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Conference Paper Portuguese public services: past experiences and new trends in management

54th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "Regional development & globalisation: Best practices", 26-29 August 2014, St. Petersburg, Russia

Provided in Cooperation with:

European Regional Science Association (ERSA)

Suggested Citation: Tomé, Ricardo; TEIXEIRA, José (2014) : Portuguese public services: past experiences and new trends in management, 54th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "Regional development & globalisation: Best practices", 26-29 August 2014, St. Petersburg, Russia, European Regional Science Association (ERSA), Louvain-la-Neuve

This Version is available at: https://hdl.handle.net/10419/124533

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PORTUGUESE PUBLIC SERVICES: PAST EXPERIENCES AND NEW TRENDS IN MANAGEMENT

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Abstract - In modern societies, the pace of change is increasing and new needs are emerging in the supply and demand of public services. These dynamics have moved, from a bureaucratic and closed management model to a more open, diversified, participatory and simplified one. The recent economic and financial crisis has further shaped the supply and demand of public services, leading to a spatial reorganisation of the public services network and increasing the importance of innovation in the provision of public services. In a context where public policies face new and more complex challenges, we show that territory assumes a critical role.

Keywords – Portuguese public services; Portuguese administrative reform; spatial public services reorganisation; innovation of public services.

1. Introduction

With the recent global economic and financial crisis, governments throughout Europe have been closing, concentrating, restructuring and privatising some public services. At the same time, the number of services available in electronic platforms (e.g., Internet or smartphone) has been increasing at a fast pace. Nowadays, the need for structural reform and territorial reorganization of public services is well-known in many European countries (Maroto and Rubalcaba, 2008), and not least in Portugal The nature and the scope of these reforms depend on several factors related to the supply and demand dynamics, but also to the political, social and territorial context.

Some European countries have already made deep changes. In September 2013, Netherlands proclaimed the end of the so-called *Welfare State* (as we know it today in most European countries) and welcomed the beginning of a *Participation Society*. In this model, the people

must take the responsibility for their own future (including their own social and financial safety nets), with less support provided by the State.

In Portugal, the public administration reform and the modernization of the public sector was hotly debated over the last five years, mainly during the Troika adjustment program. However, little progress has been made. Indeed, the restructuration of the public service networks focused only in the reduction of financial costs and lacking coordination between the various ministries. As a result, public services like schools, health care centres and law courts were closed in several areas (mostly rural areas), leading to a reduction of its territorial attractiveness and competitiveness.

In coming years, the Portuguese public services will face many challenges, namely the redefinition of the concept of public interest and the new model of *Welfare State*; the allocation of the different roles of central and local government structures in the provision of public services; the need for service orientation to the citizens' necessities; the incorporation of technology and innovation to improve physical attendance rates and create new ways to delivery public services exclusively by the Internet; the need for a financially sustainable model; and the social and territorial (in)equalities generated by public policies.

This communication is the result of a doctoral research in Geography and Regional Management, started in November 2012 with final report due in November 2015. To better understand how the Portuguese public services will cope with the new challenges and trends in the sector, we begin revising the state of the art on the issue, particularly their agents and dynamics. Relying on such background, we summarise practices commonly used in the past and we identify problems, challenges and trends in the supply and demand of public services. At least, policy implications and strategies on management and territorialisation of public services are then derived.

2. Portuguese public services: changes, public policies and territories in last decades

In Portugal, the demand of public services has grown in the last decades as a result of its universalisation (primarily due to the creation of social security, health, and educational systems), and a greater public intervention as regulator (Alves, 2005). To understand the evolution of Portuguese public services and identify their key problems, it is important to analyse the main social, economic and political changes that occurred over time.

a) Changes in conjuncture and in public services supply and demand

In the last decades, the socioeconomic changes in Portugal are far-reaching and include: (i) the integration of Portugal in the European Community (1986), which was very important for the economic growth and development of the country; (ii) the entry of women into the labour market, integrating jobs in public administration and creating simultaneously new needs for services; (iii) the increase in household income; and (iv) the improvement of the education levels of citizens.

