The balancing act

How public construction clients safeguard public values in a changing construction industry

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A+BE | Architecture and the Built Environment | TU Delft BK

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Dissertation

for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor
at Delft University of Technology
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus, Prof.dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen
chair of the Board for Doctorates
to be defended publicly on
Thursday, 15 April 2021 at 10.00 o'clock

by

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HET OPDRACHTGEVERS
FORUM IN DE BOUW

Acknowledgements

I can't quite believe it: this is the final piece I'm writing for my dissertation. I'm beyond proud to have reached this personal and professional milestone and even prouder to have reached it during a global pandemic. Although it has been challenging, typing these last words while in lockdown makes the crucial roles of those that I have been in touch with intensely over the past few years, even more evident to me. It's my pleasure to highlight what they have meant to me and thank them from the bottom of my heart. Isolation and connection are seemingly opposite concepts, but these are the people that helped debunk that notion.

First and foremost, my gratitude goes to my promotors Marleen Hermans and Leentje Volker. Marleen, how special it was, being your first PhD candidate, to embark on this adventure together. Thank you for entrusting this special role to me. I'm grateful for the promotor-promovenda relationship we have built, which is most definitely one of a kind. I could say anything to you, about the research but also with regard to personal challenges. We had a very enjoyable time sparring about the research, and this was the time when I could compare my theoretical insights with your valuable practical perspective. You were critical but also always had my back when I needed you the most. And your energy was contagious. Leentje, from daily supervisor to promotor, it has been a journey for both of us. I enjoyed our long talks about finding relations between concepts, theories and academic fields. A passion we share. You challenged me and you were sometimes even more ambitious than I was. You also encouraged me to write a lot of papers, to engage in the academic community and to travel and grow in more than one way. In particular, the differences between the two of you were both the greatest challenge of this research and imperative to this doctoral study. I'm looking forward to many more collaborations in the future.

Next I want to thank the LPO group. Doing a PhD is an individual undertaking, but being part of such a close, active, dedicated and fun team made it so much easier. Hanneke, in all our walks to the espresso bar I could share my struggles and frustrations. And somehow when we came back at the office I felt so much better. Sarah, your cheerfulness and lunch routine provided the necessary distraction. Pedram, our equal work ethic was encouraging, especially during the final months of my writing process, even during the weekends. Simone, because you were just a step ahead of me in completing the PhD, you were able to give me all kinds of tips and knew the answers to all my practical questions. Ad, you are a silent force

in the midst of our dynamic team and your poems reveal your inspiring thoughts about the construction sector. Els, thank you for your down-to-earth view of the scientific world that made me see everything in perspective time and again. Leonie, I appreciated that you showed great interest in the practical application of my findings. It's such a shame that we didn't get to enjoy our shared office for long, but the WAT sessions (for the ones not familiar with this: Working Apart Together) and virtual DoMiBo's made up for a lot. Also thanks to the secretaries, Joke, Yvonne and Elianne. A special thanks to Elianne. What would we do without you. Are there any people at TU that you don't know? You certainly know how to get things done. This has saved me a lot of stress. And thanks to the student assistants - Dirkje Bazuin, Rosa Bos, Tineke Nogarede and Dante Albertus - who supported me during this research.

The support of my fellow PhDs was also key. I want to thank you for the fun times, for sharing ideas and troubles, the summer writing sessions and beach time. A special thanks to my former LPO-PhDs Astrid Potemans and Bart Gündel. The interest that many colleagues in the DCM-section showed in my research is also much appreciated.

A special thank you to all the participants in this research, the members of Het Opdrachtgeversforum in de Bouw and many of their colleagues, especially those I had the privilege of interviewing. Thank you for answering all my questions, for your enthusiasm in engaging with the research tools I have developed, and for challenging me with your own questions. I would also like to express my gratitude to the participants of the workshop sustainable commissioning of the Unie van Waterschappen, in which I could test my tool.

I would also like to thank Jolien Grandia for coauthoring a paper. And to my temporary colleagues in Gothenburg, for their feedback and 'fika's'. And also the anonymous reviewers and many peers for their constructive comments on articles and in the development of papers.

Also a big thanks to Minke Themans (Studio Minke Themans) for collaborating on the tool development. It was fun to participate in a creative search for the best way to translate my findings into a tool. Your curiosity and questions about my work made me look at my research from a different angle. Which was, in addition to providing a well-designed tool, also beneficial to further develop the storyline of my dissertation.

There are also a number of people I want to thank for their role in the lead up to me doing this PhD. First of all, Agnes Franzen, my master thesis supervisor, without you I wouldn't have gotten this opportunity. You were the first to introduce the idea

of doing a PhD to me and the one who mentioned my name to Marleen and Leentje when they were searching for a researcher to join the chair of public commissioning. And also Louis Lousberg, who was involved in both my master and bachelor thesis. You introduced me to conducting scientific research and your passion and curiosity have made me realize the beauty of doing research. And finally, Willem Sulsters. You valued my exploratory attitude, also in consulting practice, and gave me the space to slowly make the transition to the scientific community.

And of course my family. Papa and Mama, thank you for always believing in me and supporting me to choose something I like to do, even if you didn't understand. Dad, I have the same discipline and work ethic as you and oh I have needed it badly. You pulled me away from my computer screen to enjoy field hockey games as a much needed break. And mom, thank you for reminding me of the importance to relax, even when I didn't want to hear it. With your writing skills you helped me tremendously to make my dissertation more readable in the last months, and by initiating weekly dinners you reminded me of my other passion. Floor, thank you for designing my cover. And just for being my sister. You were always just a phone call away. Especially very long phone calls in which I could complain endlessly about all that was off or going wrong and for the nice dinners and outings. Sjoerd, thank you for asking me about lots of things that didn't involve my PhD. Joost, thank you for helping me with the figures. And both of you for making me laugh.

