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Public Procurement and the
Public-Private Value Conflict
in the Transport Sector
– A Research Model

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*Public Procurement and the Public-Private Value Conflict in the
Transport Sector - A Research Model*

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Förord

Christoffer Matshede har i uppsatsen "Public Procurement and The Public-Private Value Conflict. A research model creating study." utifrån en väl motiverad problemformulering och ett tydligt teoretiskt härlett syfte undersökt samt utvecklat en metodologisk modell för att studera om och hur konflikter mellan offentliga och privata värden manifesteras bland frontlinjearbetare i upphandlade verksamheter.

Matshede har på ett systematiskt och innovativt sätt utvecklat och testat vinjettmetoden i ett privat kollektivtrafikföretag som upphandlats av Västtrafik. Utifrån offentliga värden som härletts ur upphandlingskontrakten har Matshede konstruerat realistiska besluts-situationer i vilka offentliga och privata värden riskerar att kollidera, som busschaufförer, mekaniker och trafikledare under tidspress har fått ta ställning till. Matshede finner att i vissa situationer präglar offentliga och i andra situationer privata värden de beslut som frontlinjearbetarna fattar. Matshedes slutsats är att vinjettmetoden är användbar för att identifiera värdekonflikter men föreslår utifrån sina resultat justeringar för att förbättra metodens träffsäkerhet.

Matshede visar i uppsatsen prov på en mycket hög teoretisk, metodologisk och analytisk skicklighet samt förmåga att dra välgrundade och nyanserade slutsatser, utifrån ett mycket gediget empiriskt material. Matshedes studie har hög teoretisk och samhällelig relevans och den ger ett tydligt kunskapsbidrag till forskningsområdet om värdekonflikter ur såväl ett teoretiskt, metodologiskt som empiriskt perspektiv.

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Abstract

Through public procurement, public services are oftentimes supplied by firms from the private sector. Theory states that public and private firms stand on conflicting value foundations following differences in ownership, funding and control. The public ethos is typically based on social values and the private ethos is comparatively more economic. This entails that public services are through public procurement oftentimes supplied by private firms standing on a conflicting value foundation. This means that the decision-making employees of the private firm able to directly influence the supply of the public service (*hands-on employees*) may aspire to adhere to comparatively economical decisions in instances when the public organization considers increasingly social decisions to be preferred. The purpose of this study is to develop a research model towards the exploration of this problematic phenomenon in any case involving public procurement. A case study from the Swedish public transport market is used to the end of testing, developing and exemplifying this model. The contract documents are used to identify the values considered as important to the contracting authority and these are operationalized as the public value foundation. Vignettes are constructed, and the hands-on employees of the private traffic carrier are interviewed regarding the decisions that they would make following these scenarios. Results herein indicate that a value conflict may be identified as decisions are at times identified as falling under the theoretically private value conflict when a public value adherence is preferred. Such a result highlights the need for the research model herein developed. The final model, dubbed the Public-Private Values in Public Procurement (PPVPP) research model, recommends the inclusion of multiple organizations, both private and public, holding a contract with the contracting authority, to identify the existence of the value conflict as well as aspects that may be considered non-sectoral. The aim of this model is for it to be used to explore the public-private value conflict in the decisions of hands-on employees in any organization supplying a public service as the result of public procurement.

Table of contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Public procurement – the basis of a value conflict	1
1.2 Disposition	7
2. Background	9
2.1 What is public procurement?	9
2.2 Public procurement in Sweden	10
2.3 The Swedish public transport sector	12
3. Previous Research – the public-private value conflict at the employee level	14
4. Research Design	20
4.1 Research problem	21
4.2 Theoretical framework	21
4.2.1 Public and Private sector values	21
4.2.2 Factors affecting decision-making	24
4.2.3 Hands-on employees	25
4.3 Sampling framework	27
4.4 Research method	28
4.4.1 Case study	29
4.4.2 Contract documents value identification	30
4.4.2.1 Inclusiveness	32
4.4.2.2 Quality – safety, reliability, appeal	32
4.4.2.3 The environment	33
4.4.2.4 Operationalized public value foundation	34
4.4.3 Vignettes – interviews with an experimental touch	34
4.5 How will the data be analyzed?	37
5. Result/Analysis	39
5.1 Inclusiveness	40
5.1.1 Bus drivers	40
5.1.2 Traffic dispatchers	42
5.1.3 Mechanics	44
5.1.4 Decision-Making Analysis	45

5.2 Quality/Safety	47
5.2.1 Bus drivers	47
5.2.2 Traffic dispatchers	49
5.2.3 Mechanics	51
5.2.4 Decision-Making Analysis	53
5.3 The Environment	55
5.3.1 Bus drivers	55
5.3.2 Traffic dispatchers	58
5.3.3 Mechanics	62
5.3.4 Decision-Making Analysis	64
5.4 Comprehensive value analysis	68
6. Discussion	70
6.1 Additional decision- and value-impacting factors	70
6.2 Limitations	73
6.2.1 Case study-specific limitations.....	73
6.2.2 Research model improvement factors.....	75
7. Conclusion	77
7.1 case-study conclusion	77
7.2 Research model presentation – the Public-Private Values in Public Procurement (PPVPP) research model.	78
9. References	82
9.1 Primary sources:	82
9.2 Secondary sources:	83

1. Introduction

This introductory chapter will introduce the research problem, research questions and aim of the subsequent study. At the end, a disposition is presented to offer clarity into the plan and structure of the study.

1.1 Public procurement – the basis of a value conflict

In the western societies of today there is a range of interplay between public and private actors in the supply of public services previously unseen. In the Swedish public management, services such as public transport, elderly care and education have seen a shift from being predominantly supplied by public organizations towards being increasingly supplied by privately owned firms. The Swedish government has adopted a mixed welfare model of public management meaning that the finance of public services largely remains in the hands of public organizations although the supply of these services to a greater extent has shifted to the private sector. Therein, services typically supplied by public entities are procured by private actors awarding them with their supply. Through this procedure, known as public procurement, any firm or organization, from any branch of society – public, private or non-profit – may become the supplier of a range of public goods and services.

Within the public-private relationship of public procurement lies a theoretical problem that this study will aim to explore. Firms and associations originating from different sectors of society will differ in terms of the goals of their business and thereby stand on differing value platforms. As discussed by Vifell and Westerberg (2013: 20) private firms are profit-maximizing and typically stand on a singular

goal-oriented path toward profits. Along these lines these firms perceive citizens of society as potential customers and elevate economic values such as cost effectiveness and productivity. Public organizations, on the contrary, must simultaneously incorporate economic efficiency with the comprehensive goals of democracy and security of law (ibid.). The main function and goal of organizations originating in the public domain is along these lines generally discussed as increasing citizen welfare and they thereby elevate more social values such as inclusiveness and equality. Lundquist (1998: 63) refers to these typically public values as democratic values and includes, like Vifell and Westerberg (2013), rule of law and security of law therein. Lundquist (ibid.), however, develops this idea of a public ethos further, involving public ethics within this category, to include values such as gender and economic equality. Public authorities thus include these values in their authority management and goal-setting, in working towards increased citizen welfare, which can be seen to conflict the baseline goals of the private organizations – cost-minimization and profit-maximization. There is thus an evident value conflict between the profit focused private entity and the welfare-maximizing public entity. What follows in the case of public procurement is the theoretical issue of a private firm, standing on an economic value foundation, supplying public goods/services that are financed by a public association willing to elevate a conflicting, social value foundation. Note that there is no intention for this study to claim either value foundation to be superior to the other in any regard; on this subject, this study holds a neutral standpoint.

How then, more precisely, may this theoretical value-conflict lead to a genuinely existent problem? This study will include a case study from the Swedish public transport market towards the end of exploring this value conflict and a brief example here from may therefore be used to answer this question. Within this market, in which transport suppliers are generally determined through public procurement, a mixture of private and public actors operate. Building upon the value-conflict's theoretical ground previously discussed, the transport supplying private firm elevates economic values and

the financing public organization elevates social values. This entails that in cases in which the public organization regards the overall well-being of passengers to be upheld and preferred, the private firm may instead regard the cost-efficient option to be promoted, negatively affecting the quality of the service supplied to the passenger. Thus, although public transport is exactly what its name entails – public – the private firm and its employees ultimately hold the power to make directly influencing decisions that are more in line with an economic value foundation than a social value foundation, as this is the service supplying entity. The public-private value conflict may thus manifest itself in cases of public procurement through its potential effect on the quality of the service supplied by the private firm. In the end, the passengers/citizens are the ones affected by this conflict and along with public procurement's ever-growing significance in today's society this is a particularly interesting topic to study.

Furthermore, discussing a firm as a concrete holder of values is an abstract idea when considering it as sum of its parts rather than the conscious organism that this entails. It is the employees within the firm that establish and reproduce values through interaction and an adherence to and creation of goals (Alvesson, 2002: 201). As it is these employees that have a direct impact on the supply of the procured services, an interest lies in exploring how the aforementioned value conflict affects the direct decisions of these individuals. This group of employees is here referred to as "*hands-on employees*". This is a group of employees largely neglected by academic research within the topic of the public-private value conflict, which typically directs focus on employees at managerial levels (e.g.: Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991; Hoijberg and Choi, 2001; Buelens and Van den Broeck, 2007). For clarity, how these employees function within an organizational and thus theoretically sectoral value foundation will be the perspective reviewed in this study. Focus will not be placed on the individual values of employees, but rather how the generalizable sectoral values penetrate the decision-making of this specific group of employees.

Hands-on employees hold an occupational role which is largely in line with the role and responsibility of the *street-level bureaucrats* operating in the public sector as discussed by Lipsky (2010). Lipsky refers here to the public employees holding the role of directly enacting public policy and enforcing the laws of society at the lowest level – the level in which contact is held with members of the public. Individuals holding this role are discussed as maintaining the possibility of personally affecting the enforcement of these actions meaning that how policy and laws are enforced may be affected by the values held by these individuals. In this study, the function of hands-on employees is greatly similar. These employees do not strictly function in the public sector, but as they through public procurement hold responsibility of the supply of public services, their role and decisions affect citizens of society in a similar fashion. These hands-on employees are the employees holding a hands-on responsibility to the immediate supply of a considered service and therein possess a role in which direct operative decisions are made. Like street-level bureaucrats, these individuals hold the possibility of personally affecting decisions made and therein the immediate service supplied. As these employees are, through public procurement, employed by a private, profit-maximizing firm while holding the possibility of personally influencing the supply of a public service, this is an occupational role of great interest.

Furthermore, these hands-on employees are oftentimes forced to make acute decisions concerning immediate situations for the supplied service to run unhindered and do thus not retain the possibility of making pre-planned decisions or reviewing procurement documents in connection to these decisions. Available time is thus a factor of great importance to this study. The idea is that having to make quick decisions entails a greater chance of an individual making a decision in line with what one believes to be right – which for employees of a private firm may result in acting in line with values instilled through operating in a profit-maximizing, economic values elevating company, rather than what is in line with what procurement documents and thus company policy. Connecting to the Swe-

dish public transport market, these hands-on employees are the bus drivers, traffic dispatchers and mechanics, all of whom serve to establish a fully functioning immediate traffic situation. These employees are all on a daily basis related to the direct supply of the transport service and are therefore obliged to make urgent, quick decisions. For example: if a bus driver is made aware of all fire extinguishers being missing from a bus, he/she holds the power to either continue or not to continue driving the bus, having to weigh the decision between considering the safety of the passengers (by not driving) with the cost of the traffic company receiving a fine (for not driving). It is the decisions made by these three groups of hands-on employees in such everyday occurrences that this case study will aim to explore. Specifically, how the decision-making of these employees reflects the values of the public value framework versus the general economic private values is what is of particular interest.

Despite functioning towards this end, the fundamental aim of the case study used is neither to be a representative sample of the public-private value conflict in all cases involving public procurement, nor to problematize the potential existence of this issue. Rather, with the goal of exploring the impact that the potential public-private value conflict may have on citizens of society, it is used herein with the aim of testing and developing a research model to be used to explore the existence of such a conflict in other cases involving public procurement. Specifically, the aim of this study is thus to develop and test a model for exploring the existence and impact of the potential public-private value conflict present in the decisions made by hands-on employees operating in any public service supplying private corporation. Through public procurement, such hands-on employees – e.g. teachers, postmen and social-workers – operate in roles holding the ability to directly influence the supply of public services and therein the citizens of society. The aim of this model is thus for it to be used in the exploration of this public-private value conflict in the existence of decisions of hands-on employees in relation to any case, within any industry or sector, involving public procurement.

At large this study thus seeks to answer the following research question:

- How may a research model be constructed aimed at exploring the existence and impact of a public-private value conflict in the decision-making of hands-on employees, supplying a public service as the result of public procurement?

This study is constructed in a way as to test and develop this model. To do so a case from the Swedish public transport sector will be used to this end. This case is thus a typical example of what the developed model aims to explore. The research design applied and presented in relation to this case study should therefore be regarded as a part of the study's ultimate result as this is the initial framework for the constructed model. The result and analysis section, although directly linked to the case study, should likewise be seen as a result for the test and development of the model as the model's limitations and functionality is herein explored. In relation to this case study, the model developed seeks to explore the research question below. This is thus the question that future studies using the herein developed research model should aim to answer.

- Can the public-private value conflict be identified in the decision-making of the hands-on employees of the public transport supplying private corporation?

The case study reviewed pertains to a service procured in 2010 by the county traffic authority *Västtrafik* of the Swedish county of Västra Götaland and has an operational time of ten years. The public transport sector has been chosen following my own experience from work in a private traffic company along with the fact that this industry has a long history of the procurement of services. From personal experience, a relatively economic value foundation has

been an underlying feature of everyday operations, resulting in a specific interest in whether such a factor may be identified in the decisions related to the supplied service. Through public procurement, such an issue may, however, be existent in other sectors, resulting in the aim of creating a research model for the exploration of this value conflict. The contract documents will be used to materialize what the contracting authority (Västtrafik) values and thereby contractually demands of the service that is supplied. A public value framework will here from be operationalized and used in the analysis of the decision-making of the hands-on employees. The hands-on employees of the private traffic carrier currently supplying this service will be interviewed and how the decision-making of these employees reflect the values of the materialized public value framework versus the general economic private values is what is of particular interest.

1.2 Disposition

Following this introductory chapter is a chapter providing insight into the functions of public procurement along with a background of the Swedish public transportation market. The chapter thereafter, titled *Research design*, discusses the theoretical framework, sampling framework and research method used in the case study as well as a specification of how the data obtained will be analyzed. As the case study itself is used towards the end of developing and testing a value conflict exploring model, this chapter should be regarded as the initial, pre-test framework of this model and thus a part of the preliminary result. Following the implementation of this framework on the case from the Swedish public transport market, the results will be presented along with an analysis of the perceived values underlying the collected data. This chapter is used to further develop the considered model in terms of what functions towards the desired aim and what does not. Thereafter, a brief discussion is held offering insight into what other factors than the sectoral value pressures may

be seen as underlying reasons for the employees' chosen decisions. This is followed by a presentation of the perceived limitations of the study, within which the model-developing factors identified in the implementation of the initial version of the model are presented and discussed. The study is concluded with a final version of the public-private value conflict exploring model along with a conclusion pertaining to the findings of the case study.

2. Background

This section will briefly discuss what public procurement entails, how it is included in the Swedish public management model and how the public transportation sector has developed over time towards the procurement of goods and services.

2.1 What is public procurement?

Since the rise of new public management in the 1990's the gap has been bridged between the public and private spheres. This has meant the remodeling of typically public industries to allow for a greater magnitude of market forces to intervene towards the goal of increased efficiency. One such example, of how market forces are allowed to intervene in typically public domains, is through public procurement. Public procurement entails undergoing a tender process for the supply of publicly funded goods and services. Actors involved in such a process may be both foreign or domestic and private or public. What is important is for these firms to compete under market forces to achieve a higher level of efficiency than the public monopoly, towards the goal of best-value goods and services (Kelman, 2012: 13). To preserve the competitive nature of the market and ensure that public procurement funds are used efficiently there are rules and regulations that must be followed in every case. In Sweden, these laws are largely based on EU regulations, meaning that the framework for how public procurement is carried out is generally the same throughout the EU-zone. The basic principles of these laws are based on transparency, equal treatment, open competition, and sound procedural management (European Commission, 2017); the contracting authority must ensure that goods and services are chosen based on the best terms offered and that no

corruption takes place in the form of favoritism. To ensure objectivity, the tender process is oftentimes an anonymous procedure, meaning that the contracting authority is unaware of the source of each tender for the contract.

2.2 Public procurement in Sweden

In Sweden, public procurement typically undergoes a seven-step process. Initially, a notice is released, explaining in short what good or service the contracting authority wishes to procure. Under EU law, this initial step may be composed in one of five ways, in part determining who may be involved in the procurement process: an *open procedure*, a *restricted procedure*, a *negotiated procedure*, a *competitive dialogue* or an *electronic auction* (Europa.eu, 2017). In the Swedish public transport industry, which is of particular interest here, the procedure is typically *open* or *restricted*, meaning either that any business may submit a tender and that a public information notice is published, or that a group of pre-selected businesses are invited to submit a tender but that any business may request to participate in the procurement process. After this initial step, contract documents are sent out to interested parties explaining in exact detail what the supply and production of the good or service entails. Contracts may also take several forms regarding how the supplier will be paid but within the Swedish public transport sector they typically take three various forms: net agreements, gross agreements and incentive agreements, with gross agreement being the most common although an increased popularity of incentive agreements (Hållbar Stad, 2017). Net agreements indicate that the supplier will receive ticket earnings as a part of the contract payment, gross agreements mean that the income from ticket sales go to the public transport authority but that the supplier is reimbursed for operational costs and incentive agreements are fundamentally based on gross contracts, but the supplier is also subsidized based on goals, such as increased quality or number of passengers, set up by the transport authority. In

incentive agreements, the supplier is thus incentivized to work in accordance with these goals as doing so will increase revenue. After the contract documents have been sent out, the corporations and associations submit a tender for the contract, specifying how each area of interest will be executed and how much it will cost the contracting authority to enter into a binding contract. Once tenders have been received, these are all evaluated by the contracting authority. Thereafter a winning tender is selected, either based solemnly on price or a combination between quality and price. This decision may be appealed by parties who have not won and based on the legitimacy of this claim the evaluation process or even the tender process may be revised. Once this final stage has been completed a contract can be signed with the “winner” of this seven-step process (Företagarna, 2017).