Pinch (1989) also identified ten key aspects in the restructuration of public services: (i) the proliferation of self-service; (ii) the increase in labour productivity through new functional organisation forms and/or methods of management; (iii) the investment in technologies to increase production, that originated more unemployment and the foreclosure of equipment; (iv) the subcontracting of services to specialised companies; (v) the fostering of quality due to improved skills or training of employees; (vi) the materialisation of the services functions; (vii) the relocation of establishments to areas where land prices are cheaper; (viii) the provision of services functions in households; and (ix) the centralisation of services in big units, reducing or closing small units. According to Pinch (1989), the pressures to increase the effectiveness and efficiency and to concentrate services in larger spaces have similar criteria in the public and private sector, influencing the choice of the public services management models.

The dynamics of public services were also conditioned by the improvement in accessibility. Portugal built and improved its road system, partly with European funds, having 2860 km of motorway in 2014 compared to less than 200 km in 1986. There was also a remarkable increase in the rate of motorization (372 cars per 1000 inhabitants in 1991 and 475 cars per 1000 inhabitants in 2013 (authors' calculations with data from the Portuguese Insurance Institute)). The progress in the accessibility and mobility contributed to the increase in trips by private car and to the reduction of mobility by public transport and walking (INE, 2003; Tomé, 2011). Public services were also affected by changes in the urban system, particularly by: (i) the rise of the first residence in suburban spaces, contributing to the territorial expansion of Lisbon and Oporto metropolitan areas; (ii) the increasing segmentation of urban social spaces; (iii) the creation of new user needs that originated new services to the population; (iv) the emergence of new urban centralities, spaces and service equipment to the population; and (iv) the integration of territories and services provided in cooperation networks at different scales (e.g., regional and municipal). These socioterritorial changes have led to regional imbalances in the distribution of services, with excess or inadequacy to the elderly population in the inner city, and deficit in their peripheries.

The combination of these factors made citizens more demanding and consumers are willing to travel a greater distance to have access to services with better quality standards even at a higher economic cost (Tomé, 2011). However, recent changes in the labour market have led to an increase of the unemployed population that requires now further social benefits (particularly through social security and exemption or reduction of fees in health care).

b) New management models

The evolution of public services management has faced three models over time: *Traditional Public Administration, New Public Management* and *Networked Governance*. Table 1 describes these models and their respective characteristics.

	TRADITIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (1950-80)	NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (1980-2000)	NETWORKED GOVERNANCE (2000)
Context	Stable	Competitive	Continuously changing
Population/consu mers profile	Homogeneous	Atomized	Diverse
Territorial organization	Relatively balanced distribution of population between urban and rural areas	Accelerated rural exodus; expansion of urban peripheries	Urban multipolar system, with the highest concentration of population and activities in urban areas; rural areas are depopulated and aging
Needs/ problems	Straightforward, defined by professionals	Wants, expressed through the market	Complex, volatile and prone to risk
Dominant Paradigm	Bureaucratic response to the modernity challenges	Public institutions need to become more efficient and focused on his mission, increasing your productivity	Improve and enhance the results of public action, through the introduction of governance practices
Strategy	State and producer centred	Market and customer centred	Shaped by civil society
Preferential system of public service delivery	Hierarchical departments or self- regulated professions	Public sector or public agencies with limited autonomy	There are several ways to provide public services, which are defined pragmatically; systemic mechanisms of intervention approaches to achieve results.
Innovation	Some large-scale, national and universal innovations	d Innovations in organizational form more than content central Innovation at both a	
Modernization	Large step-change improvements initially, but less capability for continuous improvement		
Key concepts	Public goods	Public choice	Public value
Governance actors	Hierarchies, Public servants	Markets, Purchasers and providers, Clients and contractors	Networks and partnerships, Civic leadership
Role of policy-makers	Commanders	Announcers/ commissioners	Leaders and interpreters
Role of public managers	'Clerks and martyrs'	Efficiency and market maximizers	'Explorers'
Role of the population	Clients	Customers	Co-producers

Table 1: Evolution of public services' management models in recent decades. Source: Benington & Hartley (2001, cited in Hartley, 2005) and Stocker (2008) Table 1 also shows an important change in the public services management. In recent years, the relationship between public administration and social agents (individual or collective) is increasing, contributing to the co-architecture, co-production and co-evaluation of public services. According to Marques (2009, p. 136), this is "the emergence of a new paradigm of public service, in which the dependence of the citizen is replaced by a relationship of interdependence, with contributions from citizens, families and social organizations. It thus facilitates opportunities for this co-production." Needless to say, this varies with the type of service, the entity that manages it and the geographical scale (national, regional and local).