And thank you to my close friends, Dorris, Joan, Paressa, Nienke and Annelot. And finally Renée, you are such an amazing friend. I'm so lucky to have met you on the hockey field. I'm so excited that we now live so close together. Especially during the pandemic this offered the opportunity to meet outside. Our coffee break walks helped me through the last months of this journey. I'm looking forward to our next trip, when the world allows it again. Now I have certainly earned it!

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Summary

We all live, work and recreate in the built environment and value different things in public space. Many of the interventions in that built environment are managed by public clients who are active in the construction industry. This dissertation highlights the important role to be played by public commissioning in terms of safeguarding public values in the Dutch construction industry. In this dissertation, public commissioning is defined as the manner in which an organization in the public sector shapes and carries out its internal and external interactions with the market in view of its responsibilities in the built environment.

Value interests in the construction industry are undergoing profound change in response to a variety of transitional issues, including globalization and urbanization, ageing population, climate change and digitalization. Next to more traditional, public values of the construction industry - such as functionality, built quality and the impact of the construction itself - and the traditional project assessment values of time, money and quality, more and more values come into play. For example, in a large area development in which next to infrastructure, all kinds of social issues must be resolved simultaneously, from social inclusion to sustainability. Or in a large construction project in which, in addition to functional requirements, more and more 'overarching' requirements are set, for example in the area of energy supply, water storage and safety.

To pursue these new and added public values, innovative and specialized solutions are required. To deliver and ensure public values, Dutch public construction clients need both specialist market parties and societal partners, working together in increasingly complex network environments. For example when public clients have to realize a redevelopment project in collaboration with market parties such as designers and local construction companies as well as organize a participation process with residents. Whereas private values reflect individual interests, public values are about meeting shared expectations. Although in such network environments interdependency grows, public bodies such as public construction clients remain ultimately responsible for public values. Their partners however also contribute to public value creation while also bringing their own – public, private and societal - values and interests to the table.

In parallel with the trend toward network collaboration outlined above, the way people in positions of authority hold themselves accountable to their stakeholders is changing, and this is reflected in governance modes. There is an ongoing transition from Traditional Public Management (TPM) and New Public Management (NPM) - that attach importance to values such as transparency, legitimacy and effectiveness – towards New Public Governance (NPG), aiming to add value to society through e.g. sustainability, innovation or citizen participation.

In their commissioning role, public bodies especially are confronted with the need to ensure public values. A complicating factor is that public values are neither interchangeable, comparable or even necessarily compatible with one another. This has always been the case, but with a growing number of values to be taken into account, value conflicts are more likely to occur. With respect to the role of public commissioning, this necessitates a marked shift from seeking to optimize and guide the fulfillment of one value, towards attempting to strike a balance between multiple values. Thus, safeguarding public values while working together with multiple stakeholders in complex network environments becomes a balancing act.

Although value pluralism in the context of public administration and public service delivery is studied before, we do not yet fully understand how public values are defined and interpreted in the construction industry, we do not yet fully understand value conflicts in commissioning and – finally - we do not know how public construction clients deal with multiple and often conflicting values, both within their organization and in the increasingly collaborative practice of public service delivery.

Altogether this calls for a broad perspective on safeguarding public values, one that is grounded in a dynamic organizational - and process – view. This dissertation provides a contemporary perspective through which to study and execute the safeguarding of public values by public construction clients in the transition towards network governance in the construction industry. Its central research question is:

How can public construction clients safeguard public values in public service delivery within the built environment?

The research adopts an 'outside-in' perspective on safeguarding, taking inspiration from the fields of public administration and organizational science. Based on three qualitative studies that utilized a range of different methods, including interviews, observations and document analysis, this research a) increases awareness and understanding of the dynamics of the sector-specific value interests of public construction clients, b) increases awareness and understanding of the occurrence of value conflicts in commissioning, and c) provides ways to deal with conflicting

values in the commissioning role in order to safeguard the (public) value(s) strived for, within both external and internal commissioning. Thus this research adds a (construction) sector-specific operationalization of public values and a network perspective to the existing field of research on public values.

The three qualitative studies address the research gaps as shown in the figure below.

Research gaps

Understanding public value in construction *More rigurous operationalization*	**Understanding value conflicts** *Sector- and role specific*	**Adressing and understanding how to deal with value conflicts** *Organizational and process view*

Study 1 – Chapter 2: Overall commissioning role
- Which public values play a role in public service delivery between public clients and contractors in construction?
- What contextual factors influence construction clients' value interests in these practices?
- Which public values challenges do construction clients face in collaborative practices of public service delivery in construction?

Study 2 – Chapter 3: Internal commissioning
- How does the implementation of New Public Governance confront civil servants in municipal organizations with internal hybridity and value tensions?

Study 3 – Chapter 4: External commissioning
- How do collaborative network approaches deliver value through projects?
- How do these approaches influence the type of conflicts that appear?
- How are these conflicts dealt with by public client organizations with or without the various organizational, project-related and societal actors involved?

Overview of studies and addressed gaps in extant research

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Dynamics of construction sector specific value interests

Based on a literature review of different kinds and types of values and contextual factors that influence the value interests of public construction clients, it is argued that both procedural- performance- and product-related public values are of particular importance to public clients in the construction industry. Procedural values can be understood as the 'rules of the game', and reflect values related to how the public sector should act and what standards should be met, e.g. transparency. Performance values mirror effectiveness and efficiency, e.g. 'don't waste the tax payers' money'. Product-related (or substantive) values, reflect the responsibility for ensuring public works, e.g. the quality of infrastructure. Hence, a framework of 25 public values that constitute the common value palette of Dutch construction client organizations was developed (table 6.1).

In the first interview-based study a wide range of public client organizations was included in order to increase generalizability. The sample included both public and semi-public construction clients, such as municipalities, water boards and housing associations. It was found that clients' value interests were influenced by various contexts: a) the context of the construction industry, b) the construction project context, and c) the administrative context of the client. Overall, three overarching internal factors that influence the value interests of public construction clients were identified: (1) the development of the organization; (2) the public character of the organization - public or semi-public -and (3) the view on the position in the client- contractor relationship, a more contractual approach or a more collaborative perspective. Four external factors of influence related to the sector, the system and the industry were also found: (1) construction sector-related laws and policies; such as the European procurement law (2) developments within the construction supply market; (3) the administrative system (politics and accountability); and (4) societal challenges.