According to the Swedish competition authority (Konkurrensverket) and the National Agency for Public Procurement (Upphandlingsmyndigheten) (2015), roughly one fifth of Sweden’s GDP was spent on public procurement in 2012, signifying the extent of the public procurement taking place in Sweden. Thus, in Sweden, a deregulation in the form of opening for the procurement of goods and services has not been limited to any one or even just a few domains – rather, it is a change existent in most public service sectors. An example of such a case is the *independent school reform* (friskolereform) of the early 1990’s. This reform gave private actors a larger opportunity towards entering the education market as public funding was provided per student for these actors to supply educational services. Another example is the *freedom of choice reform* (SFS 2008:962). This law was applied within both the social services sector and the healthcare sector. Two pertinent examples that fall under this is the *health center reform* and the *elderly care reform*. The health center reform meant granting citizens with the freedom of choosing health center rather than being appointed to one by the county authority. This meant giving private actors the right to open a health center at any geographic location and that the funds received from the county would be regulated by the number of persons enrolled at each care

center. The elderly care reform functions much the same except within the elderly care sector. Private actors gained the right to enter the market with the support of public funding and citizens were granted with the free choice of elderly care provider. Furthermore, the purchase of goods such as furniture, equipment, electronics and more used by public entities fall under public procurement. The procurement of these goods falls under Swedish regulation resulting in the involvement of government contracts and a tender process. The final example, the public transport sector, from which the case used within this study will originate, underwent reform through the *commercial traffic law* of 1989 (SFS 1988: 263). This reform gave centralized management and economic responsibility of the public transport sector to each county authority and involved the right of procurement of public transport goods and services.

2.3 The Swedish public transport sector

Sweden's public transport sector has since the 1970's seen several reforms in the form of centralizations and deregulations. Prior to the first such reform several private and publically managed transport carriers held lone responsibility over specific so-called traffic regions. These carriers were publically funded but as they had developed their own ticket and pricing systems they were considered both inefficient and unproductive for all parties involved (Regeringskansliet – Finansdepartementet, 2011). In 1978, a centralization of the Swedish public transport sector therefore took place, meaning that the organizational and operational planning responsibility now lay in the hands of each county authority. This change aimed to stimulate lower prices, develop a county specific ticket and pricing system, shorten travel times, increase supply, increase comfort and offer better, more accessible information (ibid.). However, the private and public transport carriers previously mentioned remained the main suppliers, meaning that each county was forced into negotiation with these for changes to be made. On the first of

January 1989, the industry underwent reform once more through the aforementioned *commercial traffic law*, eliminating this need. This reform meant a deregulation of the public transport industry, giving full economic responsibility and the right to the procurement of public transport services to each county authority. Following this change, the transport carriers previously advantaged were now subject to competitive market forces, meaning that they were competing for public transport contracts with other private and public suppliers. Today, each county authority is still in charge of the procurement of public transportation services, meaning that little has changed in this aspect since 1989.

3. Previous Research – the public-private value conflict at the employee level

Although the extent of the public-private sectoral value conflict has received a great deal of attention and is a topic of plentiful discussion and discrepancy (see e.g. Murray, 1975; Baldwin, 1987) the mere existence of such a conflict is an element of agreement among the clear majority of academic scholars. Reviewing the conflict from an employee perspective, which is the focus placed in this study, is one of many different perspectives from which this topic is examined. Rainey and Bozeman (2000), Boyne (2002) and Baarspul (2009) have all, with ranging focus on the values of employees, conducted reviews of empirical studies on the topic of comparing public and private organizations. To offer an insight into the discussions held within this topic, the findings presented in these reviews will therefore be the points of consideration in this section.

Rainey and Bozeman (2000) give an overview of the main a priori differences between public and private organizations in terms of goal complexity and ambiguity, organizational structure, motivations and values and discuss the main findings herein. In their review of value differences between employees of the two sectors, focus is placed on what is valued in terms of work motivation, i.e. what aspects of their work employees view as factors or motivation (460-462). Within this topic, Rainey and Bozeman (ibid.) found the general findings of empirical research to uphold the typical a priori assumption of public managers valuing the provision of public service higher than their private sector counterparts. Additionally, public managers were found to place lower value on high income as an ultimate end of the professional careers of employees (461). Private-sector

managers were thus found to place greater value in economic principles and public managers placed greater value in social principles.

The review conducted by Boyne (2002), like Rainey and Bozeman (2000), takes an expansive approach, through reviewing general theoretical differences between public agencies and private firms. Boyne (2002) has identified four main theoretical ways in which public management differs from private management: organizational environment, organizational goals, organizational structure and managerial/employee values. In his review of managerial/employee values, Boyne (ibid: 102) identified three widely upheld points that differentiate public managers from private managers in terms of values: (1) public managers are discussed as less materialistic and thus less motivated by financial incentives; (2) public managers have a stronger desire to serve the public and are thus more concerned with promoting public welfare and; (3) public managers exhibit lower organizational commitment - possibly due to what Perry and Porter (1982: 92) state as an inferior ability of public employment to instill personal significance. In generalizing these value differences, employees/managers of the private sector firms may thus be stated as displaying a more individualistic value foundation while simultaneously demonstrating greater organizational commitment than the employees/managers of the public sector.

The review conducted by Baarspul (2009) is different in focus from the two previous studies revised as Baarspul's (ibid.) focus is on reviewing quantitative studies concerning behavioral differences between employees of public and private organizations. Herein how employees differ in terms of values is separated into three categories: (1) individual-related values; (2) job-related values and; (3) organization-related values.

- 1) **Individual-related values:** This refers to the generic personal values of employees and in the review conducted by Baarspul (ibid.) results vary from no identified differences (see: Lyons et al, 2006), to a few significant differences (see: Posner and Schmidt, 1982; Becker and Connor, 2005), to numerous signifi-

cant differences (see: Stackman et al., 2005). Becker and Connor (2005) identified public-sector managers as being more prone to retain the values of helpfulness and devotion along with wisdom and integrity while private-sector managers were more prone to the value of ambition alongside leading a comfortable life, feeling a sense of achievement and overall life-satisfaction. Stackman et al. (2005) compared public- and private-sector managers in terms of seven value systems to operationalize a public- and private-sector ethos and to identify their differences. Five of the seven value systems of this study were found to differ between sectors, suggesting a significantly more distinct difference between employees of these two sectors as compared to other studies reviewed by Baarspul (2009). The findings of the study of Stackman et al. (2005) point to a public-sector ethos in which employees place a greater importance in delayed gratification and self-expansion than private-sector employees and a private-sector ethos in which employees place greater emphasis in competence, personal orientation and family security. The studies reviewed by Baarspul (2009) thus established varying conclusions on the subject of individual-related differences between public-sector and private-sector employees. In generalizing the findings, it may be stated that the private sector employees were found to place greater value in inward-focusing, individualistic principles than their public-sector counterparts.

- 2) **Job-related values:** This refers to what type of work employees value, what aspects employees see as motivational factors and what levels of satisfaction are exhibited. The aspect of what level of satisfaction is exhibited by employees is more concerned with overall behavioral differences than specifically value-related differences and this aspect will therefore be omitted from this review. (A) What aspects employees see as motivational factors and; (B) what type of work employees value, are withal related to the topic of values and the studies reviewed by Baarspul (2009) within these subjects will therefore be of focus.

- a) Studies reviewed on the topic of motivational factors differ in terms of research method, the number of factors of focus and in findings. Houston (2000) found three out of four analyzed variables to differ: public sector employees were found to place greater value in job security and work that is meaningful but lower value in higher pay than private sector employees while no sectoral differences were found in terms of the variable of promotional chances (*ibid.*). Gabris and Simo (1995) directed focus on the value placed in autonomy along with the same variables focused on by Houston (2000). However, in contrast, no significant sectoral differences were found in any of these variables by Gabris and Simo (*ibid.*). The studies of Buelens and Van den Broeck (2007) and Maidani (1997) both focused on the difference between intrinsic and extrinsic factors of motivation and like the two previously discussed studies, these also differed in results. Buelens and Van den Broeck (2007) found public employees to be both less intrinsically and extrinsically motivated than employees from the private sphere. On the contrary, Maidini (1997) found public employees to be increasingly extrinsically motivated than their private sector counterparts. In conclusion, differences in motivational factors between employees of the public sector versus employees of the private sector may thus not be explicitly stated, as identified from the adverse results from empirical studies on the topic.
- b) The studies conducted by Lyons et al. (2006), Karl and Sutton (1998) and Posner and Schmidt (1982) are all included in the review by Baarspul (2009) and direct focus on sectoral differences existent in what type of work employees value. Lyons et al. (2006) measured differences in ‘generalized beliefs about the desirability of certain attributes of work (e.g. pay, autonomy, working conditions), and work-related outcomes (e.g. accomplishment, fulfillment, prestige)’ (607). Out of the 18 values surveyed, a statistical difference was recorded in five, of which two may be stated as being different between sectors: public sector employees were found to value

magnanimous work more but prestigious work less than private sector employees; no differences, however, were found in how employees value extrinsic and social work. With a similar data collection approach, Karl and Sutton (1998) found a statistical difference in four out of 16 analyzed values, with three of these expressing a sectoral difference in work values: public sector employees value interesting tasks higher but place a lower importance on high wages and “feeling in on things”; no sectoral difference was found in terms of how workers value job security. Unlike the other studies discussed here, Posner and Schmidt (1982) found no statistical difference between sectors in their study on ‘the representation of things and ideas that matter to people and are important to them’ at work. In conclusion, no clear distinction appears to be able to be made between public sector workers and private sector workers in terms of work values based on the studies reviewed by Baarspul (2009). However, the differences found in the studies of Lyons et al. (2006) and Karl and Sutton (1998) are largely in line with the a priori assumption of private sector employees placing greater focus on economic and individualistic values than public sector employees, often made on the topic.

- 3) **Organization-related values:** This refers to workers’ connection to the organization within which he/she works and thus the individual’s organizational commitment. The studies reviewed by Baarspul (2009) in this section all point to the same result: public sector employees and managers display lower levels of organizational commitment than private sector employees and managers (see: Beulens and Van der Broeck, 2007; Lyons et al., 2006; Goulet and Frank, 2002; Buchanan, 1974). Lyons et al. (2006) take their analysis a step further and disclose that the personal values of public sector workers are less compatible with the organization in which they work and that this results in lower organizational commitment. Organization-related values, expressed through

organizational commitment, thus appear to vary greatly between sectors.

Finally, three important insights may be drawn from the previously conducted research. First, the term “values” is very wide in its meaning and in the previously conducted research the individual’s personal values such as organizational commitment and motivation are the main focal point. As clarified above, this study takes a different approach through instead analyzing the individual employee’s adherence to the more general organizational values such as cost-efficiency and environmental sustainability which according to theory may be sector-dependent. This study thus holds the organization’s value foundation as the main focal point rather than the individual’s personal values. This is a point of focus not previously held in studies on the public-private value conflict as discussed from an employee’s perspective making its research increasingly interesting. Secondly, the previously conducted research within this topic typically focuses on employees holding either a managerial or administrative function. The decisions of “hands-on” employees in a public-service supplying private corporation as discussed in this study have been greatly overlooked despite their direct influence on the supplied service and their experienced demand of making urgent and quick decisions logically impacting their decision-making abilities. Reviewing how the public-private value conflict manifests itself in the decisions of such hands-on roles is thus a new perspective on this conflict, attesting its interest. Lastly, the studies reviewed typically conclude varying results pertaining to the differences in values held by the public- and private-sector employees. This suggests that a value-conflict may be evident in some cases and not others. This ungeneralizable aspect of attained results further proves the necessity of such a research model that this study aims to develop. A need therefore exists of such a model to be utilized to explore this potential value conflict within all sectors involving public procurement.

4. Research Design

Van Thiel (2014) has outlined eight elements that she deems as important in the presentation of the research design. Her developed framework will herein be used due to its perceived degree of clarity in its function towards presenting the reader with a pedagogical and understandable text. Some aspects have been previously discussed in this text but will nonetheless be reiterated for increased clarity. The eight elements outlined by Van Thiel are; (1) the research problem; (2) the theoretical framework; (3) the sampling framework; (4) the research method; (5) a specification of reliability- and validity-ensuring measures; (6) a discussion of how the data will be analyzed; (7) an assessment of the study's practical feasibility; and (8) a specification of how the results will be reported. A briefly altered version of this list will herein be presented in a step-by-step fashion for the present study. The specification of reliability- and validity-ensuring measures (point five) will mostly be included in the research method (point four) as well as discussed in various other parts of the text to achieve a greater flow of the text. Additionally, an assessment of the study's practical feasibility (point seven) will not be conducted due to the relative simple nature of the study, ensuring its definite achievability. Finally, how the results will be reported (point eight) will not be specifically discussed as this is straightforward and does not need to be specifically stated. Doing so is thus herein considered to be needless.

As the comprehensive aim of this study is the creation of a research model to be used for the exploration of a public-private value conflict in the decision of hands-on employees operating in a, through public procurement, public service supplying organization, the presented research should be perceived as part of this study's result, as the result itself is the model created. The research design should, however, not be viewed as the final version of this model. This is because the model is first tested and reviewed before it is concluded and presented in the final stages of this study.

4.1 Research problem

Through public procurement, firms from the private-sector, theoretically standing on an economic-based value foundation, directly control the supply of a public service funded by a public contracting authority, theoretically standing on a conflicting social-based value foundation. The employees of the private firm holding a role directly able to influence the supplied service (hands-on employees) may thus adhere to economic values in instances when the contracting authority deems an adherence to a social value to be needed. In such instances, the supplied service is thus affected by decisions in a way unintended by the contracting authority, ultimately affecting the citizens consuming the service.

4.2 Theoretical framework

This section is divided into three sections. The first of these is a discussion of the public-private value conflict, with an initial outline of the fundamental differences between the two sectors followed by what specific values lie in conflict between them. The second section is a discussion of factors that affect decision-making and how decisions are made within an organizational context. Lastly, the third and final section is a theoretical discussion underlining the choice of research subjects within this study and who these are. These subsections will be the theoretical perspective through which the study's findings will be analyzed.

4.2.1 Public and Private sector values

Prior to discussing the typical value differences between public agencies and private firms, the fundamental differences between organizations stemming from the public sector and the private sector are important to consider. Boyne (2002) refers to the three dimensions of publicness; (1) ownership, (2) funding and (3) control,

as these fundamental differences and thus what contributes to the contrasts between organizations from these two sectors.

- 1) **Ownership:** Private firms are owned by shareholders or entrepreneurs who inflict profit-maximizing pressures onto the business whereas public agencies are indirectly owned by members of society who instead inflict value-focused pressures (Boyne, 2002: 98). Vifell and Westerberg (2013: 17) develop this point, referring to the democratic ground on which public agencies stand as its most important feature. Simply stated, public agencies are democratically formed and hold a responsibility towards the demands of its “owners” – the citizens of society.
- 2) **Funding:** Private firms are funded by accumulated revenue earned through customer sales whereas public agencies are principally funded through collected taxes (Walmsley and Zald, 1973).
- 3) **Control:** Private firms endure market forces and are hereby controlled by the economic system whereas public agencies function under political forces and are thereby controlled by the political system (Dahl and Lindblom, 1953).

The differences in these three dimensions of publicness as put forth by Boyne (2002) are what influence the main value differences between public agencies and private corporations. Public agencies are indirectly owned, funded and controlled by citizens of society and thereby hold the responsibility to act accordingly. Stemming from this common ownership are distinctive goals that are absent in the private sector, influencing the differing value foundations (Ranson and Stewart, 1994). As discussed by Vifell and Westerberg (2013: 27), public agencies per definition hold an external, societal function and do not exist for their own accord. This function is to operate on behalf of citizens and reflect their demands as placed in democratically conducted public deliberations. The value foundation

on which public agencies stand is therefore formed under this condition and has a strong connection to public interest and democracy. As discussed by Rayner et al. (2011: 28-29) values that are typical of a public service ethos include honesty, integrity, morality and accountability. The Swedish Government Offices (Regeringskansliet) published an official report on the Swedish public service ethos in 2013, listing the six fundamental principles: (1) Democracy: all public power should originate from the citizens; (2) Legality: the public authority must be exercised under a legal framework; (3) Objectivity: courts and managing authorities must regard all citizens equal before law and employ impartiality in all decisions; (4) Freedom of opinion: this applies to all citizens and public employees alike; (5) Respect: public authority must always be enacted with respect for every individual's equal worth, freedom and dignity (6) Efficiency: with regards to the state budget and administration, monetary and professional efficiency is to be achieved. This list is the public service ethos for all public workers in Sweden and is therefore very broad in its coverage. This means that it does not cover all aspects of each public agency's value foundation and will therefore not be used as an analytical tool. It does, however, offer a significant insight into the types of values typically included therein.

