally the case (Bruere, 1912) or than under NPM, which relegated citizens to a passive role limited to their liking or disliking services. Public value management rests on the idea that citizens require more than that which is afforded by the simple act of voting. Accountability, therefore, comes through more extended citizen involvement.

The Debate over the Role of Citizens

Traditional public administration views citizens as voters, clients, or constituents, NPM sees citizens as customers, and the New Public Service regards citizens as problem solvers and co-creators actively engaged in producing what the public values and what is good for the public (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014). While efficiency is the main concern of traditional public administration, and efficiency and effectiveness are the main concerns of NPM, values beyond efficiency and effectiveness are pursued, debated, challenged, and evaluated in the emerging approach.

Frederickson (1991) distinguishes five ways of understanding the public: as interest groups (the pluralist perspective), as consumers (the public choice perspective), as the represented (the legislative perspective), as clients (the service-providing perspective), and as citizens. Sometimes these roles complement each other, but sometimes they can come into conflict with each other. Moreover, sometimes citizens play these roles as individuals, but other times they do so in close collaboration with others, that is, in informal groups or in voluntary organizations (Pestoff, 2012).

Callahan (2007) outlines seven kinds of relationships between citizens and administrators and argues that the roles, relationships, and dynamics between citizens and administrators have changed over the years and these changes typically reflect the values embodied in reform movements and public opinion about the appropriate role of government. Citizen as voter is a traditional role under representative democracy through which citizens voice their opinion through the ballot box. Citizen as client reflects traditional public administration where the administrators as the experts and citizens are dependent on decisions made by the bureaucracy. Citizen as customer sums up the NPM model that favors a private sector, customer-centered approach. Citizen as citizen reflects the new public service in which the administrators serve and empower citizens as they manage public organizations and implement public policy. Citizen as coproducer captures the ideal of coproduction and collaboration where citizens and administrators work with one another to solve problems and get things done. Citizen as investor speaks to a value-centered management in which citizens are perceived as investors and shareholders in the public trust and public administrators act as the broker, responsibly investing, on behalf of the shareholders, to maximize the return for the community and individual investors. Citizen as owner reflects the ownership model, where citizens are in control and public administrators comply and abide by the owners' decisions. Table 1 summarizes Callahan's model.

Table 1. Citizen Role and Administrative Role

Citizen Role	Administrative Role	Managerial Approach	Dynamic/Interaction	Key Source
voter	implementer	representative	trust/voting	
client	expert	neutral competence	control/ compliance	Roberts, 2004
customer	professional	responsive	passive/ consultative	Callahan & Yang, 2005
citizen	public servant	facilitative	engaged/ deliberative	Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000
coproducer	coproducer	collaborative	active/ partnership	Roberts, 2004 Vigoda, 2002
investor	broker	communal	cooperative/ coinvesting	Smith & Huntsman, 1997
owner	employee	compliance	conflict/citizen control	Schacter, 1997

Modified from Callahan (2007)

The Mechanism of Citizen Satisfaction

The chain link of expectation-perception-performance in satisfaction studies is grounded in the expectancy disconfirmation model, defined by Oliver (1977). The basic idea is that satisfaction is closely linked to consumers' perceptions of whether experiences with a product or service positively or negatively disconfirm their pre-purchase expectations (Anderson 1973; Oliver, 1980; 1997). In other words, in a public administration setting, the expectancy disconfirmation approach suggests "the possibility that high satisfaction could involve low expectations rather than simply well-performing public services, and low satisfaction could involve not simply poorly performing services but high expectation" (James, 2007). This body of research clearly identifies expectations and perceived quality as constructs separate from service satisfaction and recognizes these as two key antecedents of satisfaction (Johnson & Fornell 1991; Anderson & Sullivan, 1993). We hypothesize that the role citizens assign to themselves is related to their public service expectations.