Irrespective of the internal and external influences, all client-professionals agreed on the importance of a set of procedural values strongly related to the lawfulness and responsibilities of public client bodies, grounded in the values of integrity, transparency and reliability. However, the dominance of these procedural type of values was found to be subject to change. In particular, the current collaborative practices of public service delivery have impact upon how these values are perceived: the procedural values of integrity, lawfulness, reliability and equality are increasingly considered to be contextual, due to the need to create more space for new added values. The complex network environments in which public construction clients operate, add their own - both public and private – values. Together, this affects the value management of public construction clients. The research discerned an ongoing shift in focus away from procedural values related to lawfulness and the performance

values of effectiveness and efficiency, towards the more product-oriented values of innovation, sustainability and quality of service. This shift can be understood as a response to ongoing NPG reforms, which can be recognized internationally in the construction industry and across other sectors in society.

This shift in focus towards product-related values does not mean that other – existing – value palettes are disappearing. Rather, the dynamics in value interests result in a growing set of public values that must be considered by public construction clients. This indicates that public construction clients need to adopt a wider view on public values.

The occurrence of value conflicts in commissioning

All three studies showed that value conflicts appear to be the main issue when striving for and trying to embed 'new' public values in commissioning. The dynamics of value interests inherent to complex network environments create a construction context in which public construction clients are confronted with value clashes and incompatible goals, both in internal commissioning - within the public client's own organization -, and external commissioning - in the interactions between the public construction client, contractors and other societal partners.

These dynamics were analyzed in study 3, a single case study of a participatory redevelopment of a municipal park. Next to semi-structured interviews with both actors from the public-private project environment and from the public client organization, for triangulation purposes, participant observation and documents were part of this study. Overall, it was found that two axes in particular play a key role in terms of understanding what occurs in this dynamic and complex environment: (1) the 'temporal axis', which is represented by the various phases in the construction project life cycle – planning, design and commissioning - within which various activities of value identification, value creation and value capturing occur, and (2) the 'spatial axis', which in this case study is represented by the network levels between the different actors, such as the alderman, employees of the municipality, project managers, residents and local businesses. Furthermore, the findings highlight the importance of looking within and across both the phases and network levels to identify potential conflict arenas. From this, a third dimension followed: the scale level of conflict. This pertains to whether value conflicts exist between two employees within a single department, across different departments, or between even larger groups such as the public and private domain. Having different cross-phase and cross-level interactions on the axes, public construction clients find themselves entering into many possible conflict situations.

From an organizational perspective, with a particular focus on internal commissioning, the second study uses a comparative case study of the urban planning section of two municipal organizations – again based on interviews, observations and documents -, to show organizational value conflicts. Study 2 highlights the ways in which the ongoing implementation of New Public Governance (NGP) produces a heterogeneous configuration of coexisting modes of governance within the client organization, as well as different translations of the corresponding values in governance systems, management approaches, motivations and the roles of municipal civil servants. Civil servants are confronted with internal value pluralism (also called hybridity), both vertically between different (scale) levels of their organizations, as well as horizontally between different domains and departments within their organizations. From a vertical perspective, challenges for implementation stem from dilemmas between formalization and flexibility, misalignment between top-down and bottom-up approaches to governance, as well as between different scale levels, the organization as a whole and the part. For example, tension may arise between the short-term goals of the project organization and the long-term goals of the parent organization. From a horizontal perspective, differences between pillars, professions and value interpretations are also discussed as challenges for implementing NPG. For example, the trust-based management approaches that are needed to benefit from market innovation do not align well with traditional procurement assessment methods.

From the process perspective, - with a focus on external commissioning - two major conflict arenas were found in study 3, occurring within various network levels of the public redevelopment project: (1) a conflict arena within the political environment of the public domain, (2) a conflict arena within the public client organization itself. Furthermore, two major conflict arenas between actors across the project network levels were identified: (3) a conflict arena across the network levels of the public and private actors, and (4) a conflict arena across system levels. The predominance of conflict arenas within network relationships was found to be related to the different stages of the public value process. Multiple conflicts were identified, such as between the hierarchical decision to redevelop a square in a park and the level of commitment for participation of local residents. Or between taking time for citizen's participation and experiencing delays.

The safeguarding processes within both external and internal commissioning

Public construction clients are positioned within the center of many (possible) value conflicts. From their central position they can manage a multitude of potential conflicts at (1) the interface of the public and private spheres, (2) between project organization and parent organization and (3) in executive, administrative, and operational commissioning. Throughout their commissioning activities public bodies can take up this challenge as an integral action. To be able to do this, they need to recognize the possibilities value pluralism offers and know how to seize them to safeguard the delivery of values. In this respect, the theoretical exploration of study 3 teaches that it is the clients perspective towards value pluralism itself that determines to a large part how they will deal with value conflicts. In order to create flexibility in safeguarding to respond to value dynamics, they must strive to evolve beyond trade-off either/or thinking to reduce conflict, and instead embrace paradox both/and thinking to engage with value pluralism.