c) Portuguese administrative reform and modernisation

In the past 40 years, Portugal has left behind a dictatorial regime and transitioned into a democratic society (1974). During the first decades of democracy, the focus was on building a Welfare State and re-establish the role of public administration. Over time, with changes in social, economic and political circumstances as well as in models of public management, the Portuguese public administration action turned to the simplification of procedures, implementation of innovation, commitment to quality and efficiency of service. Table 2 summarizes the main Portuguese socioeconomic dynamics, characteristics of its public administration and most relevant policies implemented.

PHASE	TURNING POINT	CONJUNCTURE	MAINS CHARACTERISTICS OF PORTUGUESE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	MAINS REFORMS IN PORTUGUESE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Administrative reform in Estado Novo (dictatorial regime) (1968-1974)	-	 Authoritarian political regime, where the freedoms of thought and expression are involved Low public participation 	• Exploited by politicians	• Creation of the Secretariat for Administrative Reform
Administrative reform (1974-1985)	Revolutionary Day - 25th April, 1974	 Establishment of democracy and the rule of law Nationalization of business Regulation of key sectors Process of independence of the former African colonies, that returned more than half a million persons to Portugal 	 Unstable political and social situation Integration of civil servants from the excolonies Reorganisation and simplification of procedures (centralised action and decision-making) 	 Introduction of OCED management principles Creation of National Institute of Administration, Local Authority Public Training Centre and Institute of Computing Started the computerization of public services Implementation of new careers and remuneration scheme, as well as the individual performance appraisal scheme
Transition to	EEC accession	Economic growthReceipt of	Stable political and social situation	• Creation of the Secretariat for Modernisation Administrative

PHASE	TURNING POINT	CONJUNCTURE	MAINS CHARACTERISTICS OF PORTUGUESE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	MAINS REFORMS IN PORTUGUESE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
the New Public Management (1986-1995)		 European structural funds Global improvement of infrastructures and accessibility Financial programme to support weakened or declining economic sectors 	 Public action focused in the citizens needs Improving the attendance conditions and service quality Changes of mind and attitudes in civil servants and citizens/users Decentralised action and decision-making 	 and Information System for Citizens (INFOCID) Adoption of new Code of Administrative Procedure Started the Integrated Programme to the Public Administration Modernisation (PROFAP) Publication of Charter for Public Service Quality and the Deontological Letter of the Public Service
Public administration reinvention – Phase 1 (1996-2005)	E-government	 Privatisation of some traditional State activities Portuguese integration in European Monetary Union Need to reduce the State budget deficit and debt difficult State more committed to social causes (e.g., politics to the reduction of unemployment rates and creation of minimum income guaranteed) 	 Modernization based in the use of information and communication technologies, namely with the improvements in the physical attendance and the delivery of public services online Adoption on new formats to delivery services (e.g., one-stop governments shops) Requalification of civil servants Decentralised action and decision-making 	 INFORCID became available in Internet Publication of the Green Paper for the information society Creation of the programme <i>Cities and Digital Regions</i> Programmes to development the services publics in the information society (e.g., <i>Electronic Government</i> and <i>Technological Plan</i>) Online portals (e.g., <i>Citizens Portal</i>) First studies about Simplex Programme, aimed to promote the administrative and legislative simplification.
Public administration reinvention – Phase 11 (2005)	Redefinition of public services physical networks	 Unstable political and economic conjuncture Privatisation of some traditional State activities Need to reduce the State budget deficit and debt burden State more committed to social causes (e.g., politics to the reduction of unemployment rates and creation of minimum income guaranteed) 	 Modernization based in the use of information and communication technologies, namely with the improvements in the physical attendance and the delivery of public services online Adoption on new formats to delivery services (e.g., one-stop governments shops) Cutbacks in current public spending Dismissal of civil servants Decentralised action and decision-making 	 Closing, concentrating, restructuring or privatizing some public services, namely in scholar, heath and justice sectors Concentrating in the same place various public services, namely in finance, social security, national civil registry and notary sectors I and II Simplex program implementation Increase of services available in electronic platforms (e.g., Internet and telephone)

Table 2: Main reforms in Portuguese public administration.