DATA AND METHOD

Data Set: Procedures and Sample Selection

The study used existing survey data samples from 2012¹ regarding how Seoul citizens perceive their role. The researchers carrying out the survey used two data-collection techniques: online survey and face-to-face structured interviews. The online survey was conducted between June 13-21, 2012 by an online survey research firm recruited through Macromill Embrain, one of the largest research firms in South Korea that keeps a panel of more than one million individuals. Although the survey dates to 2012, we assume it is still valid, since citizens' perception of their role does not change easily or radically. Policy making, public opinions, perceptions, and attitudes are rooted rather deeply and are stable over time (Van Oorschot, 2006). Furthermore, moralistic values are slow to change and can result from generations of value normalization processes (Inglehart, 2000). A questionnaire was e-mailed to the research firm's preexisting 21,419 panel group. A secondary survey research firm, Research Lab, conducted the structured interview; interviewers visited homes of respondents for these. The purpose of the structural interview was to obtain a sufficient sample from individuals over the age of 60. Over 4,000 individuals from Macromill Embrain's panel that lived in Seoul were randomly selected to participate in the 2012 survey, and from this sample, we strategically selected sample of 1,100 respondents between the ages of 18 to 79 who lived in Seoul across 24 jurisdictions to proportionally represent the population of Seoul on parameters of age, income, location (administrative jurisdiction), and gender. Table 2 reports the descriptive statistics for the sample.

Table 2. Demographic Profile of Respondents

		Percentages (Number) <i>n</i> = 1,100
Gender	male	49% (542)
	female	51% (558)
Homeownership	owner	59% (651)
	renter	41% (449)

1. The survey was designed by the Center for Government Competitiveness at Seoul National University with Professor Tobin Im and his researchers.

Age	20s	21% (232)
	30-40s	43% (469)
	50-60s	28% (311)
	70s	8% (88)
Education	below high school	30% (329)
	above College	70% (771)
Income	under ₩2.5 million per month	23% (252)
	₩2.5 million-₩ 5 million per month	43% (469)
	above ₩5 million per month	34% (378)

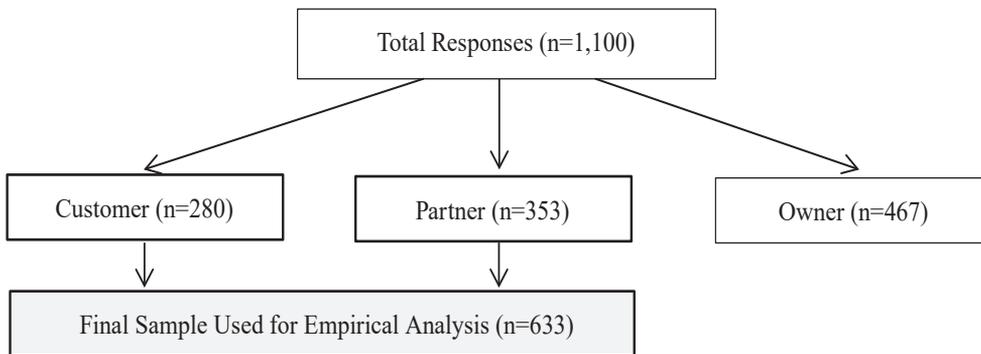
Independent Variable: Subgroups

The study was a between-subjects design, as outlined in figure 2. In order to explore how citizens interpreted their role in a relation to government, we simply asked respondents how they defined their relationship with the Seoul Metropolitan government.

We regrouped the 1,100 randomly selected samples by respondents' choice among three options: customer, (strategic) partner, or owner. For the statistical description, we compared all three groups. However, for the empirical analysis, we only compared the customer and partner groups. The reasons we did so were that first, unlike "customer" and "partner," "owner" is a term whose meaning is ambiguous. Respondents may have chosen owner because they recognize themselves as "owners of the government" who are proactive as "shareholders" in managing the scope of government and its services (Frederickson, 1992; Schachter, 1995). On the other hand, respondents may have chosen owner for traditional democratic reasons. The democratic value of ownership is associated with traditional forms of representative government that seek change social, economic, and cultural conditions of societies through electoral participation (Cain, Dalton, & Scarrow, 2003). Unfortunately, since we were using existing survey data, we were unable to provide a framework for respondents to use to interpret the term "owner." Therefore, we decided to compare customer and partner groups only. Second, one of our goals in this study is to question theories that define the role of citizens in only one way and to show that different citizens see their role in relation to government in different ways. We also aim to demonstrate that these different views of the role of citizens may influence public service implementation and citizens' evaluation of these ser-

VICES. Simply comparing customers and partners is a more effective way to make our argument.