Conversely, private firms are owned by private entrepreneurs or shareholders, are funded by the sales revenue of goods and services and operate under the influence of market forces. Under these conditions, private firms operate towards differing goals as compared to public agencies. Here, rather than considering what may be best for the citizens of society, the demands of the company's owners are considered, meaning optimizing sales and costs. This typically entails a value foundation with greater focus on economic values as compared to that of public agencies. In line with the goal of profit-maximizing, the economic values put forth by Lundquist (1998) may be considered typical private-sector values. These values are conferred as:

- 1) Functional rationality – choosing appropriate measures in moving towards a goal.
- 2) Cost efficiency – achieving as much as possible for as little money as possible.
- 3) Productivity – achieving as much as possible with as little resources as possible.

Note that the discussion above is one which is greatly simplified and generalized. Organizations within the public and private sectors may exhibit both values and goals discussed here as typically public or private. In this study, however, the generalizable assumption will be the following: public organizations stand on a typically socially-based value foundation and private organizations stand on a typically economic-based value foundation. Additionally, there is no intention for this study to claim either value foundation to be superior to the other in any regard; on this subject, this study holds a neutral standpoint.

4.2.2 Factors affecting decision-making

Following public procurement in the public transport sector, the private corporation that gains the right to supply the traffic service must develop internal routines and policies in order to comply with rules and regulations stated within the procurement documents. Subsequently, if the employees of these firms follow these guidelines, no value conflict would be identified in the decision-making actions analyzed in this study. However, employees holding varying tasks will disparately endure the theoretical possibility of following newly developed internal routines that are not in line with the firm's foundational value structure. Employees must thus consider these new instructions while simultaneously considering the overall goals and values held by the corporation itself and the surrounding peers. What follows is that a diversity of goals must be considered in the decision-making process of employees. How these goals are to be

prioritized may lack in clarity and thereby become a factor of confusion.

Why then, if not by following corporate guidelines, do these decision-making employees make the particular decisions that they do? Generally, decisions are affected by a mixture of social and cultural norms that indicate what is deemed acceptable. In organizations, this is no different. Boholm et al. (2009: 8) elaborate their position in decision-making theory in relation to the organizational space. Decisions are made as a result of previously made decisions and are thereby expected to affect any decisions made in the future. Furthermore, decisions are impacted by a mix of actors and ideas. They are developed within the scope of value creation, are impacted by social conventions and are oftentimes made within social environments (ibid.). Decisions herein are thus made both in interaction with and in relation to numerous other actors and are therefore affected by a mix of cultural and social conventions. It is thus the organizational cultures on both the micro and macro levels of the organizations that affect which decisions are made and what values may be prominent. At the micro level, for example, differing roles, tasks and organizational associations of various occupational groups may affect and create value differences between occupations. At the macro level, cultures may furthermore be discussed as being affected by the sectoral origin of the organization, making sector-specific values, such as economic values for private sector firms, more prominent in the decision-making of employees here from.

4.2.3 Hands-on employees

“Hands-on employees” are the employees of a firm that hold a role which is directly involved with the supply of the considered service – they have a “hands-on” relationship and responsibility to the supplied service. They must oftentimes make quick decisions for operations to run unhindered and face situations in which there is no single correct decision to be made. In the case-study reviewed, these employees are thus directly involved with the supply of the

exemplified traffic service and are therein able to make directly influencing decisions concerning its immediate supply. These employees must make quick decisions regarding how best to proceed in any given situation and hold the main function of maintaining a fully functioning and unhindered traffic service. In this study, these employees are:

- Bus drivers
 - These employees drive the buses and are therein able to make decisions regarding the direct supply of the traffic service.
- Traffic dispatchers
 - These employees hold a comprehensive responsibility in maintaining a fully operational immediate service and therein make decisions directly impacting all aspects pertaining to the direct traffic.
- Mechanics
 - These employees hold the responsibility of maintaining a fully functioning bus fleet and are therein able to make decisions regarding the direct supply of the buses used.

As discussed by Boholm et al. (2009: 7), along with a diversity of goals, an absence of consensus regarding priorities and a plurality of goal-reaching methods, as in the case of hands-on employees, comes the view of decision-making procedures leaning away from rationality. Along these lines, the actions of hands-on employees may thus be assumed to be irrational at times, with rational decision-making being considered following the internal routines and policies developed in line with the procurement documents and national law. This idea is in line with the empirical insights from administrative theory and Simon's (1957) bounded rationality. Bounded rationality refers to the restricted possibility of rational decision-making based on the limitations of time and knowledge and due to the existence of a multiplicity of problem definitions. According to Simon (*ibid.*),

actors making decisions under these conditions seek to make decisions that may be considered satisfactory rather than optimum. As per Boholm et al. (2009: 8) this follows from the insight that in practice the identification of a solution oftentimes precedes the identification of any alternatives of decisions. This suggests that the first solution considered in these cases may be the one acted upon rather than considering a potential list of alternatives.

4.3 Sampling framework

As previously asserted, the units of research in this study are the hands-on employees of the private traffic carrier from the public procurement case discussed. The chosen public procurement was selected due to the contract documents being easily available and as it concerns a service currently in operation and which has been so for more than one year. The directive of it being operational for more than one year has been chosen to ensure that the private traffic carrier has had sufficient time to implement all necessary policies in relation to the service. The hands-on employees studied are the bus drivers, traffic dispatchers and mechanics. Ten bus drivers, ten traffic dispatchers and six mechanics were interviewed, and the selection procedure applied in the selection of what employees to interview was as follows:

- They had to have a direct connection to the procured service
 - As the private traffic company holds multiple contracts with various county traffic authorities with potentially different values foundations, the interviewed employees must hold a role in direct connection to the procured service.
- They had to have worked within the role for an excess of 6 months as otherwise any potential value transference from the organization to the individual may not have been possible (may not otherwise be stated as standing on a private value foundation)

- They were chosen at random – unspecified age, gender, nationality, etc.
- Fluent in Swedish – this is specified as there are many employees in the Swedish public transport sector who are not fluent in Swedish and ensuring that the scenarios are fully understood is of great importance to this study.

The number of employees interviewed from each occupational group was both an intentional decision and an unintentional occurrence. No more than the six mechanics (and the single mechanic in the pilot interview) and the ten traffic dispatchers (and the traffic dispatcher from the pilot interview) interviewed were linked to the specific service, meaning that no more were available for participation. Ten bus drivers were, however, chosen in order to limit the scale of the information collected under the existent time constraint and alongside the perception of the high quality of the data collected. Furthermore, as this study places focus on the quality of information rather than the quantity, limiting the number of interviews to a total of 26 was perceived as a logical decision in relation to the resultant quality of the data analysis.

4.4 Research method

In this chapter, the case study reviewed will be introduced, the values operationalized as the public value foundation will be identified and the method of data collection will be presented. These sections are important towards the model-creating aim as they are part of the initial, pre-test framework of this model. Note that the public values have been identified from a review of the contract documents pertaining to the case study and this process is likewise an aspect of the developed model.

4.4.1 Case study

The case reviewed in this study is a public transport procurement between the Swedish county transport authority – *Västtrafik* – and an anonymous private transport carrier. *Västtrafik*, formed in 1998, is the county transport authority of Västra Götaland in the south west of Sweden. Prior to 1998, Västra Götaland was split into three smaller counties with four county transport authorities controlling the public transport in the region. Today, *Västtrafik* is Sweden's second largest county traffic authority with 2,700 vehicles and 22,000 boat, tram, train and bus stops (*Västtrafik*, 2017). Their responsibilities include traffic coordination, timetable development, route planning and the procurement of all public transport services in the region. Thus, contrary to common belief, *Västtrafik* does not directly control the vehicles supplying the public transport in the county. Rather, these are controlled by public and private transport carriers who hold procurement contracts with *Västtrafik*. What private transport carrier reviewed in this text is considered insignificant to the aim of this study and is therefore not specified. This is because:

- 1) The aim of this study does not include conducting an organizational revision of the private transport carrier. Therefore, to avoid any misdirected focus on this one company, its name is omitted and instead presented as anonymous.
- 2) To ensure a high level of reliability and credibility in answers obtained from interviews (and thus this study's empirical data), ensuring that employees of the private transport cannot be held accountable for their answers is of utmost importance. Therefore, to ensure that interviewed participants experience that they may answer truthfully, both their own names and the name of the company in which they work is declared anonymous.

For the sake of simplicity, the county transport authority (Västtrafik) and the private transport carrier will from this point on be referred to by the following abbreviations:

County Transport Authority:	CTA
Private Transport Carrier:	PTC

Two aspects of the public transport procurement are of specific interest to this study. Firstly, the contract documents have been reviewed and the values expressed herein by the CTA as specifically important to the supply of the transport service have been highlighted. These values have then been operationalized as the public value foundation reviewed in this study. This value foundation is used in analyzing the data obtained from the interviews conducted. Only the typically public values are of interest here as employees of the PTC are assumed to already act in accordance to economic values such cost efficiency and resource productivity. Only these values are thus used in the establishment of a public value foundation. Secondly, the direct supply of the service expressed by the procurement documents is of interest. Specifically, what decisions are made by the previously discussed hands-on employees of the PTC in the supply of this service is examined. To identify what value conflicts arise between the decision-making of the hands-on employees and the established public value foundation, formal interviews will be conducted with these employees. Both how the value extraction and the interviews have been conducted will be disclosed in further detail below.

4.4.2 Contract documents value identification

This section discusses what is operationalized as the public value framework in this study. The contract documents reviewed date back to early 2010 and the bus traffic concerned began operating in June of 2011. In total, this procurement included a total of 42 contract documents and five separate traffic services. Out of these 42

documents, some were thus concerned with other bus services than the one specifically discussed in this study and were therefore omitted from the value identification. A total of 27 documents amounting to 300 pages were either specific to the bus service concerned or included general information relating to all the various traffic services involved in the procurement. These 300 pages were examined in search for phrases and sentences displaying the values held by the CTA.

First, all phrases and sentences indicating values held by the CTA contained in these documents were highlighted – including those which may be referred to as private values. Thereafter, these highlighted fragments of text were reviewed and value categories were formed into which each sentence or phrase would fit. In some cases, subcategories were formed in order to specify the value discussed. All main categories and their associated subcategories were then assigned a color for the text to be sorted with greater ease. All highlighted text was placed into at least one of these categories and if something fit into more than one category then it was placed into each of these. The value categories and subcategories formed were:

- Inclusiveness
- Quality
 - Safety
 - Reliability
 - Appeal
- The environment
- Development
- Effectiveness/Efficiency

The categories of *Development* and *Effectiveness/Efficiency* may from this point be disregarded due to their definite place within the private value framework. As previously discussed, this study will analyze the public-private value conflict and therefore only the typically public values found within the contract documents are of interest.

Below follows a presentation of the identified values along with examples from the contract documents of instances in which an adherence to these values has been exhibited. I have myself translated these examples from Swedish to English.

4.4.2.1 Inklusiveness

The value of inclusiveness is referred to several times within the contract documents. It is written about in terms of the public transport system being available for not only people living in Sweden's larger cities but also those living on the outskirts of these cities and those living in rural communities considerable distances from these cities:

E.g.: *"Everyone in Västra Götaland should have access to education, work, service and leisure"* (Västtrafik, 2010a).

It is also written about in terms of public transport being available to those with disabilities, such as people in wheelchairs:

E.g.: *"Västtrafik has as a goal to make the public transportation more available to people with functional disabilities"* (Västtrafik, 2010b)

Finally, the CTA wishes for everyone of all ethnicities and no matter what gender to want to use public transportation and thereby lays focus on the value of inclusiveness.

E.g.: *"Everyone, regardless gender or ethnic background, should want to travel with Västtrafik."* (Västtrafik, 2010a)

4.4.2.2 Quality – safety, reliability, appeal

The quality experienced by passengers is an aspect of great importance to the CTA – the passengers come first. Initially, this is shown by the construction of the contract which includes a financial incentive in the form of a bonus received by the PTC based on a passenger survey on quality experienced (incentive agreement). Furthermore, the CTA values passenger safety and has therefore imposed a rule stating that all busses must be equipped with a security camera system, which the CTA itself covers the expenses of.

All buses must also be equipped with an Alco lock system to ensure that bus drivers are unable to drive intoxicated. Passenger safety is important to the extent that it is specified that the drivers should always prioritize two specific aspects: passenger safety and passenger treatment. Safety is thus not just something to be achieved through the installation of hardware but is something which bus drivers must actively work towards achieving.

E.g.: *“To increase passenger and personnel safety, the PTC must actively reinforce the personnel’s competence in safety related instances.”* (Västtrafik, 2010c)

Achieving what is best for the passenger is something that the CTA states as important. The CTA has introduced a traveler's warranty, meaning that passengers may be refunded up to a maximum amount if delays of an excess of a specified number of minutes occur.

E.g.: *“Obtaining satisfied passengers is a requirement for us to get more people to travel with Västtrafik. The most important thing is that we keep our promises. Passenger demands may sometimes seem insurmountable but that is a reality we must face and relate to.”* (Västtrafik, 2010a)

Furthermore, offering an appealing and reliable service are goals that must be upheld by the PTC according to the CTA. The bus driver must always strive to stay on schedule and if any problems arise these must be handled with utmost care.

E.g.: *“Together with the PTC we will create an appealing service which attracts new passengers and ensures that we retain those we already have.”* (Västtrafik, 2010a)

4.4.2.3 The environment

The environmental aspect concerns lowering the environmental impact of travel. Therefore, the CTA has within the contract documents demanded that the PTC develops an environmental policy. It is also stated herein that the CTA will potentially cover the costs of development towards more environmentally sustainable alternatives if the PTC cannot itself afford these developments, highlighting the CTA’s dedication towards this cause. Furthermore, the environmental im-

pact is specified as not only including air pollution but also liquid leakages and sound pollution. If any liquid leakages or considerable sound pollution are detected on a bus then these problems are stated as needing to be dealt with immediately.

E.g.: "It's not only about contributing to lowering levels of greenhouse gases, but also about lowering congestion and making the local environment in urban surroundings more appealing. [...] Public transportation is unequivocally a part of the solution of the ever-growing climate issues." (Västtrafik, 2010a)

4.4.2.4 Operationalized public value foundation

To specify, the values operationalized as the public value foundation in the exploration of an existent public-private value conflict are:

- 1) Inclusiveness
 - a) People with disabilities, people living in all areas of the county, people of all ethnicities, etc. – everyone in Västra Götaland should be able to travel with public transport.
- 2) Quality – safety, reliability, appeal
 - a) The passengers' needs come first – they must experience a safe, reliable and appealing service.
- 3) The environment
 - a) Air-, sound- and overall environmental pollution is to be actively worked towards minimizing at all times.

4.4.3 Vignettes – interviews with an experimental touch

The data collection method of *vignettes* is a method in which respondents are asked any number of questions regarding a hypothetical scenario constructed by the researcher. Kullberg and Brunnberg (2007: 179) point to the importance of the scenario/vignette being short and concise, realistic, logical, easy to understand and contain relevant profession-specific codes and language. If the vignette is perceived and understood as realistic by respondents, chances are increased of answers reflecting how these individuals would act in reality (Östberg et al., 2000). As discussed by Barter and

Renold (1999) this technique is typically used for three main reasons: “to allow actions in context to be explored; to clarify people’s judgements; and to provide a less personal and therefore less threatening way of exploring sensitive topics” (ibid.: 1). More specifically, the values, norms, ethical viewpoints (Hébert et al., 1990) and attitudes (Groskind, 1991) of the interviewees may be effectively explored using vignettes.

The data collection technique of *vignettes* may be used in several different ways but has herein been conducted using structured interviews. This is done to be able to mimic the everyday work of the participants to the highest degree possible to ensure a high level of reliability and validity of the data collected. It is for this reason that the vignettes have not been constructed in a survey format despite the benefit of increasing the studied sample. Participants were in the interviews confronted with scenarios that they may encounter in their day-to-day operations, asked what decision(s) they would make and why they would do so. To trigger stress and thus to better mimic the everyday work-environment experienced by these employees an experimental touch in the form of a time-constraint was placed on the decision-making process of the respondents; after the scenario had been read out in full, respondents were given a maximum time of 15 seconds before an answer was demanded, a constraint of which they were made aware. The timer was placed directly in front of the respondent to further intensify this effect. Furthermore, the aim of the study was not disclosed to participants until after the interview to avoid attempts of answering in a specific way. Along this same idea, words such as value, value-conflict, public and private were not used until after the interview. Furthermore, a pilot interview was conducted with two employees (separately) from the bus driver and traffic dispatcher occupational groups and with one mechanic to verify the realistic nature of each scenario as well as to validate that the scenarios were constructed in such a way as to explore the existence of a conflict between the considered values. Naturally, the scenarios themselves as well as the language used and the mechanical aspects were briefly altered following these initial inter-

views and then kept unchanged for the rest. Finally, participants were at multiple times throughout the interview guaranteed and reminded that they were to remain fully anonymous to ensure honest answers.