From an internal commissioning perspective, study 2 shows that in resolving internal value conflicts, strong aspects of certain modes of governance can compensate for weaker aspects of other modes of governance. This does demand the crossing of internal boundaries, that is, going off the beaten track and entering into unknown relationships, both relationally and organizationally. For example, combining different policy areas, such as achieving social return objectives through a participatory redevelopment project. Study 3 adopts a 'coping' lens for the purpose of examining how public clients deal – or cope – with value conflicts. From the different perspectives on value pluralism various ways of coping are applied. From an either/or perspective, public actors are either likely to resort to decoupling as a response strategy, or likely to resort to compromise. Decoupling is separating contradictory elements either temporally – by dealing with one, then the other– or spatially – by compartmentalizing elements into different areas. For example when the spatial domain tasks of a public construction clients' organization are spread across separate pillars for development and management. Compromising can be achieved by crafting minimum standards - like CO_2 emission standards - , adopting new behavior or by bargaining. From a both/and perspective, response strategies involve value system combination by engaging and encouraging conflict through synthesis. Actors are encouraged to make their own judgments on how to strike the best balance between the conflicting demands. Study 3 showed that it is also important to look at the when or by whom the specific coping should be deployed relative to when or where the conflict arose. This creates even more flexibility. Reacting directly and by whom is experiencing the conflict is not always the most effective response strategy to conflict. The conflict that occurs is dependent of both the situation and

the actors involved. By 'changing' the actors involved and/or the situation, value dynamics also change and other response strategies can be applied. The study reveals seven coping patterns that reflect coping relative to the time or network level at which the conflict occurs. Three patterns are defined on the aforementioned temporal axis – (1) Deferral, (2) Prolongation, and (3) Anticipation – and four patterns on the spatial axis – (1) Prevalence, (2) Relegation, (3) Aggravation and (4) Coincidence. An example of the anticipation pattern is consulting an assessment body early in the process when people are more likely to think out of the box to prevent that traditional construction assessment criteria, like the DQI, assessing on functionality, build quality and the impact of the construction itself, or the traditional project assessment values of time, money and quality, obstruct innovative values. An example of the relegation pattern is creating a situation outside the political system, for example in a pilot project. These coping patterns can both be applied in external and internal commissioning.

This combined organizational and process approach to safeguarding public values allows for increased flexibility when dealing with value pluralism, which public construction clients can benefit from while safeguarding public values. This flexible approach however requires them to leave things to others, which can be daunting when they themselves are ultimately responsible in the end. Generally speaking, public construction clients face a tension between *doing it right* and implementing values derived from TPM and NPM - such as transparency, legitimacy and effectiveness - and *doing the right thing*, which would require them to implement NPG-values like sustainability, innovation or citizen participation. Organizing responsibility in a different and new way, by using networks built upon trust, makes safeguarding public values a joint effort. That is to say, just like public construction clients need internal and external partners to deliver public value, the safeguarding of public values is also partly a collaborative endeavor.

The public construction client of the future

The research presented in this dissertation concludes that it is only by fully recognizing the impact of value complexity that a more realistic and practical integrated approach can be developed that allows network governance to be implemented. However the research also shows that the alignment of governance modes and coping strategies does not yet sufficiently facilitate the shift towards the dominance of network value systems that is associated with the required changes in the relationship between public and private parties. But, some preliminary steps have been taken to allow for its future integration. Subsequently, three focal points for the construction client of the future are:

1. Increased focus on embedding new value systems and reduced focus on changing existing value systems;
2. Increased focus on paradox thinking in a convener role and reduced focus on trade-offs in a steering role;
3. Increased focus on informal accountability in the value chain and reduced focus on formal accountability in the project chain.

To support public construction clients to identify their main value challenges and transform their commissioning profession – role and organization – aiming to professionalize safeguarding of public values in their daily practice, a value dialogue tool was developed. This tool - 'Speaking of Values' - creates awareness about the impact of differences in value interests on achieving public goals and helps public clients to identify new opportunities to safeguard public values, especially when value conflicts exist. The tool has been applied and validated in a workshop on sustainable commissioning. It allows public construction clients to prepare for a more structured and integrative way of safeguarding public values while working on the improvement of our built environment.

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Samenvatting

Wij leven, werken en recreëren allemaal in de gebouwde omgeving. De openbare ruimte is voor ons allemaal en heeft ons – als het goed is – allemaal iets van waarde te bieden. Veel van de ingrepen in de gebouwde omgeving worden gemanaged door publieke opdrachtgevers die actief zijn in de bouwsector. Dit proefschrift belicht de belangrijke rol die publiek opdrachtgeverschap kan spelen bij het borgen van publieke waarden in de Nederlandse bouwsector. In dit proefschrift wordt publiek opdrachtgeverschap gedefinieerd als de wijze waarop een organisatie in de publieke sector met betrekking tot haar verantwoordelijkheden in de gebouwde omgeving vorm geeft aan haar interactie met de markt, zowel intern als extern, en de uitvoering daarvan.

In de bouwsector is het belang van verschillende waarden ingrijpend aan het veranderen als reactie op tal van transities, waaronder globalisering en verstedelijking, vergrijzing van de bevolking, klimaatverandering en digitalisering. Naast de meer traditionele publieke waarden van de bouwsector - zoals functionaliteit, kwaliteit en impact – en de gebruikelijke projectwaarden tijd, geld en kwaliteit, komen er steeds meer waarden in het spel. Bijvoorbeeld bij een grote gebiedsontwikkeling waarbij naast de aanleg van infrastructuur ook allerlei maatschappelijke vraagstukken moeten worden opgelost, van sociale inclusiviteit tot duurzaamheid. Of in een groot bouwproject waarin naast functionele eisen steeds meer 'overkoepelende' eisen worden gesteld, bijvoorbeeld op het gebied van energievoorziening, waterberging en veiligheid.

Om deze nieuwe en toegevoegde publieke waarden te realiseren, zijn innovatieve en gespecialiseerde oplossingen nodig. Nederlandse publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw hebben om publieke waarden te' leveren' en te borgen, zowel gespecialiseerde marktpartijen als maatschappelijke partners nodig, die samenwerken in steeds complexere netwerkomgevingen. Bijvoorbeeld wanneer publieke opdrachtgevers een herontwikkelingsproject moeten realiseren in samenwerking met marktpartijen, zoals ontwerpers en lokale bouwbedrijven, en een participatieproces met bewoners moeten organiseren. Waar private waarden individuele belangen weerspiegelen gaat het bij publieke waarden om het voldoen aan gedeelde verwachtingen. Hoewel in netwerkomgevingen de onderlinge afhankelijkheid toeneemt, blijven publieke organen - zoals publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw - uiteindelijk verantwoordelijk voor publieke waarden. Hun partners dragen echter ook bij aan het creëren

van publieke waarde, terwijl ze tegelijkertijd hun eigen - publieke, private en maatschappelijke - waarden en belangen inbrengen.