Figure 2. Respondents by Group



Dependent Variable

Our research design covers three sets of dependent variables: expectation, performance, and satisfaction. Citizen satisfaction is collective perception that is made up of expectation and perceived performance (Van Ryzin, 2004; James, 2007), and in this study, we relied on questions in the existing survey data related to expectations pertaining to city services, the performance of various urban public services, and satisfaction with the condition of one's living area and with the mayor and city council.

For question wording, we referenced Gregg Van Ryzin's 2005 study, which tested the expectancy disconfirmation model of citizen satisfaction with local government using the Survey of Satisfaction with New York City Services survey, whose questions start with "Again think back a few years."² We picked questions from the survey questionnaire that we drew samples from that were similar; in the case of our data, the questions specifically state the time frame by starting with "First, thinking back two years." The exact wording of the question in the survey is "First,

2. The Survey of Satisfaction with New York City Services is a joint project of the New York City Council and the Baruch College School of Public Affairs. Each year, the survey is conducted with 2,000 adult residents of the five boroughs of New York City by telephone. Questions in the survey are based in broad outline on the model of citizen survey developed by the ICMA and the Urban Institute with Harry Hatry and his colleagues in 1992 (Van Ryzin & Immerwahr, 2004).

thinking back two years, how would you rate your expectation of the overall quality of Seoul Metropolitan government services back then?” Respondents gave answers on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (“my expectations were very low”) to 7 (“my expectation were very high”). They were asked to rate the current performance of city services such air quality control, automobile traffic control, culture, education, parks, public transportation, condition of roads, safety, and sanitation compared to their expectation two years before. On this 7-point Likert scale, response options ranged from -3 (“below my expectation”) to 0 (“almost same as

Table 3. Dependent Variable Dimension, Question Wording, and Scales

Dimension	Variable	Question Wording	
Expectation	Expectation	First, thinking back two years, how would you rate your expectations back then of the overall quality of Seoul Metropolitan government services? 1 = my expectations were very low, 7 = my expectations were very high	
Performance	Perceived Performance	Now, thinking about today, how would you rate each of the following services currently provided by Seoul Metropolitan government? -3 = below my expectations, 0 = almost same as my expectations, 3 = exceeded my expectations (then translated into a 1-7 scale)	
		air quality control	reduced air quality
		automobile traffic control	ease of car travel in the city
		culture	quality of libraries, galleries, sports facilities
		education	quality of public education
		parks	park and green space maintenance
		public transportation	public transportation access
		condition of roads	construction and maintenance of roads
		safety	public safety and disaster preparation
		sanitation	clean water access
Satisfaction	Overall Quality	How satisfied are you with the overall maintained quality of your living area? 1 = very dissatisfied, 5 = very satisfied	
	Political Performance	mayor	How satisfied are you with the performance of the mayor? 1 = very dissatisfied, 5 = very satisfied
		city council	How satisfied are you with the performance of the city council? 1 = very dissatisfied, 5 = very satisfied

my expectation”) to 3 (“exceeded my expectation”). Then, we adjusted this scale to plot it on measure from 1 to 7. Cronbach’s alpha for the 9-city services scale was 0.941. For the satisfaction dimension, we used the overall maintenance of the living area and the performance of the mayor and city council items to suit the purposes of our study. These questions were posed with a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (“very dissatisfied”) to 5 (“very satisfied”). Table 4 reports the dependent variable dimensions, question wording, and scales. Cronbach’s alpha for the mayor and city council performance item scale was 0.82.

We used these subsample groups and dependent variables to answer a series of questions. The first is how citizens recognize their role in a relation to city government and whether there was any meaningful sociodemographic differences between customer, partner, and owner groups. To explore this question, we reviewed all three groups together. We used descriptive statistics to account for demographic characteristics. We used both sociodemographic factors and social norms and attitudes toward society as control variables. The second question is whether there is any meaningful difference between the customer and partner group with respect to each of the dependent variables. We conducted a few multiple t-tests and used a MANOVA analysis to answer this question. In a MANOVA analysis, there is at least one independent variable with two or more levels and at least two development variables. MANOVA is an ANOVA with several dependent variables; it is preferable to run a MANOVA analysis rather than a series of ANOVA analyses because multiple ANOVAs can cause a type 1 error due to inflation and also because ANOVA ignores intercorrelation among dependent variables (Dattalo, 2013). Then, we ran a multivariate regression analysis to test our hypothesis.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Descriptive Statistics: Citizens’ Identification of Their Role