Each hands-on employee was asked to answer what decision they would make and why they would do so in relation to a total of three scenarios. Each scenario was formed to fall in line with one of the values of the public value foundation outlined above. The first scenario was thus in line with the availability/inclusiveness value, the second with the quality value and the third with the environmental value. To ensure a high plausibility of the hypothetical situations formed, one industry insider with experience from work as a bus driver and as a traffic dispatcher, and one industry insider with a supervisory role over the operations of all three occupational groups were consulted. As each occupational group – the bus drivers, the traffic dispatchers and the mechanics – typically face different situations in their day-to-day operations, different scenarios were formed for each group on most occasions. At times when the operations of the occupational groups were found to overlap, the same scenarios were used for both/all groups. The situations formed were intentionally made to place the private economic values in conflict with the public value in question. Each scenario was thus formed and presented with the idea of the existence of two standard, logical decisions that may be made – one in line with an economic value foundation and one in line with the public value foundation. In some cases, the interviewees were given the choice between two options to achieve this affect, while in other cases this was not necessary due to the already logical formation of the scenario. After asking each employee *what* decision they would make, *why* this decision was made was asked. This was done to better identify the value(s) underlying each decision meaning that it was the most important aspect of each interview. When an employee did not present a value-specific reasoning to the question of *why*, they were not further inquired regarding this point as to not nudge answers in any direction.

4.5 How will the data be analyzed?

By constructing the scenarios to identify an adherence to one of two conflicting values – one public and one private – the results gained may themselves in part be seen as an analysis of the values held by the hands-on employees and thus in part the existence of a value-conflict. This does not, however, mean fully understanding the basis on which the decisions were made. Therefore, the theoretical discussions as outlined by Simon (1957) and Boholm et al. (2009:7) regarding what affects rational decision-making will be used as a tool for further analyzing answers received. Rational decision-making will herein be considered following the internal routines and policies developed by the PTC in line with the procurement documents and national law as this is what these employees are both expected and supposed to do. Simon (1957), deliberates that rational decision-making is based on the knowledge held, time available and how a problem is defined. Boholm et al. (2009: 7), claim that the comprehensive goals held by employees and how these are prioritized as well as the methods identified and adhered to additionally affect the rationality of decisions. The held knowledge and perceived problem-definition of the interviewed employee highlights the presented scenarios ability to explore what it has been set out to explore. If an employee does not identify the problem that the scenario is intended to illustrate due to a perceived ambiguity or if an employee does not hold sufficient knowledge in understanding the extent or existence of a problem then the scenario does not efficiently achieve its intended purpose. These factors thus analyze the validity of the scenario in achieving its set-out objective and therein identify existent limitations of the conducted study. How employees choose to prioritize the problems and goals identified in a scenario specifically point to the employees' value adherence. An employee choosing, for example, to prioritize the goal of passenger safety over the goal of cost-efficiency, indicates an adherence to the quality value over the cost-efficiency value. Likewise, this employee would

identify the lacking safety of the bus as the fundamental problem and not the cost associated with acting along this line. Finally, if the time available is not considered sufficient for the interviewed employee to make a rational decision, then the employees hands-on role may be considered as a contributing factor. In such occasions, the underlying values held by employees increase in clarity as options are unable to be sufficiently weighed, leading to satisfactory considered decisions.

The factors of held knowledge, perceived problem-definitions, goal- and problem-priority and time will thus be analyzed to gain an enhanced understanding of the reasons underlying the interviewed employees' rational/irrational decision-making.

For further clarification, the concept of rationality is of great importance to the data analysis (decision-making analysis) section of this study. The term "rationality" should hereafter be viewed precisely as it has been discussed above and should not be seen as a subjective view of what decisions have been made versus what decisions "should" have been made. Rational decisions are in this study seen as those decisions that are made in line with company routines and policies and thus procurement documents and Swedish law. Decisions that deviate from such a description are thus therefore labelled as irrational.

5. Result/Analysis

In this chapter, the results of the study will be presented alongside an analysis thereof. The value of cost-efficiency will be used to operationalize the theoretical private value foundation as the hands-on employees are through the scenarios confronted with a choice between avoiding a fine for the PTC and therein elevating the cost-efficient value, or accepting a fine and therein instead elevating the public value in question (inclusiveness, quality, the environment). Through for example choosing to use an unsafe bus instead of temporarily cancelling a service as a safety precaution the employee can be said to be elevating the value of cost-efficiency as cancelling a service would result in a fine and thus increase costs while choosing not to do so would keep costs at a minimum.

Results will be presented in order of value, meaning that scenarios and their answers will be discussed for each profession under each value. First the inclusiveness value will be presented within which the scenarios used to explore this value for each profession will be declared. Secondly, the quality value will be presented, under which the scenarios of each profession will be discussed. The safety value has been used to represent the quality value due to its significantly considered importance herein and will hereon be referred to as the quality (safety) value. Lastly, the environmental value is presented within which the scenarios for each profession will be presented. As each scenario has been formed to generate two logical answers, why the interviewed employees have made each decision is displayed under the subheadings of *option 1* and *option 2* for each scenario. After the answers of each occupational group have been discussed in relation to a public value, an analysis concerning the rationality of answers will be held to further understand the logics behind the answers obtained. These analyses will be concluded in one

final section, in which a discussion of the existence of a public-private value conflict will be held.

Note that the interviews were conducted in Swedish and that the presented scenarios and answers presented below have been translated into English.

5.1 Inclusiveness

5.1.1 Bus drivers

Scenario: *You drive a service which during a few hours in the afternoon should drive via an industrial area and stop at two additional stops that aren't used during other hours of the day (except for during a few peak hours in the morning). You are currently running 10 minutes late and forget to turn off and drive via the industrial area. You do not realize your mistake until 5 minutes later and if you turn back you risk driving more than 20 minutes late which would result in a fine for the company. However, you are driving the last service that should go via the industrial area. You contact the traffic dispatchers but they place the decision in your hands – what do you do?*

This scenario is shaped to place the inclusiveness value in conflict with the cost efficiency value. Which of these two values the bus driver primarily elevates will be displayed by his/her choice between two decisions:

- 1) **Inclusiveness:** Turn back and pick up any potential passengers in the industrial zone – resulting in a larger fine for the PTC than if not turning back.
- 2) **Cost efficiency:** Keep driving, do not turn back – resulting in no fine for the PTC for missing such a small percentage of the overall service.

Option 1: Turn back - upholding the inclusiveness (public) value

When confronted with this scenario all bus drivers were unanimous in their decision (10/10) – they would turn back and pick up any potential passengers standing at the bus stops in the industrial area. From asking the drivers *why* they made this decision the value of inclusiveness can be recognized in each answer. One driver gave the answer:

“I would turn back. If you have to choose between people and money you have to choose people.” (Bus driver #4)

Here, the driver makes a clear distinction between the importance of money and the importance of people. Through such a comment it is clear that this driver elevates the value of inclusiveness over the economy of the PTC. Another driver answered:

“I would turn back for the sake of the people standing there waiting. They may have an appointment booked or something like that. If I was a passenger I would have been very sad if the bus never came so I would definitely turn back.” (Bus driver #5)

Unlike the driver in the first example, this driver does not specifically mention making the choice between money and people. However, stating that the decision has been made for the sake of the people waiting for the bus indicates compassion and an elevation of the value of inclusiveness as described by the CTA. As a final example, one driver gave the answer:

“You never know if there’s anyone standing there waiting for the bus so I would turn back and pick them up. That’s what I would’ve wanted someone to do for me.” (Bus driver #10)

Like in the two previous examples, this driver would turn back for the sake of the people. This answer indicates that the driver places greater value in making the service available for everyone than the economy of the PTC.

Option 2: Do not turn back - upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

As previously stated, no driver answered that he/she would not turn back signifying that none upheld the cost-efficiency value above the inclusiveness value.

5.1.2 Traffic dispatchers

Scenario: *A driver calls in at 06.30 in the morning before taking out his/her bus from the depot and informs you that the bus that he/she has been assigned for the day has a non-functioning handicap ramp (stuck and unusable), a non-functioning lowering function and the wheelchair securing seat belt is out of order. The only other bus available to use is the wrong bus type for the service (meaning that the company will be fined for using it) but is functioning in its entirety. What do you do?*

This scenario is shaped to place the inclusiveness value in conflict with the cost efficiency value. Which of these two values the traffic dispatcher primarily elevates will be displayed by his/her choice between two decisions:

- 1) **Inclusiveness:** Choose the fully functioning bus despite it being the wrong bus type for the service according to the contract documents – resulting in a fine for the PTC but meaning that people of bodily disabilities can utilize the supplied service.
- 2) **Cost efficiency:** Choose the bus with the defective functions – resulting in no fine but meaning that not all people are able to utilize the supplied service

Option 1: Choose the functioning but contractually wrong type of bus - upholding the inclusiveness (public) value

Most traffic dispatchers (8/10) stated that they would choose the fully functioning bus despite it being the wrong bus type for the

service. All these employees highlighted that they would make this decision on behalf of the elderly, disabled or wheelchair bound individuals who wish to ride the bus and thus elevating the inclusiveness value. One dispatcher stated:

“Everyone should have the ability to ride the bus. It’s therefore better to drive with the wrong bus type than with one with a list of faults.” (Traffic dispatcher #4)

Along the same point of view, another dispatcher stated:

“A person with a wheelchair may want to come on board the bus and with those problems they won’t be able to. It’s better to drive the wrong bus type than a bus with such problems.” (Traffic dispatcher #2)

One dispatcher included the value for safety alongside the value of inclusiveness, highlighting its importance, by stating:

“Safety comes first and without a seat belt for persons with a wheelchair these people won’t be safe meaning that they can’t come on board.” (Traffic dispatcher #8)

Option 2: Choose the correct bus type despite its defects - upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

It can be declared that the traffic dispatchers that chose to keep driving with the faulty bus (2/10) did so for economic reasons. Driving with the incorrect type of bus results in a fine and this is something that these dispatchers noticeably wish to avoid. One of the dispatcher stated:

“We’re not supposed to drive with the wrong bus-type and the problems aren’t severe enough to change bus.” (Traffic dispatcher #1)

By stating that “we’re not supposed to drive with the wrong bus-type”, this traffic dispatcher is referring to the cost ensued from doing so as there is no rule stating that it may not be done. The statement of the other dispatcher had a similar reasoning, stating:

“I would drive the faulty bus and try to change it as soon as the workshop are finished with fixing another bus.” (Traffic Dispatcher #6)

Although this dispatcher states that he/she wishes to change the bus as soon as possible, by not choosing to drive with the incorrect bus type indicates an elevation of economic values rather than the value of inclusiveness.

5.1.3 Mechanics

Scenario: *You have received a call from the traffic dispatchers: A bus has just arrived at one of the end stations and is according to schedule supposed to depart in 5 minutes. However, the engine has boiled and the bus cannot continue to be driven with. There are several buses in the workshop and no reserves in the depot. All buses but two are completely disassembled. One, which is the correct bus type, is finished except for the handicap ramp and the wheelchair securing seat belt. The other is just finished but it the wrong bus type, meaning that its use will mean a fine for the company. What do you do?*

This scenario is shaped to place the public inclusiveness value in conflict with the private cost efficiency value. Which of these two values the mechanic primarily elevates is displayed by his/her choice between two decisions:

- 1) **Inclusiveness:** Replace the overheated bus with a bus of incorrect type – resulting in a fine for the PTC for driving with the wrong type of bus as stated in the contract documents.
- 2) **Cost efficiency:** Replace the overheated bus with the defect-ed but correct type of bus – resulting in no fine for the PTC but meaning that not all potential passengers are able to utilize the supplied service.

Option 1: Use the fully functioning but contractually wrong type of bus – upholding the inclusiveness (public) value

All the interviewed mechanics (6/6) answered that they would use the fully functioning but contractually wrong type of bus, thus upholding the inclusiveness value above the cost efficiency value.

All mechanics recognized that not everyone would be able to use the contractually correct type of bus and discussed that their decision was made to accommodate all passengers. One mechanic stated:

“We can likely fix the bus with the faulty handicap ramp and wheelchair seat belt within the next couple of hours so I would let the incorrect bus type drive that service for the time being until we’re finished with the other one. We still have to fix that problem before it’s able to be used on a service - it’s important for everyone to be able to use the bus.” (Mechanic #3)

Alongside discussing the scenario in terms of its factor of inclusiveness, a few mechanics (3/6) also mentioned the bus’s problem from a safety perspective:

“It’s better to drive with the wrong bus type than not at all. What is clear though is that we don’t want [the bus without a handicap ramp or a wheelchair seat belt] to be driven on a bus service. You will not only not be able to let people with wheelchairs onto the bus but there will also be difficulties with closing the doors if the handicap ramp is out of order which can mean a potential safety risk.” (Mechanic #1)

One mechanic’s answer clearly displayed an elevation of the inclusiveness value (and safety value) above the cost efficiency value by stating:

“I’d rather risk a fine than that someone gets injured or is unable to come on board their bus.” (Mechanic #4)

Option 2: Use the defected but correct type of bus - upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

No mechanics (0/6) answered that they would use the defected but contractually correct type of bus in this scenario signifying that none upheld the cost-efficiency value above the inclusiveness value.

5.1.4 Decision-Making Analysis

All bus drivers answered that they would turn back and drive past the bus stops in the industrial area, despite it resulting in a larger fine for the PTC than not doing so. When asked why this decision was made all drivers answered that it was made from compassion,

with one driver specifically mentioning the explored value conflict by stating that the option of helping people must be chosen despite it costing more money. As making this decision is within the value foundation of the public association and is therefore stated within company policy, it may be seen as the rational decision to make. In line with Simon's (1957) bounded rationality, these employees thus appear to define the fundamental problem in the presented scenario to be the same – if the two bus stops in the industrial area were missed then passengers would be left stranded. Likewise, in line with the discussion of Boholm et al. (2009: 7), the goals identified by these drivers, the consensus in method used in reaching this goal and how goals are prioritized all result in this rational decision. The prioritized goal herein may be identified as being available for all passengers by driving past these otherwise missed bus stops, despite a resultant fine. In this choice of goals, these employees thus uphold one value over another – inclusiveness over cost-efficiency.

Along the same line, all mechanics answered that they would make the rationally-considered decision to use the fully functioning but wrong type of bus over the defected but correct type of bus, despite this resulting in a fine for the PTC. This is herein considered to be the rational decision as it indicates acting towards the best interest of the passengers and thus in line with the inclusiveness value, highlighted as important to the public contracting authority. All mechanics thus identified the problem that using the faulty bus would result in some passengers not being able to use the supplied service. Some mechanics also pointed at the safety of the bus, indicating the perceived importance of correcting such a problem. In aiding this problem consensus was reached in the method used – use the contract-violating bus, resulting in a fine for the PTC. All mechanics thus prioritized the goals of passenger inclusiveness and safety over the goal of minimizing costs (cost-efficiency), thus upholding these values.

Two of the ten interviewed traffic dispatchers, however, made a comparatively irrational decision by not following internal guidelines, giving the answer that they would choose to use the bus without the handicap ramp, wheelchair seat belt and lowering function

over the fully functioning but wrong type of bus. It is herein possible that these employees failed to make the rational decision due to the existing time-pressure or an inability to link the stated faulty features to a problem of inclusiveness. In line with the factors affecting the ability of making a rational decision as discussed by Simon (1953), these traffic dispatchers appear more likely, however, to divergently define the fundamental problem present in the scenario. Herein, the goal and problem are evidently linked, as seeing the main problem as the bus of the correct type not possessing all the inclusiveness functions would mean elevating the goal of passenger inclusiveness while seeing the cost of using the wrong type of bus as the fundamental problem would mean elevating the goal of cost-efficiency. These traffic dispatchers thus appear to perceive the fundamental problem as the cost associated with using the wrong type of bus resulting in a clear diversity in the goal-setting of these employees when comparing the goals of inclusiveness and cost-efficiency. Subsequently, there is no clear consensus between these employees regarding priorities of goals, resulting in varying decisions being made. Thus, while the majority of traffic dispatchers made the decision to use the fully functioning bus, upholding the inclusiveness value, a couple made the decision to use the faulty bus, instead upholding the cost-efficiency value.

5.2 Quality/Safety

5.2.1 Bus drivers

Scenario: *You have just taken over the bus from another driver and therefore conduct a thorough interior sweep through which you realize that all fire extinguishers are missing. You call the traffic dispatchers who are unable to give you a new bus and therefore request for you to keep driving to avoid any fines due to cancelled traffic. What do you do?*

This scenario is shaped to place how the bus drivers value the quality (safety) of the service (public) in conflict with how the drivers value the economy (private) of the PTC. The traffic dispatchers hold no power in ordering the bus driver to keep driving and the term *request* is therefore intentionally used. The decision is therefore in the hands on the driver. The bus drivers can thus decide to do one of two things:

- 1) **Quality/safety:** Do not drive the bus without fire extinguishers – resulting in a fine for the PTC for breaching the contract and failing to supply the traffic service.
- 2) **Cost-efficiency:** Continue driving the bus without fire extinguishers – resulting in no fine for the PTC.
 - This may result in a fine from the police in the case of a traffic stop but due to the minimal likelihood of this occurring it has been concluded in discussions with business insiders that its possibility is not considered by the hands-on employees.