Parallel aan de hierboven geschetste ontwikkeling in de richting van netwerksamenwerking, verandert de manier waarop mensen in gezaghebbende posities verantwoording afleggen aan hun belanghouders, en dit wordt weerspiegeld in de bestuursvormen. Er is een transitie gaande van Traditioneel Publiek Management (TPM) en New Public Management (NPM) - die belang hechten aan waarden als transparantie, legitimiteit en effectiviteit – naar New Public Governance (NPG), gericht op het toevoegen van waarde aan de samenleving door bijvoorbeeld duurzaamheid, innovatie of burgerparticipatie.

In hun opdrachtgevende rol worden vooral overheidsinstanties geconfronteerd met de noodzaak om publieke waarden te waarborgen. Een complicerende factor is dat publieke waarden niet uitwisselbaar, vergelijkbaar of zelfs noodzakelijkerwijs verenigbaar zijn. Dit is altijd al het geval geweest, maar de kans op waardeconflicten wordt groter door het groeiende aantal waarden waarmee rekening moet worden gehouden. Met betrekking tot de rol van publiek opdrachtgeverschap vereist dit een duidelijke verschuiving van het streven naar optimalisering van - en sturing op - de vervulling van één waarde, naar het streven naar een balans tussen meerdere waarden. Samen met meerdere belanghebbenden in complexe netwerkomgevingen publieke waarden waarborgen wordt hierdoor een balanceeract.

Hoewel waardepluralisme in de context van openbaar bestuur en publieke dienstverlening al eerder is bestudeerd, weten we nog niet alles. Ten eerste begrijpen we nog niet volledig hoe publieke waarden in de bouwsector worden gedefinieerd en geïnterpreteerd, ten tweede begrijpen we waardeconflicten in publiek opdrachtgeverschap nog niet volledig en tot slot weten we nog niet hoe publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw omgaan met een veelheid van - vaak conflicterende - waarden, zowel binnen hun organisatie als in de steeds meer op (netwerk) samenwerking gerichte praktijk van de publieke dienstverlening.

Alles in aanmerking genomen is een breed perspectief op het waarborgen van publieke waarden nodig, een perspectief dat recht doet aan de dynamiek van organisaties en processen. Dit onderzoek biedt zo'n perspectief en bestudeert de borging van publieke waarden door publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw binnen de transitie richting netwerk governance in de bouwsector. De centrale onderzoeksvraag is:

Hoe kunnen publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw publieke waarden waarborgen in de publieke dienstverlening in de gebouwde omgeving?

Het onderzoek hanteert een 'outside-in' perspectief op waarborging en put inspiratie uit de vakgebieden bestuurskunde en organisatiekunde. Het is gebaseerd op drie kwalitatieve studies waarin verschillende methoden zijn gebruikt, waaronder interviews, observaties en documentanalyse. Dit onderzoek a)vergroot het bewustzijn en begrip van de dynamiek rond waarden – en het belang ervan – waar publieke opdrachtgevers specifiek in de bouwsector mee te maken hebben, b) vergroot het bewustzijn en begrip van het optreden van waardeconflicten in publiek opdrachtgeverschap, en c) reikt manieren aan om in het opdrachtgeverschap met conflicterende waarden om te gaan, met als doel om de nagestreefde (publieke) waarde(n) te waarborgen, zowel binnen extern als intern opdrachtgeverschap. Dit onderzoek voegt daarmee een bouwsectorspecifieke operationalisering van publieke waarden en een netwerkperspectief toe aan het bestaande onderzoeksveld rond publieke waarden.

In de figuur hieronder is te zien hoe de drie kwalitatieve studies bijdragen aan het verkleinen van de de lacunes in bestaand onderzoek.

lacunes in bestaand onderzoek

| **Begrip van publieke waarden in de bouw** *Operationalisering* | **Inzicht in waardeconflicten** *Sector- en rolspecifiek* | **Inzichten over het omgaan met waardeconflicten** *Organisatie en procesmatig perspectief* |

Studie 1 – Hoofdstuk 2: Opdrachtgevende rol
- Welke publieke waarden spelen een rol in de praktijken van publieke dienstverlening tussen publieke opdrachtgevers en aannemers in de bouw?
- Welke contextuele factoren beïnvloeden de waardebelangen van publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw bij publieke dienstverlening?
- Met welke uitdagingen op het gebied van publieke waarden worden publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw geconfronteerd in collaboratieve publieke dienstverlening in de bouw?

Studie 2 – Hoofdstuk 3: Intern opdrachtgeverschap
- Hoe confronteert de invoering van New Public Governance ambtenaren in gemeentelijke organisaties met interne hybriditeit en waardespanningen?

Studie 3 – Hoofdstuk 4: Extern opdrachtgeverschap
- Hoe leveren collaboratieve netwerkbenaderingen waarde via projecten?
- Hoe beïnvloeden deze benaderingen het type conflicten dat zich voordoet?
- Hoe wordt er omgegaan met deze conflicten door publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw met of zonder de verschillende betrokken organisatie-, project- en maatschappelijke actoren?

Overzicht van studies en behandelde lacunes in bestaand onderzoek

Dynamiek van waardebelangen specifiek voor de bouwsector

Uit een literatuuronderzoek naar verschillende soorten en typen waarden en contextuele factoren die het belang dat publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw aan bepaalde waarden hechten, beïnvloeden, bleek dat zowel proces-, prestatie- als productgerelateerde publieke waarden van belang zijn voor publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouwsector. Proceswaarden zijn als het ware de spelregels, het zijn waarden die te maken hebben met de manier waarop de publieke sector moet handelen en met de normen waaraan de sector moet voldoen. Een voorbeeld is transparantie. Prestatiewaarden hebben te maken met effectiviteit en efficiëntie. Een voorbeeld is 'belastinggeld moet goed besteed worden'. Productwaarden hebben te maken met de standaard waaraan de openbare werken zelf moeten voldoen. Een voorbeeld is de kwaliteit van de infrastructuur. Op deze manier ontstond een raamwerk van 25 publieke waarden die het gemeenschappelijke waardepalet van opdrachtgevers in de bouw vormen (tabel 6.1).