Sources: Ferreira (2006), Marques (2009) and Rodrigues (2011)

In the last decade, Portugal has substantially improved the offer of public services, mostly through administrative and legislative simplifications and through innovation and modernisation policies, recognised by international institutions (EU and OCED) (OCED, 2008; Marques, 2009). An example would be the rise of public services available in online platforms. This recent growth of public services delivered in electronic platforms has impacted geographical distribution of physical attendance centres and theirs formats (e.g.,

traditional public offices and one-stop-governments shops). Despite the potential offered by information and communication technology, physical attendance will always be necessary. Nevertheless, the actual reorganisation of public services networks brings new challenges to their management.

d) Location of public services: older and news practices

The allocation of public services is based on principles and rules that define minimum and maximum thresholds. Their geographical distribution aims to be effective (e.g., to make the number and location of equipment more profitable) and to defend the territorial equity (e.g., to minimise the cost of access to users and to promote social and geographical inclusion of populations) (Alves, 2005). Still, there are five characteristics of services, that must be taken into account: (i) the nature of services (e.g., action tangible or intangible); (ii) the relationship between producers and customers (e.g., continuous or sporadic demand); (iii) the degree of customisation of service by the user (e.g., the greater or lesser specialisation and/or appreciation of services); (iv) the nature of the supply and demand of services (e.g., rare or ordinary services); and (v) the model of service delivery (e.g., the user moves to the supplier (or vice versa), mixed models or the service is provide online) (Mérenne-Schoumaker, 2006).

In the intra-urban scale, equipment like grounds-care, schools, health centres, libraries, theatres and support and regulation services should occupy a central position in the city, integrating the urban design and being easily accessible, particularly by public transports. The sporting equipment can occupy an intra-urban location (e.g., near schools and, allowing its use by students during the week and by the general public on the weekend) or marginal (e.g., football stadiums, which require a significant geographic area) (Gaspar, Simões and Marin, 2006; Mérenne-Schoumaker, 2006).

These principles of location are valid both in urban and rural areas even though the major cities often suffer pressures to relocate some equipment to peripheral areas (especially those that take up more space such as hospitals and universities), freeing the central area of the city to other land uses. However, the high cost of land in city centres and the need for rehabilitation/requalification interventions can originate negative dynamics. In this context, it is urgent to (re)think a set of public policies to assist in the revitalization of urban centres and for which public services can play an important role promoting social, economic and cultural animation and territorial integrity. The suburban spaces that emerged in previous decades do not have the necessary areas in number and quality to the deployment of public services and equipment. Location is the result of the political will, the availability of the soil, the costs

associated with its construction (sometimes their maintenance) and the access by car (Tomé, 2011 and 2014).

e) The role of the territory in the supply and demand of Portuguese's public services

The spatial distribution of public services is very influenced by the shape and structure of the urban network and simultaneously by public services that have an important role in territorial organization as they affect the quotidian of the population as well as the capacity of territorial attraction and competitiveness. Notwithstanding, the adjustment between supply and demand does not always occur, which is clearly the case of the Portuguese socio-territorial evolution in recent decades. Demographic, social and economic dynamics of the country led to the closure or the reduction of public services in rural areas and inner cities, while in urban and suburban areas the responsiveness does not meet all the needs of users.

In Portugal, the National Spatial Planning Policy Programme (NSPPP), a strategic instrument of territorial development that defines the strategic guidelines to the organisation of the territory demonstrated that territory is a key factor in the provision of public services, explaining to the worsening of regional asymmetries (DGOTDU, 2007a and 2007b). NSPPP's report identifies twenty-four planning problems, six of them related directly or indirectly to the unbalanced supply services to the population, in different territorial contexts. The Action Plan of NSPPP defines as a strategic objective "to ensure the territorial equity in the provision of infrastructure and community facilities and the universality in access to services of general interest, promoting the social cohesion" (DGOTDU, 2007a:42). This goal has nine specific objectives and forty five priority measures. Other specific strategic objective aims "to promote ICT [Information and Communications Technologies] as an important instrument of regional development and territorial cohesion, generalising its use in the dissemination of information and provision of services of public interest" (DGOTDU, 2007a, 55).