Option 1: Do not drive – upholding the quality (safety) (public) value

The majority of drivers (7/10) answered that they would not drive the bus without any fire extinguishers. When asked why this decision was made, answers were not only in line with the quality (safety) value, but also that it was made as driving a bus without fire extinguishers is against the law. Three drivers discussed their decision from this perspective, one of whom did not mention the safety aspect at all. This driver stated:

“I know that if I am to follow the law then I’m not allowed to drive [without fire extinguishers]. I may not agree with it myself, but I have to follow the law in all cases.” (Bus driver #6)

The other drivers thus mentioned that they would not drive without fire extinguishers as it poses a threat to the safety of everyone on

board, clearly elevating the quality (safety) value above the cost-efficiency value. One driver answered:

“I definitely wouldn’t keep driving. It’s my responsibility as the driver of the bus to make sure that everyone is safe at all times.” (Bus driver #3)

Another driver gave the answer:

“I definitely wouldn’t drive. It’s a safety thing.” (Bus driver #4)

Option 2: Continue driving – upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

Less than half of the drivers (3/10) thus answered that they would continue to drive without fire extinguishers. The scenario has been intentionally worded so that drivers were reminded of the economic consequences of not driving the bus and these answers may therefore be thought of as being in line with the economic value foundation. Two of these drivers mentioned specifically when asked why they made this decision that it was to avoid fines, one of whom replied:

“I would keep driving so that the company wouldn’t receive any fines and so that we wouldn’t have to cancel any trips” (Bus driver #5)

When asked why, the final driver did not at first mention that this decision was made in order to avoid any fines. He/she did however state that it is what is best for the company, heavily implying that this was the case. When asked *why* this was what was best for the company, the driver made an economic reasoning decidedly clear by referring to its financial benefit. This driver stated:

“I would drive anyway, it’s better for [the PTC] that way. [It is better for the company because] well – financially.” (Bus driver #9)

5.2.2 Traffic dispatchers

Scenario: *A driver calls in when he/she arrives at the end stop of the bus service and informs you that all fire extinguishers are missing. You have no reserve buses at your dis-*

posal and the next bus arrives at the stop in 30 mins. What do you do?

This scenario is shaped to place how the traffic dispatchers value the quality (safety) of the service (public) in conflict with how they value the economy of the PTC (private). The traffic dispatchers can thus decide to do one of two things:

- 1) **Quality (Safety):** Tell the bus driver to not drive with the bus without any fire extinguishers – resulting in a fine for the PTC for failing to supply the traffic service.
- 2) **Cost-efficiency:** Tell the bus driver to keep driving – resulting in no fine for the PTC.
 - As previously discussed this may result in a fine from the police but as this is highly improbable such a fine is not considered as a possibility.

Option 1: Tell the driver to not drive – upholding the quality/safety value (public)

As in a few other scenarios in this study, this is one time when all participants gave the same answer. All traffic dispatchers answered that they would tell the driver not to drive without fire extinguishers. When asked why they made this decision, all dispatchers pointed to the safety of the people on the bus – to keep people safe in the case of a fire a fire extinguisher is a necessity. One driver gave the short answer of:

“Safety risk!” (Traffic dispatcher #10)

Another driver highlighted the value conflict at hand, stating that he/she would cancel the bus service due to such a problem:

“Safety risk. Even if I must cancel bus traffic I will do so. There’s a very high priority on safety.” (Traffic dispatcher #9)

Alongside this consideration of the safety of the bus, four dispatchers also pointed at the legality of the scenario as it would be illegal to drive without any fire extinguishers. Along this line, one dispatcher stated:

“You never know when something can happen. If there’s no fire extinguisher on that bus when that something happens then people may get seriously injured. We’re also not allowed to drive that bus.” (Traffic dispatcher #7)

Option 2: Tell the driver to continue driving - upholding the cost efficiency (private) value

As previously stated, no traffic dispatcher answered that he/she would tell the driver to continue driving. This indicates that no driver elevates the economic cost-efficiency value above the quality (safety) value.

5.2.3 Mechanics

Scenario: *You have received a call from the traffic dispatchers: A bus has just arrived at one of the end stations and is according to schedule supposed to depart in 5 minutes. However, the engine has boiled and the bus cannot continue to be driven with. There are several buses in the workshop and no reserves in the depot. All buses but two are completely disassembled. One, which is the correct bus type is finished except for the speedometer. The other is just finished but it the wrong bus type, meaning that its use will mean a fine for the company. What do you do?*

This scenario is shaped to place how the mechanics value the quality (safety) of the service (public) in conflict with how they value the economy of the PTC (private). The mechanics can thus decide to do one of two things:

1. **Quality (Safety):** Replace the overheated bus with a bus of incorrect type – resulting in a fine for the PTC for driving with the contractually wrong type of bus.

2. **Cost-efficiency:** Replace the overheated bus with the defect-ed but correct type of bus – resulting in no fine for the PTC but meaning a potential safety hazard as the driver will not be entirely aware of the speeds at which he/she is travelling.
 - Driving with a broken speedometer is both an illegal act and a contractual violation. However, to receive a fine for this it must be a reoccurring offence, meaning that no such fine should be considered in this scenario.

Option 1: Use the fully functioning but contractually wrong type of bus – upholding the quality (safety) (public) value

As in the previous scenario, all mechanics (6/6) chose to use the fully functioning bus despite it being of the wrong type and thus resulting in a fine. When asked why they made this decision they all in one way or another referred to how it would be unsafe to drive a bus without a speedometer clearly upholding the quality (safety) value above the cost-efficiency value. One mechanic stated:

“You can’t drive a bus without a fully functioning speedometer. Not only is it not safe but other functions are linked to the speedometer meaning that they will also cease to function.” (Mechanic #2)

Along the same line another mechanic stated:

“I would send out the fully functioning but wrong type of bus and then try to change it sometime later when a bus of the correct type becomes available. It all comes down to the safety of the driver and pas-sengers.” (Mechanic #3)

One mechanic pointed at the value conflict explored in this study by mentioning both the importance of considering the safety of the bus and that this aspect is more important than for the PTC to receive a fine. This mechanic stated:

“In this scenario, it’s all about the safety. It’s crucial for the driver to know at what speeds he/she is travelling so I would have to send out the wrong type of bus. I wouldn’t care much about the fine here, the safety has to come first.” (Mechanic #6)

Option 2: Use the defected but correct type of bus - upholding the cost efficiency (private) value

No mechanics (0/6) answered that they would use the bus with a non-functioning speedometer despite its leading to a fine for the PTC.

5.2.4 Decision-Making Analysis

When asked what they would do if confronted with the problem of a bus not having any fire extinguishers, all traffic dispatchers answered that they would take the bus out of traffic immediately, despite the PTC receiving a fine for doing so. This answer is herein considered the rational decision as it is in line with what is stated in the contract documents and the law and is thus what is established in the PTC's policy documents. As discussed by Simon (1957), rationality may be dependent on time, knowledge and how the problem is defined. Despite a limited amount of time, the rational decision was made, signifying that in times of duress rationality may be achieved by the traffic dispatchers in prioritizing between costs and safety. Likewise, the knowledge of fire extinguishers being needed to uphold the safety of passengers during a fire is something known by all. Furthermore, as discussed by Boholm et al. (2009: 7) these employees also tend towards the rational decision due to their unanimity in goal-definition, the method used in reaching this goal and the comprehensive priorities in how to act following the concerned scenario. When asked why this decision was made, all answered in line with the value meant to be explored by this scenario - the quality (safety) of the passengers - defining this as a unanimous goal of these employees. Furthermore, a handful of employees mentioned the legal aspect of the scenario signifying acting in line with the law to be another fundamental goal. Two problems are herein defined by traffic dispatchers in the discerned problem - without a fire extinguisher, the passengers are not completely safe and not having a fire extinguisher on board means breaking the law. All traffic dispatchers thus prioritized the same, if

there is no fire extinguisher on the bus then despite a fine that bus should not be driving with passengers on board, thereby upholding the quality (safety) value above the cost-efficiency value.

Like the traffic dispatchers, the mechanics all made the rational decision to prioritize upholding the safety of the passengers over the costs that this would inflict. This may be considered the rational decision due to its mention in the contract documents and in Swedish law, both signifying its importance to the public. The limited time available to make this decision appeared sufficient and the knowledge to know what driving without a speedometer could incur also appeared to be clear to all mechanics. As the stated reason by all mechanics in making the considered decision was for the safety of the passengers, the obvious problem perceived by these employees was that not having a speedometer is an apparent safety issue. Through identifying this as the fundamental problem in the considered scenario the goal of passenger safety is clear to be the prominent goal of all mechanics. These employees have thus acted rationally when considering the factors outlined by both Boholm et al. (2009: 7) and Simon (1957). They have rationally decided that the safety of the passengers is more important to prioritize than the costs acquired from choosing to use a bus expressed to be of the wrong type, therein upholding the quality (safety) value above the cost-efficiency value.

Finally, the bus drivers were not unanimous in their decisions regarding what to do when confronted with a bus without any fire extinguishers. The majority of drivers stating that the bus should not be driven claimed that this decision was made for the sake of the safety of the passengers. Additionally, a few recognized the legality of the scenario alongside the safety aspect, with one driver stating that the decision to not drive the bus in traffic was made only to act in line with the law. The drivers that stated that they would keep driving the bus despite the total absence of fire extinguishers claimed with varying clarity that this decision was made to avoid financial retribution. All drivers possess sufficient knowledge regarding the safety aspect pertaining to the existence of fire extinguishers,

and were thus aware of the problem involved in the discerned scenario. Time may have been an influencing factor with some drivers being increasingly able to act rationally under the pressure of time, while others chose the first, satisfactory decision considered. If, however, assuming that time was sufficient, then under the factors outlined by Simon (1953), the drivers should have been able to act rationally – sufficient knowledge and an awareness of the problem existed along with an adequate amount of time. Instead exploring the factors of employee goals, methods and priorities as outlined by Boholm et al. (2009: 7), offers insight into how certain decision lean away from rationality. The drivers may simultaneously possess the goal of passenger safety and cost-efficiency, but how these are prioritized is wherein the discrepancy lies. When given the choice between the two, the majority of drivers chose to primarily elevate the safety of the passengers over the resultant cost and thus uphold the quality (safety) value above the cost-efficiency value while others chose the opposite.

5.3 The Environment

5.3.1 Bus drivers

Scenario: *You have in the morning when taking out the bus from the depot required help from a mechanic with starting the bus. When you come to the end stop of the service you have 10 minutes until your departure. What do you do – do you leave the bus on to avoid bus problems leading to cancellations and fines or do you turn off the bus for the sake of the environment?*

This scenario is shaped to place how the bus drivers value the environmental impact of the service (public) in conflict with how they value the economy of the PTC (private). The bus drivers can thus decide to do one of two things:

1. **The environment:** Turn off the bus and risk having to spend a great deal of time in turning it back on either successfully or unsuccessfully – potentially resulting in a fine for the PTC for any delays of 20 minutes or more, or for any cancellations.
2. **Cost-efficiency:** Do not turn off the bus and avoid any potential fines.
 - A fine may be issued by the police for idling but as this can be avoided by driving the bus around the neighborhood rather than standing still such a possibility is not considered.

Option 1: Turn off the bus – upholding the environmental (public) value

Less than half of the drivers (4/10) stated that they would turn off the bus. These drivers stated that they would make this decision due to an environmental reasoning. One driver stated this very clearly:

“I would turn it off – a bus can’t stay on for that long. It’s bad for the environment.” (Bus driver #9)

Another driver mentioned that refraining from turning the bus off would not only be bad for the environment but would also be an illegal act. This driver thus upholds law compliance and the environment over an economic reasoning by stating:

“I would hope for the bus to start up again but I would still turn it off. It’s bad for the environment and an illegal act to keep it running for that long.” (Bus driver #1)

A final driver discussed the scenario from what he/she believes that all bus drivers should do. Along the same reasoning as the previous two drivers, this driver stated:

“I would turn it off. As bus drivers, we must care for the environment. Buses consume lots of petrol and release lots of poisonous gases into the environment. I would turn it off and hope for the best.” (Bus driver #7)

Option 2: Do not turn off the bus - upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

A majority of the drivers (6/10) thus stated that they would leave the bus on. All but one of these drivers (5/6) stated that they would do so to avoid fines for the PTC and thereby clearly elevate the private cost-efficiency value above the public environmental value. The last driver's answer may also be considered to display this preference, as will be discussed below (final example). One driver clearly elevating the cost-efficiency value stated:

"I would have a look around to see if anyone could see me and then I would leave the bus on. This way the company would neither get fined for not driving nor have to pay to get someone to come and help me or for ordering a tow truck". (Bus driver #6)

This driver thus places focus on the economy of the PTC by mentioning potential fines as well as the cost of manpower and the cost of towing the bus. Another driver specifically mentioned an awareness of the effect that such a decision has on the environment, but still decided that it is better for the bus to stay on to avoid any fines. This driver stated:

"I would drive the bus around in the area where I am. This way I'm not doing anything illegal and we don't have to cancel any traffic or pay fines. I know it's bad for the environment but I would still do it like this." (Bus driver #2)

Although the scenario is shaped to place the environmental and economic values in conflict, three drivers added alongside an economic reasoning that they would make this decision out of self-interest. These drivers in one way or another mentioned that not being able to start the bus would be the greatest problem. One such driver stated:

"I would leave it on because I've had times when this has affected me before and I haven't been able to leave for at least an hour. It affects me the most as the driver. I know it's bad for the environment but this way everyone is happy." (Bus driver #10)

Finally, the answers given by these last two drivers may also indicate an adherence to the quality (reliability) value. The first driver of the two mentions alongside fines that it is a decision made to avoid having to cancel traffic, potentially being for the sake of the passengers. The second driver of the two does not mention wanting to avoid any fines but rather wanting to make everyone happy, which from a passenger perspective means being able to rely on a bus showing up on time. This driver may thus potentially not have made this decision in line with an economic reasoning but rather in line with the quality (reliability) value (as well as out of self-interest as discussed above). In the scenario, however, the drivers are reminded of the cost associated with cancelling traffic meaning that the decision to leave the bus on is likely at least partially due to an economic reasoning. The quality (reliability) value may however be considered prominent herein.

5.3.2 Traffic dispatchers

Scenario: *A driver calls in from the middle of the city and informs you that there is a very loud and irritating sound coming from somewhere on the underside of the bus and that a handful of passengers have complained. He/she goes out to have a look and realizes that there is a hole on either the exhaust pipe or the muffler. You try to contact the mechanics to consult them about the problem but they do not answer and you must therefore make a quick decision yourself. What do you do?*

In the above scenario, the traffic dispatchers were also made aware of in which direction of the service the bus was driving. This made them aware of the fact that the bus would approximately 40 minutes later pass by within a few hundred meters of the bus depot and if they asked whether there were available buses there to switch with they were given the answer “yes” (as this is almost always the case).

This scenario is shaped to place how the traffic dispatchers value the environmental impact of the service (public) in conflict with how

they value the economy of the PTC (private). In this scenario, environmental damage in the form of sound pollution is predominantly considered. Where the hole in the exhaust pipe is located is not specified and as a hole located before the catalyzer may result in an excess amount of air pollution the dispatchers may also consider this issue depending on their mechanical knowledge. The traffic dispatchers can thus decide to do one of two things:

1. **The environment:** Take the bus out of traffic immediately – resulting in a fine for the PTC based on the number of stops missed until the bus can be replaced.
2. **Cost-efficiency:** Keep driving with the bus, either indefinitely or until it can be replaced with greater ease – resulting in no fine for the PTC.

Option 1: Remove the bus from traffic - upholding the environmental (public) value

A majority of traffic dispatchers (7/10) made the decision in this case to immediately remove the bus from traffic. When asked why this decision was made, all made a comment regarding the quality of the service in relation to their decision and all but one stated that the environmental impact of the faulty bus influenced their decision. One dispatcher gave a, as compared to other dispatchers, lengthy answer, discussing the quality of the service from both a safety perspective and in relation to general passenger satisfaction, along with a mention of the environmental impact of the bus in question. This dispatcher gave the answer:

“We can’t drive with a bus with a broken exhaust system – smoke may come inside the bus making people and even the driver sick. It’s not safe and we have to make sure that all the passengers are pleased. It’s a matter of safety, passenger satisfaction as well as preserving the environment.” (Traffic dispatcher #4)

This driver thus clearly upholds the quality (safety and appeal) value as well as the environmental value above considering any potential

costs of doing so. Another dispatcher gave a shorter answer while still considering the environmental impact of the bus as well as the quality in terms of passenger satisfaction:

“In this example, I was thinking about the environment and about how people around the bus feel having to listen to the ruckus made from the broken exhaust/muffler.” (Traffic dispatcher #5)

Finally, one dispatcher did not mention anything about the environmental impact of the bus but focused instead on the quality of the service in terms of its safety and passenger satisfaction. This dispatcher stated:

“It’s important for all people travelling with the bus to feel safe and comfortable.” (Traffic dispatcher #1)

This traffic dispatcher did thus not see the environmental problem that the scenario meant to display, but instead saw it from a qualitative perspective. Thereby this employee displayed a relative adherence to the quality (safety and appeal) value as compared to the cost-efficiency value and did not exhibit any awareness of the scenario’s environmental impact.