In de eerste op interviews gebaseerde studie is gesproken met een breed scala van publieke opdrachtgevers om de generaliseerbaarheid te vergroten. Dit waren zowel publieke als semi-publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw, zoals gemeenten, waterschappen en woningbouwverenigingen. Uit de studie bleek dat de 'waardebelangen' van publieke opdrachtgevers – het belang dat zij aan bepaalde waarden hechten - beïnvloed werden door verschillende contexten: a) de context van de bouwsector, b) de context van het bouwproject, en c) de administratieve context van de publieke opdrachtgever. Globaal bleken drie overkoepelende interne factoren de waardebelangen van publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw te beïnvloeden: (1) de ontwikkeling van de organisatie; (2) de mate waarin de organisatie een publiek karakter heeft, dus publiek of semi-publiek is, en (3) de visie op de positie in de relatie tussen opdrachtgever en opdrachtnemer, oftewel: is de relatie gebaseerd op wat in een contract is afgesproken of op de samenwerkingsgedachte. Daarnaast bleken vier externe factoren van invloed, die te maken hebben met de sector, het systeem en de bedrijfstak: (1) wetten en beleid waar de bouwsector mee te maken heeft, zoal het Europees aanbestedingsrecht; (2) ontwikkelingen binnen de markt; (3) het bestuurlijk systeem (politiek en verantwoording); en (4) maatschappelijke uitdagingen.

Los van de interne en externe invloeden waren alle publieke opdrachtgevers het eens over het belang van een aantal procedurele waarden die sterk verband houden met rechtmatigheid en met de verantwoordelijkheden van publieke opdrachtgevers en die terug te voeren zijn op integriteit, transparantie en betrouwbaarheid. De weging van deze proceswaarden bleek echter aan verandering onderhevig te zijn. Met name de huidige manier van samenwerken in de publieke dienstverlening bleek van invloed

op de wijze waarop deze waarden worden gezien: de proceswaarden integriteit, rechtmatigheid, betrouwbaarheid en gelijkheid worden steeds meer als contextueel beschouwd. Dit komt voort uit de noodzaak om meer ruimte te creëren voor nieuwe toegevoegde waarden. De complexe netwerkomgevingen waarin publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw actief zijn, brengen hun eigen - zowel publieke als private - waarden in. Samen beïnvloeden deze de manier waarop publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw waarden managen. Uit het onderzoek bleek dat er een verschuiving gaande is van aandacht voor enerzijds procedurele waarden rond wetmatigheid en anderzijds prestatiewaarden rond effectiviteit en efficiëntie naar productwaarden als innovatie, duurzaamheid en kwaliteit van de dienstverlening. Deze verschuiving kan worden gezien als een reactie op de transitie naar New Public Governance, die internationaal plaatsvindt, zowel in de bouwsector als in andere sectoren van de samenleving.

Deze verschuiving van de aandacht naar productwaarden betekent niet dat andere – bestaande – waardepaletten verdwijnen. De dynamiek in het belang dat aan verschillende waarden wordt gehecht, leidt vooral tot een groeiend aantal publieke waarden waarmee publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw rekening moeten houden. Dit vraagt een bredere kijk op publieke waarden van hen.

Het optreden van waardeconflicten in opdrachtgeverschap

Uit alle drie de studies blijkt dat in het opdrachtgeverschap waardeconflicten de belangrijkste uitdaging vormen bij het nastreven en waarborgen van 'nieuwe' publieke waarden. De dynamiek van waardebelangen die inherent is aan complexe netwerkomgevingen zorgt voor een context waarin publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw geconfronteerd worden met waardeconflicten en onverenigbare doelen, zowel in het interne opdrachtgeverschap - binnen de eigen organisatie van de publieke opdrachtgever -, als in het externe opdrachtgeverschap - in de interacties tussen de publieke opdrachtgever in de bouw, aannemers en andere maatschappelijke partners.

Deze dynamiek is geanalyseerd in studie 3, een casestudy van een herontwikkeling van een stadspark waarin vele verschillende partijen participeerden. Naast semi-gestructureerde interviews met zowel actoren uit de publiek-private projectomgeving als uit de publieke opdrachtgevende organisatie, maakten, met het oog op triangulatie, ook participerende observatie en documenten deel uit van deze studie. Twee assen bleken van beslissend belang om te begrijpen wat er gebeurt in een dergelijke dynamische en complexe omgeving: (1) de 'temporele as', die de verschillende fasen in de levenscyclus van het bouwproject – plannen, ontwerpen en opdrachtgeven - omvat, waarin verschillende activiteiten van waarde-identificatie,

waardecreatie en waarde toe-eigening, plaatsvinden, en (2) de 'ruimtelijke as', die in deze casestudy bestaat uit de netwerkniveaus waarop de verschillende actoren gepositioneerd zijn, zoals de wethouder, medewerkers van de gemeente, projectleiders, bewoners en lokale bedrijven. De bevindingen maken bovendien duidelijk hoe belangrijk het is om binnen en over de grenzen van zowel de fasen als de netwerkniveaus te kijken om potentiële conflictarena's te identificeren. Hieruit kwam een derde dimensie voort: het schaalniveau van het conflict. Hierbij gaat het om de vraag of er waardeconflicten bestaan tussen twee medewerkers binnen één afdeling, tussen verschillende afdelingen, of tussen nog grotere groepen zoals het publieke en private domein. Doordat op de assen verschillende interacties tussen fasen en niveaus voorkomen, kunnen publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw terechtkomen in tal van mogelijke conflictsituaties.