Table 4 reports on the characteristics of the sample of Seoul citizens and how they identified their role. Overall, Seoul citizens see themselves as partners or owners rather than customers. 43% of respondents described themselves as owners in a relation to the Seoul Metropolitan government. Interestingly, only 25% of respondents think of themselves as customers. Second, the partner group’s sociodemographic structure is relatively different from that of the customer and owner group with respect to gender and age. Within the partner group, more women consider the government as a partner (male=42%, female=58%) than men, but the opposite

result obtains in owner group (male=54%, female 46%).

It is worth noting that the least number of respondents identified themselves as customers. The 1997 Korean financial crisis and economy recession made Koreans aware of the inefficiencies in public services. The Kim Dae-Jung administration undertook a number of New Public Management (NPM) reforms after the crisis that emphasized competition, a results-oriented approach in the public sector, with the aim of establishing a small and efficient but better-serving government (Park & Joo, 2010). The Korean government even created a customer's charter modeled on the private sector's old adage that "the customer is the king" (Im, 2003). However, 20 years later, citizens still see themselves as owners or partners rather than customers.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics: Customer, Partner, and Owner

		Customer	Partner	Owner	Total n = 1,100
		25% (280)	32% (353)	43% (467)	
Gender	male	50% (140)	42% (150)	54% (252)	49% (542)
	female	50% (140)	58% (203)	46% (215)	51% (558)
Homeownership	owner	54% (152)	63% (222)	59% (277)	59% (651)
	renter	46% (128)	37% (131)	41% (190)	41% (449)
Age	20s	29% (81)	18% (64)	19% (87)	21% (232)
	30-40s	35% (99)	38% (135)	50% (235)	43% (469)
	50-60s	26% (72)	33% (115)	27% (124)	28% (311)
	70s	10% (28)	11% (39)	4% (21)	8% (88)
Education	below high school	35% (98)	37% (129)	22% (102)	30% (329)
	above college	65% (182)	63% (353)	78% (362)	70% (771)
Income	under ₩2.5 million per month	28% (78)	26% (92)	18% (82)	23% (252)
	₩2.5 million-5 million per month	44% (124)	39% (137)	45% (208)	43% (469)
	above ₩5 million per month	28% (78)	35% (124)	38% (177)	34% (378)

Citizens' Norms and Societal Attitudes by Groups

Citizens' role perceptions may depend on their societal attitudes (Berman, 1997). To explore this possibility, we asked each group which of two outlooks regarding social norms, the reward system, and democracy would improve our

society. Table 5 reports that the customer, partner, and owner groups chose similar outlooks in each case. This could offer evidence that with respect to the role they assign to themselves, their norms and attitudes are controlled.

In all groups, views on social development were similar. In general, Seoul citizens do not see social norms and public values as fixed but as changing (fixed value=29%, changing value=71%) over time. The difference was greater in the owner group (fixed value=26%, changing value=74%). With respect to the reward system, respondents in all groups reported that society can be improved if people are rewarded according to their performance. Slightly more people from owner group (40%) responded that society can be improved when people are rewarded based on their needs, but the difference with other groups was minimal. Seoul citizens value performance more. In terms of views on democracy, citizens responded that they would choose democracy over a robust economy if they had to make a choice, but the difference was not large. There were no significant differences between customers, partners and owners with respect to responses regarding the improvement of society. In sum, Seoul citizens see social norms and values as changing, believe that the reward system should be based on performance, and that democracy is more important than the economy when it comes to improving society.

Table 5. Citizens' Societal Attitudes

Q: Which scenario option can improve our society? (Choose Scenario 1 or 2)		Customer n = 280	Partner n = 353	Owner n = 467	Total n = 1,100
Views on Social Norms					
Scenario 1	when people follow existing social norms and values	35% (98)	29% (101)	26% (122)	29% (321)
Scenario 2	when people adapt their social norms and values to changing circumstances	65% (182)	71% (252)	74% (355)	71% (779)
Views on Reward System					
Scenario 1	when people are rewarded according to their performance	61% (171)	63% (222)	60% (281)	61% (674)
Scenario 2	when people are rewarded based on their needs	39% (109)	37% (131)	40% (186)	39% (426)
Views on Democracy					
Scenario 1	when society pursues economy first and democracy second	48% (136)	41% (146)	38% (180)	42% (462)
Scenario 2	when society pursues democracy first and economy second	52% (144)	59% (207)	62% (287)	58% (638)