Option 2: Keep the bus in traffic - upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

Traffic dispatchers who decided to keep the bus in traffic either indefinitely or until a better place to switch buses were in a minority (3/10) when confronted with the scenario in question. These dispatchers discussed that they would make the decision to postpone the bus switch to not have to cancel any traffic. As not wishing to cancel traffic may be due to a number of reasons these employees were further inquired as to why they would not want to do so. The first two dispatchers stated wanting to switch the bus at a more convenient time:

“Well this bus isn’t doing very well, but as we’re still allowed to drive with it I wouldn’t cancel any traffic but instead drive it until I can more easily remove it from traffic. [I do not want to cancel any traffic] because it’s unnecessary for [the PTC] to have to receive a fine when

we're actually allowed to drive with the bus. Plus, the passengers still want to get to where they are going." (Traffic dispatcher #2)

"As the bus is in the middle of town we would still have to drive it to the depot, so we might as well take it out of traffic once we get closer to there. That way we don't have to cancel any traffic. [I do not want to cancel any traffic] because if I can avoid that extra cost then that what I would try to do." (Traffic dispatcher #3)

The decision to not cancel any traffic was thus based on an economic thinking from both dispatchers, with the first of the two also stating that it was for the sake of the passengers. These two employees thus display a reasoning which upholds the cost-efficiency value above the environmental value, with the first also exhibiting an adherence to the quality (reliability) value indicating its perceived relative importance as compared to the environmental value. The final dispatcher's answer does not specify postponing a bus switch but rather that the bus driver should simply continue driving because he/she can. This dispatcher also mentions the unwillingness to cancel traffic, which was followed up with a question of *why* this would be done. This dispatcher stated:

"I think he could keep driving with that problem - if it was me I would have continued driving. We shouldn't have to cancel traffic for such a problem. [I do not want to cancel any traffic] because passengers still want to get from A to B and I wouldn't want to receive a fine for something so unnecessary." (Traffic dispatcher #8)

This traffic dispatcher thus states not wanting to cancel any traffic for the sake of wanting the passengers to be able to get to where they want to go and to avoid fines. As stated in the first of the two examples above, expressing an importance in wanting people to get to where they want to go indicates an adherence to the quality (reliability) value as passengers should be able to rely on the bus showing up at the scheduled time. Furthermore, wishing to avoid fines signifies upholding the cost-efficiency value, thus indicating that this dispatcher elevates both the quality (reliability) value and the cost-efficiency value above the environmental value.

5.3.3 Mechanics

Scenario: *You have received a call from the traffic dispatchers: A driver has called from the center of the city and informed them that there likely is a hole in either the exhaust pipe or the muffler making the bus emit a very loud and irritating sound. A handful of people have come up to the driver and complained about the loud noise. What do you tell the traffic dispatchers to inform the driver?*

As in the case of the traffic dispatchers, the mechanics were also made aware of which direction the bus was driving when the scenario occurred. This means that they were aware of that the bus would pass by within a few hundred meters of the bus depot within approximately 40 minutes where there would be buses to make a switch.

This scenario is shaped to place how the mechanics value the environmental impact of the service (public) in conflict with how they value the economy of the PTC (private). In this scenario, environmental damage both in the form of sound pollution from the broken muffler and air pollution from a potentially broken catalyzer may be considered. The mechanics can thus decide to do one of two things:

1. **The environment:** Inform the traffic dispatchers they should take the bus out of traffic immediately – resulting in a fine for the PTC based on the number of stops missed until the bus can be replaced.
2. **Cost-efficiency:** Inform the traffic dispatchers they can keep driving with the bus, either indefinitely or until it can be replaced with greater ease – resulting in no fine for the PTC.

Option 1: Remove the bus from traffic – upholding the environmental (public) value

Unlike in the other scenarios, not all mechanics answered the same in this final scenario. A majority of the mechanics (4/6) answered that the bus should be driven to the side and then towed to the

workshop. All but one mechanic that made a decision in line with *option 1* mentioned the environmental aspect of the scenario in relation to their decision. Two such answers were:

“Turn off that bus and tow it to the workshop. First and foremost, a faulty exhaust means a potential fire hazard, and secondly the bus’s exhaust is not properly taken care of – so we should not drive with that bus.” (Mechanic #1)

“It’s never a good thing to drive around with a leaking exhaust. It may heavily affect the noise level and it affects the environment as the exhaust isn’t sufficiently cleaned. It may also become very hot where heat is meant to escape the system meaning a potential fire hazard. Drive that bus to the side and make a call for it to be towed.” (Mechanic #4)

All mechanics that answered in line with *option 1* mentioned the safety aspect of the scenario. One mechanic mentioned only this reason:

“That bus may be a safety hazard and in such a case it should be towed right away.” (Mechanic #5)

Option 2: Keep the bus in traffic – upholding the cost-efficiency (private) value

A couple of mechanics (2/6) answered that they would keep the bus in traffic, either indefinitely or until a better option becomes available. The first mechanics stated the he/she did not wish to cancel traffic, which due to its many potential reasons was followed up with a question of *why*:

“That problem isn’t severe enough to have to cancel traffic for – tell the driver to keep driving. [I would not want to cancel traffic] for the sake of the passengers who wish to arrive at their set-out destination at their set-out time as well as to avoid receiving a fine.” (Mechanic #3)

By stating that the decision was partially made to avoid a fine, this mechanic indicates ranking the cost-efficiency value higher than the environmental value in making this decision. By also pointing at the importance of passengers getting to where they want to go at the set-

out time also indicates a relatively greater adherence to the quality (reliability) value as compared to the environmental value. Another mechanic stated that the problem is not severe enough to have to tow the bus for:

“Continue driving with that bus and switch it at a more convenient time and place. It’s not worth towing and it would have to be driven all the way to the workshop anyway so it might as well be changed at the depot which is on the way to the workshop.” (Mechanic #2)

This mechanic displays a way of thinking which is more in line with thinking about the costs that the problem may generate rather than its environmental impact. By first choosing to not tow the bus although he/she clearly thinks that the bus needs to be taken to the workshop and then choosing to let it keep driving with passengers on board are both thoughts that are in line with cost-efficient thinking. This mechanic thus clearly upholds the cost-efficient value over the environmental value.

5.3.4 Decision-Making Analysis

When asked what they would do when put in a scenario in which a decision would have to be made between turning off a hard-starting bus or leaving the engine on, the bus drivers that chose to turn off the bus for the sake of the environment were here in a minority (4/10). The law states that idling is not allowed for longer than one minute (Trafikverket, 2014), meaning that making the decision to leave the bus on for the ten minutes specified in the scenario would be an illegal act. This same rule is specified in the policy documents of the PTC, further specifying its considered importance and thereby clearly indicating the decision to turn off the bus to be the rational decision. As discussed by Simon (1957), rational decision-making is dependent on time, knowledge and what the problem is perceived to be. If given more time, drivers could potentially have weighed the options at greater length, which may have influenced the decisions made. All drivers displayed knowledge of both the environmental impact as well as the legality contained in the presented scenario illustrating this aspect to clearly not have hindered the rationality of

the decisions made. Likewise, by displaying this knowledge all drivers thus showed an understanding of this problem ensuing as a result of the introduced scenario. However, the identification of this problem does not eliminate the identification of additional problems, meaning perhaps that other problems have been classified as more important. As previously discussed, the goals, methods and priorities of employees may alongside the factors introduced by Simon (*ibid.*) also affect the ability to make rational decisions (Boholm et al., 2009: 7). The simplicity of the scenario means that only one of two existing methods can be adopted by the bus drivers, depending on what he/she perceives as the fundamental problem. How the problem has been discerned and thus how the employee prioritizes the respective goals of the service as a result is what is of importance here. For example, in perceiving the main problem to be one of environmental deterioration when comparing the goals of upholding the environmental against keeping costs down, drivers would choose to prioritize the environment, thus upholding this value. Instead perceiving the potential cost of not driving the service as the fundamental problem, drivers pursue the goal of limiting costs, thus upholding the cost-efficiency value. Although all but one driver that answered that they would leave the bus on mentioned the fines as a reason for doing so, displaying this discrepancy in goal-prioritizing between drivers, a few drivers added that they would do so for their own gain. This implies that these drivers perceive the scenario from this additional perspective, elevating their self-interest above the environmental impact of doing so. A final driver displayed a potential reasoning in line with the quality (reliability) value in wishing to please the passengers, instead upholding this value over the environmental value. Nonetheless, the majority of drivers prioritized acting in a cost-efficient manner over what may be best for the environment, resulting in this irrational decision-making, indicating a conflict in goal-prioritizing and thus the values held by these bus drivers.

The traffic dispatchers presented diverging answers when inquired about what decision they would make in a scenario involving a bus with a faulty exhaust. The idea behind this scenario was for

these employees to identify the broken exhaust as a defect leading to sound pollution and possible air pollution and thereby a problem which is harmful for the environment. It is stated by the EU directive 2007/34/EC (European Commission, 2007) and thus the contract documents that a bus of this type may not emit a sound louder than 77 decibels. It is established in the scenario that many passengers have complained about the excess sound-level, which is meant to make these employees reflect over that this may be the case. This problem may also cause the bus to emit increasingly dangerous gases, which is an aspect that these employees may consider. Immediately removing this bus from traffic is herein considered the rational decision due to the environmental harm that the bus may cause and as using the bus may be an illegal act. Although the majority of traffic dispatchers made this rational decision, a few did not. It is possible that the traffic dispatchers that failed to make this rational decision did so due to a lack of mechanical knowledge, with one of these employees stating wanting for the bus to continue in traffic indefinitely. Linked with this potential lack of knowledge are these employees failing to see the problem that the scenario is intended to portray. However, as is stated that the driver and multiple passengers have found the sound to be of a great excess, it is highly unlikely that this problem was not identified. It is likewise possible for these employees to have experienced a lack of time in their decision-making, with more available time having resulted in a rational decision. In reviewing more specifically *why* decisions were made, however, identifying what problems were perceived as most significant and thus how goals were prioritized becomes possible. All the traffic dispatchers who articulated the decision to immediately remove the bus from traffic claimed doing so as a result of the buses poor quality in terms of safety and/or appeal and all but one traffic dispatcher added that the decision was made as a result of the bus's environmental impact. These dispatchers thus clearly prioritize valuing the passengers' well-being as well as the environment over minimizing costs, as choosing to remove the bus from traffic would result in fines for the PTC. The traffic dispatchers who instead chose to keep the bus in traffic, all stated doing so due to financial reasons along

with two of these also stating wanting passengers to get to where they wanted to go. Through stating such reasons, it is clear that these passengers value the goal of cost-efficiency as well as the quality of the service in terms of its reliability. Thus, in line with the decision-making theory presented by Boholm et al. (2009: 7) previously discussed, the passengers who fail to make a rational decision in the considered scenario likely do so following a discrepancy in prioritizing the rational goals of the service due to upholding alternative values, such as cost-efficiency. In line with the theory introduced by Simon (1953) it may also be the result of a lack of understanding of the environmental problem at hand, in terms of both sound and air pollution, as well as the time available to make this decision.

The mechanics, like the employees within the two other hands-on occupational groups, presented divided answers when asked what decision they would make in a scenario involving an environmentally harmful bus. The environmental damage is caused, like in the scenario presented to the traffic dispatchers, by a damaged exhaust, meaning that the decision to immediately remove the bus from traffic is the rational decision. A majority of the mechanics made this rational decision through wanting to tow the bus to the workshop immediately, all stating doing so as a safety precaution and/or due to the bus's negative impact on the environment. A couple of mechanics, however, stated that the bus should be kept in traffic, either indefinitely or until it can more conveniently be switched with another bus (without having to cancel any traffic). Despite working as mechanics, these two employees may not possess sufficient knowledge to understand the problem portrayed by the scenario with one claiming the problem to not be severe enough to require the bus being towed and the other stating that the bus is able to continue indefinitely. They may also not have been able to understand the significance of the problem due to the time pressure under which they were placed. These employees may thus not have been able to make a rational decision due to all three factors as discussed by Simon (1953); the time available, the knowledge held and how the problem may have been defined and identified. Assuming, however, that these employees did possess the knowledge to understand the sever-

ity of problem at hand means that something else must have hindered their ability to make a rational decision. Both employees display an ambition to keep costs at a minimum and one also claims wanting the bus to continue in traffic for the sake of the passengers. Along these lines these employees fail to prioritize the major problem at hand – the bus’s negative environmental impact – as instead wishing to pursue the goals of cost-efficiency and reliability in terms of schedule adherence. It may thus be concluded that these mechanics may have failed to make a rational decision in this scenario by upholding the cost-efficiency value and the quality (reliability) value above the environmental value and it may also be due to a lack of time and knowledge and thus how the problem has been identified.

5.4 Comprehensive value analysis

As concluded in the above value analyses, the hands-on employees focused on in this study express a diverging adherence to the theoretically private value of cost-efficiency when placed in conflict with the publically regarded values of inclusiveness, quality and the environment. When confronted with a choice between prioritizing inclusiveness and cost-efficiency, all bus drivers and mechanics displayed an adherence to the inclusiveness value, while such was not the case for all traffic dispatchers. These employees displayed a discrepant view in defining the fundamental problem perceived in the presented scenario and therein a diverging value-adherence. When presented with a scenario with the goal of exploring the conflict between the quality value and the cost-efficiency value it was instead a few bus drivers who replied that they would make the irrationally-considered decision. Herein the time, knowledge and problem-awareness were all considered sufficient, indicating a discrepancy in the goal-prioritizing and thus an adherence to the cost-efficiency value over the conflicting quality value. For the final scenario, no entire occupational group displayed an adherence to the environmental value over the cost-efficiency value. A few answers indicated a potential lack of knowledge of the intended problem, pointing at an

issue of validity as the presented scenario would thereby not explore its intended purpose. A few other answers pointed towards a lack of time necessary to make the rationally considered decision suggesting the hands-on role of the employee to be of a potential hindrance. Time can thus neither be acknowledged nor rejected as a significant factor affecting the decisions made by these employees. A great majority of these employees did, however, display a tendency towards elevating the cost-efficiency value over the environmental value through adversely prioritizing the perceived goal of the scenario.

The theoretical public-private value conflict thus appears to be present to some degree in the decisions of the hands-on employees of the PTC. Although the results are unable to be statistically quantified, the level of difference in answers obtained for each value and occupation may act as an indicator for the existence of this value conflict. Overall, very few hands-on employees display adhering to the cost-efficiency value over the inclusiveness value, indicating that although existent, the conflict between these two values poses a limited effect on the passengers consuming the traffic service. A similar discussion may be held regarding the quality (safety) value, in which very few of the total number of hands-on employees expressed a relative adherence to the cost-efficiency value. The slightest failure to uphold to this value may, however, prove detrimental to passengers, reflecting its importance as compared to the other values. Nonetheless, the conflict between the quality (safety) value and the cost-efficiency may be discussed as existent but limited. On the contrary, the final value – the environment – displays a relatively clear and significant conflict with the cost-efficiency value. The attitudes and answers of the majority of bus drivers display a clear disregard to the environment when placed in conflict with the obtainment of a cost. A few traffic dispatchers display the same consideration along with a couple of the mechanics, who otherwise appear to uphold the publically considered values. It may thus be possible to claim that a public-private value conflict may be detected in the decisions of the hands-on employees of the PTC, directly impacting the supplied traffic service.

6. Discussion

This chapter should not be regarded as a discussion in its typical sense. First, additional factors, such as occupational pressures and societal norms, impacting the decisions and values of the hands-on employees in the PTC will be discussed. Thereafter, the limitations of the study will be presented. This section will be split into two parts, one part discussing the limitations only linked to the case-study presented and one part discussing the factors identified throughout this study pertaining to the improvement of the value conflict exploration model.

6.1 Additional decision- and value-impacting factors

To claim that values held and decisions made are wholly influenced by the sectoral origin of the company in which an employee is employed is an overly-simplistic statement to make. Decisions are made in interaction with and in relation to numerous other actors and are therefore affected by a mix of cultural and social conventions. The organizational cultures on both the micro and macro levels of the organizations affect which decisions are made and what values may be prominent. At the occupational level employees experience pressures of various kinds which may influence which decisions are made. What pressures are exerted on employees may depend on what occupational group they belong to, the different tasks that they are employed to perform and the responsibilities they endure. In the case explored, bus drivers are directly responsible for the interaction with passengers and are thus more likely to be affected by this than the employees of the other occupational groups. Also, the bus makes up their working environ-

ment and decisions regarding the bus are therefore more likely to be made in line with how it specifically affects them. The responsibilities of the traffic dispatcher are considerably different from the bus driver; the traffic dispatcher's task is to have a comprehensive overview of the entire traffic situation. The role of the traffic dispatcher is thus to make sure that all the present traffic runs unhindered and decisions are therefore likely to be affected by how best this can be done within what is allowed. The concerns of the traffic dispatcher are thus not specifically how one bus at a time, but rather how all buses operate in symphony. The traffic dispatcher may thus be less concerned with the working environment of the bus driver and more concerned with making sure that no traffic is cancelled within the confines of what is both legally allowed and what is stated by internal policies. The final occupational group, the mechanics, also holds different responsibilities and tasks. These employees must within the time available make sure that there are sufficient buses available for all services to run. They can plan for buses to be placed in the workshop and they must also have sufficient time to repair unexpected breakdowns. It is the sole responsibility of the mechanic to make sure that buses that are sent out into traffic can operate within what is deemed acceptable in terms of safety, environmental standards and passenger and driver quality. If a bus does not operate within the confines of these standards then responsibility is placed in the hands of the mechanic. It is therefore clear that the mechanic holds the well-being of the bus as a highest priority, alongside being able to do so within the time available for no traffic to be cancelled.

The responsibilities and concerns each occupational group typically endures are further intensified and recreated through the subcultures created between employees of the same occupation. Occupational groups in the case explored work at different locations, with the bus drivers spending their time in a bus or in the bus depot, the traffic dispatchers working from an independent office and the mechanics working in a workshop not located in or near the depot or office. Interaction does take place between employees of the three

occupations, although these are typically limited to when handing over tasks from one occupation to the other, for example when a traffic dispatcher consults with a mechanic about whether a bus may be deemed functional or not. Social conventions are thus formed and recreated within these relatively closed occupational systems, meaning that decisions are ever more likely to be affected by the responsibilities and concerns of the occupational group one belongs to.