Vanuit een organisatieperspectief en met speciale aandacht voor intern opdrachtgeverschap, laat de tweede studie - een vergelijkende casestudy van de afdeling stedelijke ontwikkeling van twee gemeentelijke organisaties, eveneens gebaseerd op interviews, observaties en documenten – waardeconflicten binnen de organisatie zien. De studie maakt duidelijk hoe de overgang naar en invoering van New Public Governance (NGP) binnen de opdrachtgevende organisatie een heterogene configuratie van naast elkaar bestaande bestuursvormen met zich meebrengt, elk met een eigen en verschillende invulling van waarden in bestuurssystemen, managementbenaderingen, motivaties en rollen van gemeenteambtenaren. Ambtenaren worden hierdoor geconfronteerd met intern waardepluralisme (ook wel hybriditeit genoemd), zowel verticaal - tussen verschillende (schaal)niveaus van hun organisatie -, als horizontaal - tussen verschillende domeinen en afdelingen -Dit levert allerlei uitdagingen op bij de implementatie van waarden. Vanuit een verticaal perspectief komen die voort uit de spanning tussen formalisering en flexibiliteit, tussen top-down- en bottom-up, en tussen schaalniveaus, met name de organisatie als geheel versus een onderdeel ervan. Er kan bijvoorbeeld spanning ontstaan tussen de kortetermijndoelstellingen van de projectorganisatie en de langetermijndoelstellingen van de moederorganisatie. Vanuit een horizontaal perspectief vormen ook verschillen tussen pilaren, beroepsgroepen en waarde-interpretaties uitdagingen voor de implementatie van NPG. De op vertrouwen gebaseerde managementbenaderingen die nodig zijn om voordeel te halen uit marktinnovatie, sluiten bijvoorbeeld niet goed aan bij de traditionele beoordelingsmethoden voor overheidsopdrachten.

Vanuit het procesperspectief en met speciale aandacht voor extern opdrachtgever-schap werden in studie 3 – over de participatieve herontwikkeling van een stadspark - twee belangrijke conflictarena's gevonden, binnen verschillende netwerkniveaus: (1) een conflictarena binnen de politieke omgeving van het publieke domein, (2) een

conflictarena binnen de publieke opdrachtgeversorganisatie zelf. Bovendien werden twee belangrijke conflictarena's tussen actoren over de projectnetwerkniveaus heen geïdentificeerd: (3) een conflictarena tussen de netwerkniveaus van de publieke en private actoren, en (4) een conflictarena tussen systeemniveaus. De dominantie van conflictarena's binnen netwerkrelaties bleek verband te houden met de verschillende fasen in de levenscyclus van het bouwproject. Er zijn meerdere conflicten gevonden, zoals tussen de van bovenaf genomen beslissing om een plein in een park opnieuw in te richten en de inzet voor participatie van omwonenden. Of tussen tijd steken in een participatieproces en te maken krijgen met vertraging.

De waarborgingsprocessen binnen zowel extern als intern opdrachtgeverschap

Publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw kunnen, gezien hun centrale positie, met veel mogelijke waardeconflicten te maken krijgen. Dankzij diezelfde positie hebben zij de mogelijkheid om (potentiële) conflicten te managen op (1) het raakvlak van de publieke en private domein, (2) tussen projectorganisatie en moederorganisatie en (3) in het bestuurlijk, administratief en operationeel opdrachtgeverschap. Overheidsinstanties kunnen deze uitdaging als opdrachtgever integraal oppakken. Om dit te kunnen doen, moeten zij de mogelijkheden die ze daarvoor hebben herkennen en ook weten te grijpen, want alleen dan kunnen zij publieke waarden leveren en borgen. De theoretische verkenning van studie 3 maakt duidelijk dat het perspectief van publieke opdrachtgevers op waardepluralisme voor een groot deel bepaalt hoe zij met waardeconflicten zullen omgaan. Om flexibel op de waardendynamiek te kunnen inspelen en zo publieke waarden te kunnen borgen, is het nodig om bij het omgaan met waardeconflicten 'of/of-denken' te vervangen door 'en/en-denken'. Met andere woorden: omgaan met waardepluralisme vraagt paradoxaal denken dat tegenstellingen overstijgt.

Vanuit het perspectief van intern opdrachtgeverschap laat studie 2 zien dat bij het omgaan met interne waardeconflicten sterke aspecten van bepaalde bestuursvormen kunnen compenseren voor zwakkere aspecten van andere bestuursvormen. Dit vraagt vaak wel dat mensen buiten de gebaande paden treden, onbekende relaties aangaan en over interne organisatorische grenzen heen gaan. Bijvoorbeeld door verschillende beleidsterreinen te combineren, zoals sociaal rendement realiseren door een herontwikkelingsproject participatief aan te pakken.

In studie 3 wordt het begrip 'coping' als bril gebruikt om te herkennen hoe publieke opdrachtgevers omgaan met waardeconflicten. Verschillende perspectieven op waardepluralisme gaan samen met verschillende manieren van coping. Vanuit een