t-Test and MANOVA: Role Recognition Difference

Table 6 shows the descriptive, t-Test and MANOVA results comparing the customer and partner groups. Since sample size of each group was different, we tested the assumption of equal variances using Levene's test in advance. This test found that the assumption of homogeneity was met for each dependent variable (for expectation, P = 0.209, for perceived performance, P = 0.358, for satisfaction with quality of living area, P = 0.115, and for satisfaction with political performance satisfaction, P = 0.325). We then conducted an independent sample t-test, based on equal variances, comparing the mean of the customer and partner group. It is clear that there are significant differences between the two groups regarding expectation (t(-3.19), p<0.001) and satisfaction with the overall quality of the living area (t(-2.42), p<0.016). The MANOVA test results were similar to t-test results. There were no significant differences regarding perceived performance of public services and satisfaction with political performance. The partner group reported a significantly higher total mean score on all dependent variables than the customer group.

Table 6. Summary of Independent t-Test and MANOVA with respect to Expectation, Performance, and Satisfaction

	Group Means		t-Test			MANOVA		Levene's Test	
	Customer (n=280)	Partner (n=353)	T	df	Sig.	F	P	F	Sig
Expectation	4.1143	4.4419	-3.19	631	0.001***	10.1955	0.0015***	1.581	0.209
	(1.3551)	(1.2213)							
Perceived Performance	4.0763	4.1190	-0.6	631	0.55	0.3629	0.5471	0.848	0.358
	(0.8713)	(0.8948)							
Satisfaction-Overall Quality of Living Area	2.6179	2.7365	-2.42	631	0.016**	3.2231	0.0731*	2.485	0.115
	(0.8963)	(0.7659)							
Satisfaction-Mayor and City Council Performance	2.9446	3.0000	-0.81	631	0.42	0.6488	0.4209	0.971	0.325
	(0.88)	(0.84)							
Multivariate Tests									
Pillai's Trace		0.02							
Wilks' Lambda		0.98							
Hotteling-Lawley Trace		0.02							

Regression: Interaction Terms of Citizen Role and Expectation

Table 7 displays the results of six ordinary least squares regressions for three dependent variables. Models 1, 3, and 5 report the direct results of citizens' identified role and expectation factors with respect to perceived performance, living area satisfaction, and satisfaction with the performance of the mayor and city council. The results were mixed. In model 1, neither the role citizens identified for themselves nor expectation was statistically significant with respect to perceived performance. In model 3, citizens' role is positive and statistically significant when it comes to living area satisfaction ($p < 0.05$). In model 5, citizens' role is insignificant but expectation was negative and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Models 2, 4, and 6 included interactions between citizens' role and expectation variables in their effects on perceived performance, living area satisfaction, and satisfaction with the performance of the mayor and city council. The interaction term of citizens' role and expectation was statistically insignificant in models 2 and 6. However, the same interaction term was negative and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) in model 4. Based on adjusted R^2 values, models 3 and 4 explain roughly 10% of the variance in the dependent variable, while adjusted R^2 values of models 1, 2, 5, and 6 are below 5%. Each model was controlled for respondents' age, gender, home ownership status, income level, and which jurisdiction area they lived in. Age was only strong significant predictor for all six models.

It is interesting that the expectation factor was positive and statistically significant when it interacted with the roles citizens assigned themselves (model 4). This implies that their self-identified role as customer or partner may not be significant in their assessment of performance and satisfaction, but it may influence their expectations about public service. We address this point more fully in the next section.