More than just the subcultures within a company, the comprehensive organizational culture may affect decisions made at the individual employee level. Such an organizational culture may be difficult to define but is oftentimes attempted to be structured through the use of an outspoken organizational value foundation. The adherence employees of companies have to such an organizational culture is difficult to know but may nonetheless be specified as something aimed for. At an even higher level, decisions may be impacted by norms existent in the public transportation industry or even in society as a whole. This means that conducting a similar study as this one within a company operating in a different industry or in an entirely different society may impact its results.

Finally, what cannot be disregarded is the fact that although a hands-on employee in this study is first and foremost a holder of a specific occupational role, operating within a specifically private corporation, within the public transportation industry, each hands-on employee is also an individual with an own set of personal values. Personal values may differ significantly between employees and what decisions are made may be largely dependent on such a factor. For example, some employees may be considerably more individualistic than others, meaning that decisions are made in line with what is best for him/her-self. For others, what is best for the company may come first, meaning that decisions are made to benefit the company as much as possible. For a final group of employees, what is best for the third party, i.e. customers, may come first, meaning that decisions are made to satisfy the people for whom the service is for, or generally to satisfy the general population.

6.2 Limitations

6.2.1 Case study-specific limitations

There are a few identified limitations in this study that are specifically linked to the considered case-study. These limitations are not included in the design of the model but are nonetheless factors that may affect the results acquired. These limitations are:

The quality value: The quality value is too wide in its meaning as it includes the safety, reliability and appeal of the considered service. Rather than forming one scenario for each of these subcategories, only one scenario was formed for the quality value as a whole. The safety of the considered service was herein selected to represent this value due to its relatively superior importance as compared to the other subcategories. This means that the hands-on employees value adherence to the reliability and appeal of the service has not been explored, other than to the extent that these employees have themselves selected to uphold these values above the other explored values (e.g. safety and the environment). These three subcategories should thus perhaps have been explored separately rather than under one heading as they have all been identified as important to the public authority.

The environmental value: The scenarios formed to explore the environmental value appear to in the case of all occupational groups have identified multiple other values as well as the environmental value. All mechanics, for example, state wanting to remove the bus with the broken exhaust due to the safety of the passengers, with all but one adding that it was also done due to the bus's environmental impact. This implies that the scenarios have not been formed to specifically explore the conflict between an adherence to this value and the economic cost-efficiency value, although it does in most occasions place these two values at opposite ends of the spectrum. This type of problem cannot be known prior to conducting the interviews unless either identified when piloting the scenarios or during conference with industry experts, both of which were performed in this

study. Nonetheless, discussing this limitation of the study is important for the reliability of the data collected.

Researcher's position within reviewed firm: As previously discussed, I, the researcher, hold a position within the studied PTC and have chosen this as the base for the research due to a heightened interest and convenience. However, the employees interviewed in this study have all been aware of this fact, potentially affecting their disclosed answers. The possibility exists that such a fact may have increased the interviewees propensity to answer how they *should* act (rational decision) in the explored scenarios. It may also have drawn out increasingly honest answers due to an enhanced experience of trust as compared to if the interviewed subjects and I did not have this professional relationship. It may also have no impact whatsoever. As the exact impact of this phenomenon is unknown, choosing instead to interview employees from a firm of which I have no connection may or may not have resulted in a different set of answers.

Few number of interviewed mechanics: There were only a few number of mechanics available to interview in relation to the considered public procurement. The problem was thus not in the participation-rate of the mechanics but rather that there were only seven mechanics that worked with the buses of the procured service. In two out of the three scenarios explored the mechanics were unanimous in their decisions and this may not have been the case if additional mechanics were able to be interviewed. This means that this aspect affects the reliability of the results attained. The contracting authority has public procurement contracts with multiple corporations and associations and the contract documents of the majority of these may be assumed to include the same value foundation. This means that the scope of the study could be extended to include multiple traffic services from multiple actors. This way, this issue of a lack of available interviewees could be avoided.

6.2.2 Research model improvement factors

As the primary aim of this study is to create a research model with the objective of exploring the existence of a potential public-private value conflict in the decisions of hands-on employees of a public service supplying private corporation (through public procurement), outlining the identified limitations of this study in terms of *research model improvement factors* is highly significant. These limitations are presented in a list below to achieve absolute clarity. The phrase in bold is aimed to clarify the topic wherein the limitation lies. The limitations are as follows:

Public value extraction: The values extracted from the contract documents have not been verified by anyone from the public authority as the main values of importance in relation to the supplied traffic service. This means that the values explored as specifically public in this study may hold less importance to the public authority than herein considered. To avoid this potential issue, once the public values have been completely extracted, one or more representatives of the public association may be consulted regarding the validity of this value foundation.

Vignettes as method of data-collection: Despite imposing a time-limit on the interviewees response-time, ensuring the employees of their and the PTC's full anonymity and clarifying that there is no right or wrong answer, the use of vignettes does not fully ensure that the answers obtained fully mimic the everyday operations of these employees. This may mean that the decisions employees declared that they would make in any given situation are not truly accurate; employees may state making a decision because they know that it is what they *should* do, rather than stating what they truly would do. Instead analyzing the real situations through a method such as shadowing could yield more substantive answers. Such a method was however neglected in this study due to its practical difficulty. If considered possible, the use of such a method could, however, yield increasingly valid results, and would therefore be considered an interesting alternative.

Employees from ONE corporation: Only focusing on employees from one corporation gives a limited view into the potential public-private value conflict at hand. Including employees from a multitude of both private and public organizations gives a more comprehensive view and may provide a greater understanding of what other factors influence what decisions are made and how they may do so. If, for example, a tendency towards theoretically private values are found in the decisions of both public and private hands-on employees, this deviation from rationally considered decision-making may likely be denounced to other factors than an existence of a public-private value conflict. This realization was arrived at during the late stages of this study, only allowing for its omission to be discussed as a potential limitation. To thus avoid this problem, including employees from multiple organizations may be of particular interest.

ONE scenario per value: In this study, one scenario is used per value and occupational group. This means that the scenario must sufficiently explore the set-out value for the results to be valid. For the scenarios formed to explore the environmental value, for example, a greater deal of mechanics point to the quality (safety) value than the environmental value, suggesting that this scenario perhaps does not fully explore the environmental value as intended. To avoid this issue more scenarios can be formed per value. As this study focuses on hands-on employees which in the public transportation industry consists of three different occupational groups as well as on three different values, increasing the number of scenarios would not be possible due to limit space and time. Doing so would, however, be recommended for the increased validity of the study.

7. Conclusion

7.1 case-study conclusion

Can the public-private value conflict be identified in the decision-making of the hands-on employees of the public transport supplying private corporation? In short, yes. Employees failing to make rational decisions typically display a diversity of goal prioritizing and value adherence as compared to those making rational decisions. The values generally adhered to in these irrationally considered decisions are generally of a cost-minimizing nature, meaning that they are more in line with a theoretically private value foundation than the values established as being held by the public authority. That decisions are to any certain degree dependent on or affected by the sectoral origin of the company in which an employee operates is, however, a claim that may only be made on a theoretical basis due to the extensive amounts of other factors that may influence what decision is made. As the results of this study show, however, conflicting values do exist in the decisions of the hands-on employees of the PTC explored, with values in line with a theoretically private value foundation (cost-efficiency), leading to irrational decisions, falling in conflict with values in line with the empirical value foundation of the public authority. In conclusion, a phenomenon can be identified in which the values operationalized as the public value foundation fall into conflict with the theoretically private values. Occasional hands-on employees are found to elevate the theoretically private values above the public values, despite supplying a publically considered service. Whether such a phenomenon is the result of the sectoral origin of the employees interviewed, cannot herein be specified, although the conflict is evidently of this nature.

7.2 Research model presentation – the Public-Private Values in Public Procurement (PPVPP) research model

How may a research model be constructed aimed at exploring the existence and impact of a public-private value conflict in the decision-making of hands-on employees, supplying a public service as the result of public procurement? The detailed step-by-step model that this study concludes and suggests to be used in the exploration of a public-private value conflict in the decisions of hands-on employees operating in a public service supplying private organization is presented below. The limitations identified through testing the research model on the case study above have been considered and it has been changed accordingly. The model has been given the name of Public-Private Values in Public Procurement (PPVPP) research model.

- 1) **Define area of research:** Identify what publically procured service(s) is/are to be explored.
 - a. What is the contracting authority?
 - b. What are the public/private organizations supplying the service(s)
 - i. If possible: For a wider perspective of the supplied service review several organizations supplying near-identical services procured from the contracting authority. E.g.: Public and private transport carriers supplying various traffic services, all with Västtrafik as the contracting authority. Doing this would result in a better understanding of how various factors affect the decisions of employees. If employees of the public and private transport carriers would reflect the same value foundations, for example, then values may be more linked to the occupational group than the sector of operation.
 - c. Identify the hands-on employees linked to the procured service.

- 2) **Contract documents value identification:** Acquire and review the contract documents – identify the fundamental values held by the contracting authority in the supply of the procured service.
 - a. If multiple procured services are reviewed, possibly meaning multiple different contract documents, make sure that these are not vastly different but display equivalent value foundations.
 - b. Contact one or more employees (preferably those in charge of the specific procurements) from the contracting authority and discuss the public value foundation identified → Alter if considered necessary.
- 3) **Theoretical perspectives:** Consider the economic values as presented by Lundquist (1998) as the theoretically private value foundation.
 - a. Functional rationality – choosing *appropriate* measures in moving towards a goal.
 - b. Cost efficiency – achieving as much as possible for as little money as possible.
 - c. Productivity – achieving as much as possible with as little resources as possible.
- 4) **Sampling framework:** Construct a sampling framework (for both shadowing and vignettes)
 - a. Employees must have a direct connection to the procured service
 - b. They must have worked within the role for an excess of 6 months as otherwise any potential value transference from the organization to the individual may not have been possible (may not otherwise be stated as standing on a private value foundation)
 - c. They must be chosen at random – unspecified age, gender, nationality, etc.
 - d. (For vignettes): They must be able to fully understand the presented scenarios.
 - e. If possible: include at least ten employees (of each reviewed occupation) in the sample, preferably more.

- 5) **Method of data-collection:** The method of shadowing is not recommended due to its practical difficulty but as such a method has positive properties, this model may be further developed if its use is tested. This model suggests instead for the researcher to construct vignettes that intentionally place the public and private values in conflict – preferably with two logical answers, one in line with the private value foundation and one in line with the explored public value. Make a few vignettes per explored public value to make sure that the adherence to the specific value is explored. Interview the hands-on employees and discuss *what* decision they would make in the presented vignette, along with *why* this decision was made. Asking *why* results in better understanding the value underlying each decision.
- a. To ensure a high level of validity of the vignettes constructed consult employees of the service-supplying organizations for the identification of possible areas in which the public and private values may fall into conflict and to identify industry-specific language.
 - b. Test the constructed vignettes using pilot interviews.
- 6) **Analysis:** Analyze the obtained results from the decision-making theory as discussed by Simon’s (1957) bounded rationality and Boholm et al. (2009: 7).
- a. Bounded rationality refers to the restricted possibility of rational decision-making based on the limitations of time and knowledge and due to the existence of a multiplicity of problem definitions (Simon, 1957).
 - i. Analyzing the factor of knowledge held allows the researcher to review the validity of the formed scenarios – if the problem is not fully understood then the value held may be inconsequential.
 - ii. Analyzing the factor of time allows for the researcher to consider the effect that the employees role may have on the held value. This is to increase the knowledge of the hands-on employees, who hold a vital role in the supply of publically procured services.

- b. As discussed by Boholm et al. (2009: 7), along with a diversity of goals, an absence of consensus regarding priorities and a plurality of goal-reaching methods comes the view of decision-making procedures leaning away from rationality.
 - i. In considering the goals perceived by employees, the values elevated in relation to a discussed scenario may be identified.
- 7) **Additional decision- and value-impacting factors:** Discuss aspects other than the public-private value conflict that may affect the decision-making of the hands-on employees.
- 8) **Conclusion:** Conclude the study with a discussion of whether a public-private value conflict is deemed to exist in the explored publically procured service. Discuss whether certain public values are found to be in greater conflict with the theoretically private values than others.

This research model may thus be used towards the end of identifying the existence of a value conflict in the decisions of hands-on employees supplying a public service. In the case studied, the safety, environment and inclusiveness pertaining to the public service were not always values elevated, as the costs were in these cases considered more important to avoid. This result highlights the need for the research model herein developed as making such decisions means that the citizens consuming the public service are adversely affected. As such a value conflict may exist in all cases involving a publically procured service, negatively affecting the citizens of society, the developed model is recommended to be used in additional such cases.

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Traffic dispatcher #5: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 15.
Traffic dispatcher #6: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 15.
Traffic dispatcher #7: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 15.
Traffic dispatcher #8: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 15.
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Bus driver #2: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
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Bus driver #4: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
Bus driver #5: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
Bus driver #6: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
Bus driver #7: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
Bus driver #8: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
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Mechanic #2: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
Mechanic #3: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
Mechanic #4: Västra Götalands Län. 2017. Formal interview, March 22.
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Förvaltningshögskolans rapporter: (pris inkl porto+moms)

18:145 Christoffer Matskede	90:-
<i>Public Procurement and the Public-Private Value Conflict in the Transport Sector – A Research Model</i>	
18:144 Kerstin Bartholdsson	90:-
<i>Utveckling av medborgardialog – ett samarbete mellan Ale kommun och Ghanzi District i Botswana</i>	
17:143 Lena Kindborg	90:-
<i>64 % män. Kvinnor och män i kurslitteraturen vid Förvaltningshögskolan</i>	
17:142 Robin Andersson	140:-
<i>Samverkan i demokratins försvar. En studie om den offentliga sektorn, civilsamhället och arbetet mot våldsbejakande extremism</i>	
17:141 Malin Isaksson	140:-
<i>Kunskapsstaden Göteborg – varför och för vem? Tre organisationers syn på kunskap och Göteborg som kunskapsstad 2000–2016</i>	
16:140 Therese Jakobsson och Helena Richardsson	140:-
<i>Politik och förvaltning på nätet</i>	
16:139 Carl Odhnoff	90:-
<i>Att förstå EBP. Översättningar av idén om en evidensbaserad praktik i den svenska socialtjänsten</i>	
16:138 Kerstin Bartholdsson och Ylva Norén Bretzer	90:-
<i>Samordnande samverkan – En utvärdering av Samordningsförbundet Vänersborg/Mellerud</i>	
16:137 Hanna Helligren	90:-
<i>Mellan pedagogisk professionalism och marknadsmässiga tekniker – Institutionella logiker i organisering av förskolan</i>	
15:136 Nazem Tahvilzadeh	140:-
<i>Socialt hållbar stadsutveckling? Stadsdelsnämnderna, stadsutvecklarrollen och sociala konsekvensanalyser i planeringen av Göteborgs stad.</i>	
15:135 Gustaf Kastberg	140:-
<i>Ändamålsenlig organisering. Förvaltningsstruktur, målkomplexitet och förändrad omvärld</i>	
15:134 Inga-Lisa Adler	140:-
<i>Medskapardemokrati. Interaktiva styrningsprocesser och medskapande dialogarbetsätt</i>	
15:133 Johan Sandén	140:-
<i>Mer papper, klokare barn? Hur lärares administrativa arbete kan påverka kvaliteten i skolan</i>	
15:132 Andreas Lundstedt	140:-
<i>Styrmedlens outtalade politik. En av studie av New Orleans kulturekonomiska landskap</i>	
15:131 Kristofer Johansson	90:-
<i>Den svenska polisens yrkeskultur. En studie av polisstudenters utbildningslitteratur</i>	

14:130 Oliver Bjerhem och Peter Rundblom Andersson	
<i>Är ni med på noterna? En studie om kommunala redovisningsval och notavvikelser</i>	140:-
14:129 Anna Laurell och Jessica Moström Axelfelt	
<i>The Socio-Economic Impacts of CSR. A Case Study of Swedish-related Companies and Corporate Social Responsibility in Vietnam</i>	140:-
14:128 Louise Holm och Osvaldo Salas	
<i>Investeringskalkyl och beslutsteori. Verktyg för beslutsfattande under osäkerhet</i>	90:-
13:127 Maja Rhodin Edlund	
<i>Where did all the women go? Representation of women and men in the Standing Committees of the European Parliament</i>	140:-
13:126 Erik Bergman	
<i>Interkommunal samverkan – en nödvändig lösning på kommunala utmaningar</i>	140:-
13:125 Angelica Börjesson och Marcus Starcke	
<i>Politiska granskare. Den kommunala revisionens roll för kommunalt ansvarsutkrävande</i>	140:-
12:124 Mats Bengtsson och David Karlsson	
<i>Demokratin svängrum. Lokalpolitikens roll i den specialreglerade verksamheten</i>	60:-
12:123 Osvaldo Salas	
<i>Samhällsekonomiska utvärderingar</i>	90:-
12:122 Marcus Johansson	
<i>De som jagar makt mellan himmel och jord. – Om det civila samhällets roll vid implementeringen av jaktpolitiska EU-direktiv.</i>	140:-
11:121 Oskar Johansson	
<i>Lika men olika? – redovisning av effektivitet inom statliga myndigheter</i>	
11:120 Louise Skoog	60:-
<i>Alla följer partilinjen – en studie om hur kommunpolitiker tolkar sitt mandat i praktiken</i>	
10:119 Osvaldo Salas, César Villanueva och Rebecka Villanueva Ulfgård	60:-
<i>Välfärdspolitik under utveckling i Mexico</i>	
10:118 Petra Svensson	60:-
<i>"Den nya svenskinspirerade föräldrapenningen har haft avsedd verkan" - En studie av den tyska föräldraförsäkringens förändring ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv</i>	
10:117 Andrea Egerlundh och Isabella Enbågen	60:-
<i>När det ideella blir offentligt... eller när det offentliga blir ideellt</i>	
<i>En jämförande studie om möjligheten till ansvarsutkrävande i governance tidevarv</i>	
10:116 Elin Jakobsson	60:-
<i>Global Policy Making on Climate Refugees – What is the Problem?</i>	
10:115 Sara Bansmann	60:-
<i>Bör staten försvara sig mot sina antagonister? Moderaternas och Socialdemokraternas ställningstaganden i FRA-frågan</i>	
10:114 Margareta Lundberg Rodin	60:-
<i>Chefer i korstryck. Att hantera krav i politiskt styrda organisationer</i>	
10:113 Moa Aronsson	60:-
<i>Medfinansiering Om relationen mellan stat och kommun i infrastrukturprojekt</i>	
10:112 Richard Vahul	60:-
<i>På väg mot en förbättrad kommunal redovisning. Konsekvenser av ett förändrat balanskrav</i>	