Although without the official data to support this thesis, based on the investigations of Ferreira (2005) and Pereira (2006), it is expected that the role of information and communication technologies will have a weak contribution in rural areas (due to a traditional deficit in public services). The mains causes are related with the lack of infrastructure and equipment to support the information and communication technologies and the lack of education of its inhabitants (being mostly aged and with low levels of schooling).

3. Problems and challenges of Portuguese public services

Since the 80s, public services have been criticised, mostly by liberal economists, who argue that: (i) they are very bureaucratic; (ii) its management is inefficient; (iii) the application of European community law (e.g., principle of free exchange and competition; end of monopolies) and international agreements require new responses; (iv) citizens have new needs and demand more and better services; (v) the adoption of inappropriate technological solutions; (vi) the constant redefinition of the role of the public administration in provision of services; and (vii) the inability to impose administrative reform and modernization of the public sector (Alves, 2005; Mérenne-Schoumaker, 2006). Most recently, the debate is also centred on the economic and financial sustainability of the traditional European model of *Welfare State*. The present economic crisis has resulted in changes in the demand and supply of public services.

To Marques (2009, 10), the future of public services "depends largely on the knowledge that we can incorporate, the pace of innovation that we can instil and the ability to maintain this as a continuous process. (...) It depends on the ability to mobilise people and organisations to a new culture and disposition of public service. And it depends, of course, the results you are getting and, in general, our commitment and determination in meeting the new challenges."

Table 3 summarises the main challenges for public services, grouped into: (i) new organisational paradigms (ii); offer (re)orientation to the demand; (iii) incorporation of technology; and (iv) economical and financial sustainability.

THEMATIC GROUP	CHALLENGES	
New organizational paradigms	 Network organization of public administration, which implies multilevel cooperation and integration of different levels of government (central, regional and local) and partners. Organic flexibility in the design and distribution of functions, allowing rapid response and adaptation to different circumstances. Investment in knowledge and information sharing, which leads to greater autonomy for employees. 	
Offer (re)orientation to the demand	 greater autonomy for employees. Simplification of processes, eliminating unnecessary steps and making services more transparent and faster. Development of supply (according to the demand expectations, which implies (re)definition of formats and multichannel platforms to adopt, in accordance with the socio-territorial target audience). Customizing the contact between administration and citizens, in which the State alerts the citizens about management/development processes but also clarifies their obligations and rights (e.g., by email). Continuous improvement of quality of care, in which good practices are quantified and valued to make the necessary improvements to the satisfaction of users as well as to improve internal efficiency. 	
Incorporation	• Management of processes in physical desk, using information systems,	

THEMATIC GROUP	CHALLENGES	
of technology	which should be integrated to create information repositories.	
	 Access to specialized portals with procedural information. 	
	• Provision of online services, benefiting from lower costs and preventing	
	massive closure of physical desks.	
	• Identification of needs of citizens in relation to the services provided.	
	• Definition of policy of access to services: free to all citizens, universally	
Economic	taxed or discriminated by income?	
Economic and financial	• Analysis of the country economic performances (short, medium and	
	long term) to understand if it has the capacity to support the costs of	
sustainability	public services but also to know what are the priorities in the provision	
	of services.	

Table 3: Main challenges of public services.

Based in Denhardt & Denhardt (2007), Marques (2009), Bourgon (2011)

Public services face constantly emerging challenges that will demand *reorganisation*, *simplification*, *flexibility*, *integration*, *customisation*, *sharing* and *dissemination of knowledge*, in a context where there are different expectations/needs, populations, territories and service delivery platforms (e.g., physical desk, call centres and online portals). These (new) features of public services are related with the new forms of public service management. So, the future of public services in Portugal is dependent on "the ability to make up for the delay of the twentieth century, and respond on the crest of a wave to the challenges of the twenty first century." The answer will be "the result of the intensity of our commitment and involvement from the outset in their transformation, their adaptability to new contexts, new technologies, enhancing their ability to respond to new expectations of the people they interact with."