Table 7. Ordinary Least Square Regression Result

Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	Dependent Variable= Perceived Performance			Dependent Variable= Satisfaction (Living Area)			Dependent Variable= Satisfaction (Mayor and Council)			Dependent Variable= Satisfaction (Mayor and Council)			Dependent Variable= Satisfaction (Mayor and Council)			Dependent Variable= Satisfaction (Mayor and Council)		
	β	t		β	t		β	t		β	t		β	t		β	t	
Age	0.118	5.46***		0.119	5.470***		0.152	7.52***		0.152	7.560***		0.042	1.95 *		0.042	1.96**	
Gender	-0.033	-0.480		-0.031	-0.450		0.031	0.490		0.035	0.540		0.033	0.480		0.035	0.520	
Home Ownership	0.022	0.280		0.020	0.270		0.050	0.730		0.046	0.680		0.037	0.510		0.034	0.470	
Income	0.003	0.250		0.003	0.300		0.008	0.800		0.008	0.890		-0.003	-0.250		-0.002	-0.200	
Jurisdiction	0.007	1.310		0.006	1.260		0.008	1.580		0.007	1.510		0.005	0.930		0.005	0.880	
Citizen Role	0.011	0.150		0.320	1.330		0.117	1.78 **		0.574	2.580**		0.069	0.980		0.372	1.560	
Expectation	0.019	0.660		0.055	1.410		0.028	1.080		0.083	2.270**		-0.067	-2.390**		-0.031	-0.800	
Citizen Role x Expectation				-0.072	-1.350					-0.107	-2.150**					-0.071	-1.330	
_cons	3.456	16.37***		3.281	12.220***		2.009	11.61 ***		1.749	7.840***		2.974	16.12***		2.824	13.09***	
R ²	0.058			0.061			0.113			0.119			0.015			0.018		
adj-R ²	0.047			0.049			0.103			0.108			0.004			0.006		
F-value	5.48***			5.03***			11.35***			10.57***			1.44			1.39		
obs	633			633			633			633			633			633		

Note. * p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.01.

DISCUSSION: IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

While public administration theories have extensively discussed the role of government, the role of citizens has been a secondary consideration. This study was thus instigated by two questions. How do citizens think about their role? And does their self-identified role affect their satisfaction with public services? NPM scholarship is guided by the assumption that the citizen is a customer. Many governments have set reform agendas based on this conception. Indeed, citizens' role identification is complicated since citizens' perceptions can be influenced by their moral ideals and public services consumption behavior (Wichowsky & Moynihan, 2008). We view their role identification as citizens' attributes that are similar to sociodemographic factors that may affect perceptions as well as evaluations of service performance (Percy, 1986).

Our research shows the interesting finding that among customer, partner, and owner choices, the least number of citizens identified their role as customer. This result supports the idea that Anglo-American-style NPM reform cannot be a one-size-fits-all solution (Ho, De Jong, & Zhao, 2019), especially in East Asian culture. Many previous studies have raised the issue of Confucian culture in the expansion of the NPM doctrines in the East Asian context (Im, 2014; Park & Lunt, 2018; Park & Joo, 2010; Boo, 2010). The second interesting result is that there is a significant difference between the customer and partner groups regarding expectations and satisfaction with respect to the quality of maintained living area but not regarding performance. This suggests that citizens' self-identified role is significantly related to their public service expectations but weakly related with performance. Similarly, Salvador Parrado, Van Ryzin, Tony Bolvaird and Elke Löffler (2013) have found that citizens' belief that they can make a difference is negatively related with performance.

Furthermore, our regression results with interaction terms show that the partner group has higher expectations when it comes to government service than the customer group. Through direct participation experience in politics, citizens learn to recognize the public interest and increase their self-efficacy in connection with government and community (Fledderus, Brandsen, & Honingh 2014; Pateman, 1970). Individuals who have more control over their decisions are less vulnerable to risks and have a more positive outlook (Judge, Locke, Durham, & Kluger, 1998). On the customer model, citizens have less control, since they are recipients of services. Internal managerial reform is needed to ensure customer satisfaction, while the citizen in the partner group has to be involved if he or she is to be satisfied.

One possible limitation of our study is that we relied on data collected in 2012. However, the fact that the researchers conducted both an online survey and face-to-face structured interviews intended to ensure that all age groups were represented makes the data stronger, compensating for its not being up-to-date. In addition, the stratified sampling technique that selected respondents on parameters of age, income, location of residence, and gender. Since the data was collected from all age groups from the 20s to the 80s, helps make the sample more robust, since the results are not confined to a specific age group, such as the millennial generation, which might more liberal views. Last, in the ordinary least squares regressions, age and other variables were controlled to address generational differences in perceptions. We also assume the data is still valid because there is no evidence to suggest that citizens' perceptions regarding their role change radically over time.