09:111 Osvaldo Salas	60:-
<i>Från utvandringsland till invandringsland. En analys av migrationsströmmar till och från Chile.</i>	
09:110 David Ljung	60:-
<i>Does Network Management Matter? The Coordination of Integration Policy Delivery at the Local Level in Sweden</i>	
09:109 Johan Strömblad	60:-
<i>Kan nätverksstyrning förenas med folkstyre? Stadsbyggnad, governance och demokrati i planeringen av Norra och Södra Älvstranden i Göteborg</i>	
09:108 Gustaf Rönneklev	60:-
<i>Att kasta pengar i sjön? En undersökning av nystartsjobbets direkta undanträngningseffekter</i>	
09:107 Adiam Tedros	60:-
<i>Lokala krisaktörer – Katastrofolontärer eller profitörer? Den lokala krishanteringen i två kommuner under stormarna Gudrun och Per.</i>	
08:106 Annika Berggren	60:-
<i>Jämn könsfördelning på höga chefsnivåer. En studie om framgångsfaktorer</i>	
08:105 Christina Alvelins och Gabriella Sjöman	slut
<i>Vem tar ansvar för de nollplacerade? Om rehabilitering och försörjning för sjuka utan inkomst</i>	
08:104 Nathalie Munteanu	60:-
<i>Det bästa av två världar. - En studie om kommunala självstyrande skolor som hybrider i det svenska utbildningssystemet.</i>	
08:103 Helena Öhrvall	60:-
<i>De nya moderaterna? Om moderaternas socialpolitik i retorik och praktik under perioden 1999-2007</i>	
08:102 Lotta Valinder	60:-
<i>Pengar är inte allt. En studie av fyra högstadieskolor i Mellansverige.</i>	
08:101 Niklas Andersson	60:-
<i>De som fiskar efter makt. Om svensk fiskepolitik och intresseorganisationernas inflytande.</i>	
08:99 Andreas Ivarsson	60:-
<i>Från Gudrun till Per – om kommunal krishantering, erfarenheter och förändring</i>	
08:98 Lars Johansson	60:-
<i>Tjänsteförseelse - Disciplinansvar och påföljder i rättspraxis</i>	
08:97 Mathias Henriksson	60:-
<i>Arenapolitik på 2000-talet – om kommuner som bestämmer sig för att satsa på en ny idrotts- och evenemangsarena</i>	
08:96 Staffan Kling	60:-
<i>Organisationskulturens betydelse för hantering av tomrum</i>	
07:95 Andreas Gustavsson och Stefan Laang	60:-
<i>Prat och handling – en studie om kommunernas pensionsredovisning.</i>	
07:94 Osvaldo Salas	60:-
<i>Miljöhänsyn lönar sig. Samhällsekonomiska följder av luftföroreningsminskningen i två peruanska städer: En cost-benefit-analys.</i>	

07:93 Marie Persson	60:-
<i>Lojalitet & Konflikt. - En studie av förstalinjenchefens delade lojalitet inom hemtjänsten.</i>	
07:92 Emil Gustafsson, Michael Nilsson	60:-
<i>Varför bäst i klassen?</i>	
<i>- En jämförandestudie av högstadieskolor i Göteborg</i>	
07:91 Adrian Nählander	60:-
<i>"Nej, gudskelov". Om (förekomsten av) styrning och påverkan av hur professionella organisationer arbetar med högskolans tredje uppgift.</i>	
07:90 Osvaldo Salas	60:-
<i>Rörligheten på arbetsmarknaden bland invandrare. En litteraturöversikt.</i>	
07:89 Daniel Bernmar	60:-
<i>Aktörer, nätverk och spåragnar: EN studie i organiserandet av ett trafikpolitiskt projekt</i>	
07:88 Viveka Nilsson	60:-
<i>Genusperspektivet vid Sahlgrenska akademien</i>	
06:87 Lena Lindgren	60:-
<i>Arbetsmarknadspolitik "på det nedersta trappsteget". En utvärdering av projekt ENTER.</i>	
06:86 Sara Brorström	60:-
<i>Något utöver det vanliga - en studie av sex kommunala projekt.</i>	
06:85 Jane Backström	60:-
<i>Inget är för evigt - en studie av sextimmarsdagen i Kiruna.</i>	
06:84 Pierre Donatella	60:-
<i>Bra och dåliga årsredovisningar - En studie om kvalitetsskillnader.</i>	
06:83 Vicki Johansson red.	slut
<i>Tillsynens mångfasetterade praktik inom det sociala och hälso- och sjukvårdsområdet.</i>	
06:82 Anders Björnsson	60:-
<i>Max Weber - inblickar i en tid och ett tänkande.</i>	
06:81 Alexander Baena	60:-
<i>Varför slösas det samtidigt som det sparas? - en studie om budgetproblematik i kommunal verksamhet.</i>	
06:80 David Karlsson	60:-
<i>Den svenska borgmästaren. Kommunstyrelsens ordförande och den lokala demokratin.</i>	
05:79 Kerstin Bartholdsson	60:-
<i>Tre nyanser av grönt: Om betydelsen av kommunala miljöchefers personliga engagemang för miljön.</i>	
05:78 Björn Brorström, Stellan Malmer, Viveka Nilsson	60:-
<i>Varför tillväxt i kommuner? En studie av nyckelaktörers uppfattningar</i>	
05:77 Thomas Vilhelmsson	60:-
<i>Kommunala pensionsavsättningsbeslut.</i>	
05:76 Henry Bäck, Folke Johansson & Adiam Tedros	60:-
<i>Ledarskap och lokalsamhälle i lokal politik - Fyra politiska initiativ i Göteborg och Stockholm i komparativt belysning.</i>	
05:75 Östen Ohlsson & Björn Rombach	60:-
<i>Den friska organisationen.</i>	

- 05:74 Henry Bäck, Nina Granqvist, Siv Sandberg, Sundback 60:-
Svenskt och finskt i kommunerna.
- 5:73 Charlotta Ekman
Varför görs det ris i Åhus? Om mötet mellan näringslivspolitik och etableringsstrategi.
- 05:72 Sven Siverbo (red.) 60:-
Evolutionsteori för offentliga organisationer.
- 05:71 Nazem Tahvilzadeh 60:-
Minoritetsmedier i Göteborgs Stad. En studie om integration, makt och icke-beslut i stadspolitiken.
- 05:70 Sven Siverbo 60:-
Inkomstutjämning och kommunalekonomiska incitament
- 05:69 Andreas Ivarsson 60:-
På väg mot paradoxala resultat? En studie av möjligheter till ökad handlingskraft genom resultatstyrning av sektorsövergripande frågor inom statsförvaltningen med jämställdhetspolitiken som exempel.
- 05:68 Sofie Cedstrand 60:-
Idealism till salu? Om ideella organisationers strategival och dess demokratiska betydelse.
- 04:67 David Karlsson & Carina Andersson 60:-
84% män. Kvinnor och män i kurslitteraturen.
- 04:66 Björn Brorström & Sven Siverbo 60:-
Skatthöjning enda lösningen? Om ekonomiska problem och behov av avceremonialisering och självständighet.
- 04:65 Anders Falk 60:-
Varför lyckades Geriatriken? En fallstudie av två verksamhetsområdens implementering av balanserad styrkort inom hälso- och sjukvården.
- 04:64 Daniel Lindin & Josip Mrnjavac 60:-
Varför blir det detta pris? En studie i hur kommuner sätter sina tomtpriser.
- 04:63 Elisabeth Ravenshorst 60:-
Den sensuella organisationen . Ett perspektiv på kommuner och dess chefskap.
- 04:62 Katrin Söderlind 60:-
Målstyrning av grundskolan. En fallstudie i Partille kommun.
- 04:61 Henry Bäck och Maritta Soininen 60:--
Politisk annonsering eller nätverkande? Uppföljning och utvärdering av partiernas särskilda informationsinsatser till invandrarväljare vid 2002 års val.
- 04:60 Anette Gustafsson 60:--
Vem är feminist? Om politiska könsideologier i svensk kommunpolitik.
- 04:59 Henry Bäck 60:--
Av de många ett. Västra Götlandsregionens politiker. Partipolitiska och territoriella skiljeliner Göteborg: Förvaltningshögskolan.
- 04:58 Tobias Johansson 60:--
Kollision eller konfirmation? - Ett möte mellan transaktionskostnadsteorin och kommunal äldreomsorg.

- 04:57 Anna Berg och Charlotta Fagring
Internationella reglers påverkan på kommunal redovisning - Ett resultat av anpassning eller anpassning som ett resultat 60:--
- 04:56 Aida Alic och Pernilla Wallén
*Centralisera mera? Hur organiseras inköpsfunktionen i en kommun för en bättre efter- 60:-
leönad av LOU?*
- 03:55 Mats Lindblad
*Perspektiv på europeisk integration i svensk riksdag. Jämförande analyser av riksdags- 60:-
debatterna om grundlagsändringarna 1994 och 2003 angående överlåtelse av besluts-
rätt till EG/EU.*
- 03:54 Mia Davidsson
Kommunala upphandlare - En studie om hur de fattar beslut. 60:-
- 03:53 Mats Bengtsson
Kvinnor och Män i lokalpolitiken. 60:-
- 03:52 Peter Arkevåg, Björn Brorström, Carina Andersson och Tobias Johansson
För bra för för få - Årsredovisningar inom staten. 60:-
- 03:51 Johan Berlin och Eric Carlström
*Balans eller nonchalans? - En studie av kommuner som beviljats extra finansiellt stöd 60:-
av staten.*
- 03:50 Roger Andersson
Praktisk kommunal upphandling. 60:-
- 03:49 Carina Andersson med flera
Interjuer. 60:-
- 03:48 Kajsa Värna och Birgitta Örnfeldt
Långlivade förvaltningschefer - strateger som verkar utan att synas. 60:-
- 02:47 Paula Rodrigo Blomqvist
*Från assimilation till separation. Den finska invandrargruppens krav på finskspråkig 60:-
undervisning.*
- 02:46 Henry Bäck, Gunnar Gjelstrup, Folke Johansson, Jan Erling Klausen (red)
Lokal politik i storstad - stadsdelar i skandinaviska storstäder. 60:-
- 02:45 Lena Andersson-Felé
När gamla vårdar ännu äldre ... 60:-
- 02:44 Björn Brorström och Sven Siverbo
Framgångsrik vändning. 60:-
- 02:43 Ann-Charlotte Bengtsson och Eva-Britt Pettersson
*Modell för kvalitetsmätning inom äldreomsorgen - Finns det något samband mellan 60:-
kvalitet och kostnad?*
- 02:42 Joacim Rydmark
*Beslut under osäkerhet - En experimentell mikrovärldsstudie av metoder för att hantera 60:-
osäkerhet vid ledning och beslutsfattande i komplexa och dynamiska miljöer.*
- 02:41 Anna Holmqvist
*Beslutsprocesser och investeringskalkyler i fastighetsbranschen. En jämförelse mellan 60:-
allännyttiga och börsnoterade fastighetsbolag.*

02:40 Carina Andersson <i>Tidens ekonomi.</i>	60:-
02:39 Patrik Johansson <i>Vem tar notan? Skandaler i svensk offentlig sektor.</i>	60:-
02:38 Conny Pettersson <i>Från Global idé till lokal praktik - Om näringspolitik för hållbar utveckling.</i>	60:-
02:37 Gustaf Kastberg <i>Omsorg om Marknaden - En studie av hur reglerna på en offentlig marknad skapas och förändras.</i>	60:-
01:36 David Karlsson <i>Sveriges kommunala kulturpolitiker.</i>	60:-
01:35 Anders Björnsson <i>Systemskiften - En explorativ essä.</i>	60:-
01:34 Henry Bäck, Sven Siverbo och Björn Brorström <i>Ny politisk organisation i Härryda och Stenungsund.</i>	60:-
01:33 Maria Palm <i>Maxtaxa - en studie av nytt avgiftssystem inom den kommunala barnomsorgen.</i>	60:-
01:32 Alexandra Jönsson <i>Den sociala dialogen i EU och jämställdheten i Europa.</i>	60:-
01:31 Björn Brorström och Pär Falkman <i>Kommunal redovisning – teoriutveckling.</i>	60:-
01:30 Niklas Theodorsson <i>Det lokals uppror - Om aktionsgrupper i den kommunala demokratin.</i>	60:-
00:29 Theresa Larsen <i>Kommunerna som arbetsgivare.</i>	60:-
00:28 Björn Brorström <i>Kommunalekonomen - några funderingar om förutsättningar, förhållningssätt och professionell utveckling.</i>	60:-
00:27 Östen Ohlsson & Björn Rombach <i>Organisationspyramiden och Buridans Åsna - en lagom teori.</i>	60:-
00:26 Jenny Svärd <i>Bestående nätverk – en studie av den sociala dimensionens betydelse.</i>	60:-
00:25 Lillemor Bergman och Virginia Leinen <i>Ekonomisk information i vården – en studie om styrmodellens påverkan på förhållningssättet till ekonomisk information.</i>	60:-
00:24 Rolf Solli, Peter Demediuk and Rob Sims <i>Chief Finance Officer in local government – Sweden vs Australia.</i>	60:-
00:23 J. Henrik Bergström <i>Hur ölskatterna sänktes – Om lobbning, pilsner och pluralism.</i>	60:-
99:22 Björn Brorström <i>Institutioner och institutionell förändring Perspektiv, teori och tillämpning på kommunal utveckling.</i>	60:-

99:21 Ylva Mühlenbock	
<i>När det lokala tar hand om det centrala Hur två kommuner omvandlar den statliga styrningen av skolan.</i>	60:-
99:20 Malgorzata Erikson	
<i>Frihet inom rollen - den politiska ledningens betydelse för en kommuns utveckling i ett längre perspektiv.</i>	60:-
99:19 Sven Siverbo	
<i>Kommuner och ekonomisk kris - en studie av kommuner som sökt extra finansiellt stöd av staten.</i>	60:-
99:18 Pär Falkman	
<i>Statlig redovisning ur två perspektiv.</i>	60:-
98:17 Anette Gustafsson, David Karlsson och Paula Rodrigo Blomqvist	
<i>Forskning att räkna med - tre koantitativa studier om den lokala demokratis förutsättningar.</i>	60:-
98:16 Katarina Orrbeck	
<i>Finansiella rapporter och ekonomiska krav - politikernas perspektiv.</i>	60:-
98:15 Björn Brorström och Rolf Solli	
<i>Ekonomistyrning har betydelse.</i>	slut
98:14 Björn Rombach	
<i>Nöjdhetsmätningar - en kritisk granskning av attitydundersökningar i sjukvården.</i>	slut
98:13 Björn Brorström, Henry Bäck, Sven Siverbo och Annika Svensson	
<i>Ingen nämnd - Stenungsunds modell för vitalisering av kommunalpolitiken.</i>	60:-
98:12 Henry Bäck och Folke Johansson	
<i>Politisk decentralisering i skandinaviska storstäder.</i>	60:-
98:11 Sven Siverbo	
<i>Kapacitet att handla? Om politisk styrning och omprövning av verksamhet på lokal nivå.</i>	60:-
97:10 David Karlsson	
<i>Kommunerna och rättvisan.</i>	60:-
97:9 Patrik Johansson och Jonas Persson (red)	
<i>KommunAktuellt nummer 5 1997 - sju betraktelser.</i>	60:-
97:8 Björn Brorström och Bo Hallin	
<i>Varför är kommuner framgångsrika? En studie av framgångens kännetecken och orsaker.</i>	slut
97:7 Östen Ohlsson och Björn Rombach	
<i>Res pyramiderna.</i>	60:-
97:6 Hasse Ekstedt och Stellan Malmer	
<i>Ränta är priset för att vänta - En analys av den kommunala kalkylräntan.</i>	60:-
97:5 Björn Brorström, Rolf Solli och Östen Ohlsson	
<i>Minihandbok i utovärdering.</i>	slut
96:4 Anna Cregård och Patrik Johansson	
<i>89 % män - Vem skriver kurslitteraturen?</i>	60:-
96:3 Rolf Solli	
<i>Kommunalekonomen i imperfektum, presens, futurum eller i cyberspace.</i>	slut

96:2 Henry Bäck och Maritta Soininen

Invandrarna, demokratin och samhället.

60:-

96:1 Björn Brorström och Björn Rombach

Kommunal förändringsobenägenhet.

60:-