4. Conclusion and discussion

With rapid changes in supply and demand of services, constant changes in context and the recent European economic and financial crisis, it is emerging a "new reality [that] although with a clear dominant participatory, involves new approaches in planning and management of the public space. If, on the one hand, the physical approach is real and informative for most of the population, there is the emergence of a new rationality in the composition of the supply and their geographical distribution, which can be translated in the classical advantages of agglomeration and scale economies; on the other hand, it is necessary to respond to the latecomers and marginalized, who cannot enjoy some social and cultural benefits that the country provided its inhabitants" (Gaspar, Simões and Marin, 2006, 107). This new reality is related with the new public services models of management, namely the *Network Governance*.

At this moment, the government has not enough resources to invest (or margin to debt) and some urban subsystems are multipolar. It is necessary to reorganize the various networks and equipment services to the population, according to an economic logic of efficiency and effectiveness. As a consequence, the closure of services and facilities is expected as well as a more cost effective management of others and the building of new ones when needed. For this, it is imperative (or at least desirable) to involve all stakeholders and to study innovative solutions that have been developed in other countries. An example would be one-stopgovernment shops, which can be an interesting solution to urban spaces (strengthen the provision of public services, relieving the workload of overburdened services), suburban (provide these areas with services that often lacks, others, who do not give a satisfactory answer to the needs of demand) and rural (concentration activities in the same space, reducing the costs of urban sprawl and recommending the most suitable solution for an aging population).

Rethinking the territorialisation of public services requires a systemic and relational approach, characterized by flexibility and adaptive capacities and resilience (Dabson, Heflin and Miller, 2012; Martin, 2012; Teigão dos Santos, 2009), given that different aspects must be taken into account, such as models of governance, openness to innovation and characteristics of the population, the production system itself, among others. From the (re)combination of these aspects, new dynamics will surge, which will also impact public strategies and policies (Table 4).

	MAIN PROPRIETIES OF STRATEGIES AND POLICIES	CONTRIBUTIONS OF PUBLIC SERVICES
GOVERNANCE	• Development of a strategy of cooperation and spatial governance, involving various institutions (public and private) and promote mutual trust and collective learning.	 Promoting dialogue in the (re)definition of public services, particularly managers of public services, citizens and institutions affected by the provision of services. Involvement of all stakeholders in the decisions taken.
TERRITORIAL COOPERATION	• Strategies associated with the cognitive spaces of daily practices (e.g., municipal, intermunicipal and regional).	 Municipal: networks of services and equipment essential to maintaining and attracting people and businesses, according to the time and space specificities. Intermunicipal: networks of cooperation between territorial entities, benefiting the advantages of economies of scale. Regional: integration of all functionalities of the territory, exploiting complementarities.
URBAN AND REGIONAL TECHNOLOGY PLANNING	 Changing the conception and production services, with consequences in the provision and geographical distribution of public offices. Potential of change afforded by information and communication technologies. 	 Simplifying administrative and regulation tasks. Providing online services to people and businesses with lower costs for administration and available 24 hours a day and 7 days a week for consumers.
RURAL-URBAN	• Articulation between urban and rural areas,	• Contribute to the qualification,

LINKAGES	contributing to the integration of the different territories.	competitiveness and attractiveness of territories.Reducing regional disparities.
TERRITORIAL COHESION AND DEVELOPMENT	• Adoption of bottom-up approaches to promoting the development and territorial cohesion (i.e., both are inseparable), using the practices of governance, incentives to improve of efficiency and effectiveness and the idea of continuous improvement of processes.	 Services are important for social, economic and territorial cohesion, as well as job creation. Services also contribute to the improvement of the local economy, based on knowledge.
REGIONAL RESILIENCE	• New management methods in a context of unpredictability, which makes the territories and public services more resilient and adaptable to social and economic changes.	• Result of adoption of various strategies and policies (governance, territorial cooperation, urban and regional technology planning, rural-urban linkages, territorial cohesion and development).

Table 4: Main proprieties of public strategies and policies.

Sources: European Commission (2004); Marques (2004); Alves (2005); Corey and Wilson (2006); Marques (2009); Pereira (2009); Teigão dos Santos (2009); Teisman, Buuren and Gerrits (coord.) (2009); Dabson, Heflin and Miller (2012).

Despite all the potential provided by technological systems, some public services are considered fundamental to the populations. Their complete replacement by information and communication technologies is thus impossible. It is also necessary to understand that different territories have different needs. Hence, public policies should be designed to provide services in different ways and formats.

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