The benefit of our study is that it empirically identifies the citizens' perceptions about their role and provides empirical evidence that can be used to develop policy. A better understanding of correlates, mediators, and moderators of citizens' roles and satisfaction is needed in order to identify policy intervention that can increase citizen satisfaction. Practitioners should take the results of this study into consideration when they are planning strategies for reforming customer-oriented public services.

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Appendix 1. Dependent Variable

Dependent Variable	Items	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha	Scale
Expectation		1100	4.22	1.32	0.941	1 to 7
Perceived Performance	Air Quality	1100	3.78	1.21		
	Car Transit	1100	3.68	1.26		
	Culture	1100	4.25	1.22		
	Education	1100	3.98	1.4		
	Parks	1100	4.36	1.19		
	Public Transportation	1100	4.34	1.26		
	Roads	1100	4.13	1.2		
	Safety	1100	3.93	1.23		
Sanitation	1100	4.23	1.11			
Overall Quality		1100	2.95	0.86		
Political Performance	Mayor	1100	3.13	1.02	0.82	1 to 5
	City Council	1100	2.79	0.92		

Appendix 2. Further Interaction Effect Modeling and Result

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
DV	Perceived Performance	Perceived Performance	Overall Satisfaction	Overall Satisfaction	Overall Satisfaction	Overall Satisfaction
IV	residual resistance coefficient	residual resistance coefficient * expectation	residual resistance coefficient	residual resistance coefficient * expectation	residual resistance coefficient* performance	residual resistance coefficient * performance & residual resistance coefficient * performance
CV	age, gender, home ownership, income, and jurisdiction					

DV=Dependent Variable, IV=Independent Variable, CV=Control Variable

Appendix 2. (continued)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	β	T	β	t	β	t	β	t	β	t	β	t
	Dependent Variable= Perceived Performance											
Age	0.123	(5.940)**	0.119	(5.470)**	0.158	8.240**	0.152	7.560**	0.116	6.280**	0.112	5.810**
Gender	-0.035	(-0.510)	-0.031	(-0.450)	0.029	0.440	0.035	0.540	0.045	0.740	0.048	0.810
Home Ownership	0.020	(0.280)	0.020	(0.270)	0.046	0.690	0.046	0.680	0.038	0.600	0.038	0.600
Income	0.002	(0.220)	0.003	(0.300)	0.007	0.760	0.008	0.890	0.007	0.800	0.008	0.890
Jurisdiction	0.007	(1.320)	0.006	(1.260)	0.008	1.590	0.007	1.510	0.005	1.190	0.005	1.130
Citizen Role (A)	0.015	(0.220)	0.320	(1.330)	0.124	1.900**	0.574	2.580**	0.500	1.750*	0.765	2.290**
Expectation			0.055	(1.410)			0.083	2.270**			0.060	1.750*
Performance (A)*			-0.072	-1.350			-0.107	-2.150**	0.394	7.510**	-0.077	-1.650*
Performance (A)*									-0.093	-1.360	-0.078	-1.140
_cons	3.485	(14.250)**	3.281	12.220**	1.953	9.900**	1.749	7.840**	0.654	2.500**	0.465	1.650*
R ²	0.057		0.061		0.111		0.119		0.232		0.236	
adj-R ²	0.048		0.049		0.103		0.108		0.222		0.224	
Observations	633		633		633		633		633		633	

Appendix 3. Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Q9_group	1									
2 Q4_expect	0.1261	1								
3 Perfor	0.024	0.0976	1							
4 Q5_2	0.0958	0.1429	0.4119	1						
5 sat34	0.032	-0.0712	0.4417	0.3399	1					
6 Q2_age	0.0989	0.3148	0.2322	0.3182	0.054	1				
7 Q1_gender	0.0748	-0.0218	-0.0133	0.0291	0.0273	0.0189	1			
8 owner	-0.0707	-0.0557	-0.0026	-0.0018	0.0234	-0.0548	-0.0169	1		
9 income	-0.0412	-0.0364	0.0051	0.0165	-0.0132	-0.0305	-0.0299	-0.2782	1	
10 area	-0.0957	-0.0028	0.0535	0.0612	0.0349	0.0073	0.0384	0.0342	0.1128	1