of/of-perspectief zullen publieke actoren bij waardeconflicten waarschijnlijk óf kiezen voor ontkoppelen, óf een compromis sluiten. Ontkoppeling is het scheiden van tegenstrijdige elementen, hetzij in de tijd - door eerst het ene aan te pakken en dan het andere - hetzij in de ruimte - door elementen in verschillende compartimenten onder te brengen. Een publieke opdrachtgevende organisatie kan bijvoorbeeld de taken in het ruimtelijke domein onderbrengen in twee kokers: ontwikkeling en beheer. Compromissen kunnen worden gesloten door minimumnormen vast te stellen - denk hierbij aan CO_2-emissienormen -, nieuw gedrag aan te nemen of door te onderhandelen. Vanuit een en/en-perspectief kunnen publieke actoren waardesystemen combineren door conflicten juist aan te gaan en die te overstijgen door tot synthese te komen. Actoren worden aangemoedigd om zelf af te wegen op welke manier zo'n nieuwe balans kan worden gevonden tussen de conflicterende eisen - waarmee nadrukkelijk geen compromis wordt bedoeld –. Uit studie 3 blijkt dat het bovendien belangrijk is om in acht te nemen door wie en wanneer een coping wordt ingezet ten opzichte van waar of wanneer het conflict is ontstaan. Een directe reactie door de direct betrokkene is bijvoorbeeld niet altijd de meest effectieve manier van reageren op een conflict. Rekening houden met zowel de situatie als de betrokken actoren creëert nog meer flexibiliteit. Door de betrokken actoren en/of de situatie te 'veranderen', verandert ook de waardedynamiek en kunnen andere responsstrategieën worden toegepast. Uit de studie komen zeven copingpatronen voort. Drie patronen op de eerder genoemde temporele as - (1) uitstel, (2) verlenging, en (3) anticipatie - en vier patronen op de ruimtelijke as - (1) gebruik maken van hiërarchie, (2) verlagen (3) verhogen (4) parallel laten lopen. Een voorbeeld van anticipatie is vroegtijdig overleg met een beoordelingsinstantie, die dan eerder geneigd zal zijn out of the box mee te denken, zodat innovatieve waarden een kans krijgen in plaats van te sneuvelen op basis van traditionele beoordelingscriteria voor de bouw (functionaliteit, kwaliteit en impact) of voor projecten (tijd, geld en kwaliteit). Een voorbeeld van verlagen is een pilot die buiten het (politieke) systeem een situatie creëert waarin nieuwe waarden een kans kunnen krijgen. Deze copingpatronen kunnen zowel bij extern als intern opdrachtgeverschap worden toegepast.

Door het waarborgen van publieke waarden zowel vanuit de organisatie als procesmatig te benaderen, kan flexibeler met waardenpluralisme omgegaan worden. Hiermee kunnen publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw hun voordeel doen bij het waarborgen van publieke waarden. Deze flexibele aanpak vereist echter wel dat zij dingen aan anderen overlaten. Dat zij uiteindelijk zelf verantwoordelijk blijven, kan een complicerende factor zijn. Het komt erop neer dat publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouwsector een spanningsveld ervaren tussen 'het goed doen' en vooral de waarden implementeren die zijn afgeleid van TPM en NPM – zoals transparantie, legitimiteit en effectiviteit – en 'de goede dingen doen': NPG-waarden als duurzaamheid, innovatie en burgerparticipatie implementeren. Verantwoordelijkheid op een andere

en nieuwe manier organiseren en gebruik maken van netwerken die op vertrouwen zijn gebaseerd, maakt het waarborgen van publieke waarden een gezamenlijke inspanning. Met andere woorden: net zoals publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw interne en externe partners nodig hebben om publieke waarden te 'leveren', wordt het waarborgen van publieke waarden ook een deels gezamenlijke inspanning.

De publieke opdrachtgever van de toekomst

Het onderzoek dat in dit proefschrift wordt gepresenteerd, concludeert dat alleen door waardecomplexiteit volledig op waarde te schatten, een meer realistische, praktische en geïntegreerde aanpak kan worden ontwikkeld waarmee netwerkgovernance kan worden geïmplementeerd. Het onderzoek toont echter ook aan dat governance en coping nog niet altijd goed aansluiten bij de nieuwe verhoudingen tussen partijen die in complexe netwerkomgevingen samenwerken. Wel zijn er enkele voorbereidende stappen gezet naar een betere aansluiting in de toekomst. Het onderzoek noemt in dit kader drie aandachtspunten voor de publieke opdrachtgever van de toekomst:

1 Richt de aandacht vooral op het verankeren van nieuwe waardesystemen en minder op het veranderen van bestaande waardesystemen
2 Richt de aandacht vooral op het samen overstijgen van tegenstellingen en minder op onderhandelen en uitruilen
3 Richt de aandacht vooral op informele verantwoording in de waardeketen en minder op formele verantwoording in de projectketen

Op basis van de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek is een instrument ontwikkeld dat een dialoog over waarden faciliteert. Dit instrument, 'Over waarden gesproken', ondersteunt publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw bij het identificeren van hun belangrijkste uitdagingen op het gebied van waarden. Met deze gesprekstool kunnen zij in hun dagelijkse praktijk professioneel omgaan met het waarborgen van publieke waarden, wat bijdraagt aan de ontwikkeling van hun opdrachtgeverschap, zowel qua rol als qua organisatie. De tool maakt deelnemers bewust van de invloed die het verschillende belang dat aan waarden wordt gehecht kan hebben op het bereiken van publieke doelen en brengt hen daarover in gesprek. De tool helpt publieke opdrachtgevers ook bij het identificeren van nieuwe mogelijkheden om publieke waarden te waarborgen, vooral bij waardeconflicten. Het instrument is toegepast en gevalideerd in een workshop over duurzaam opdrachtgeverschap. Door de tool te gebruiken kunnen publieke opdrachtgevers in de bouw het waarborgen van publieke waarden op een meer gestructureerde en geïntegreerde manier benaderen bij al hun inspanningen voor onze gebouwde omgeving.

1 Introduction

We all live, work and recreate in the built environment. Many of the interventions made in the built environment are managed by construction clients. Construction clients can be the initiator of construction projects, but can also be the ones that contract other parties to deliver construction goods or services (Atkin, Flanagan, Marsh, & Agapiou, 1995; Boyd and Chinyio, 2008). Actors in the construction supply chain all have their own distinct interpretation of the goals to be achieved by these interventions, guided by their own sets of values to realize that goal. This dissertation is about how public clients deal with the balancing act of values while commissioning construction activities. For example, if a municipality wants to build a new city park and lets the residents and local business participate in the design. Or when different policy goals such as sustainability and innovation are applied for the purpose of more integral decision-making about urban planning issues such as climate adaptation and drought. In such instances, public organizations have to safeguard public values because that is their initial goal, while simultaneously they have to ensure that other relevant public values are sufficiently maintained and that additional values contributed by other stakeholders are respected.

This dissertation consists of six chapters in total. This first chapter serves as introduction on the topic of safeguarding public values by public construction clients in a changing construction industry. Section 1.1 provides the background to and motivation for the research and situates public commissioning in the construction industry. Section 1.2 outlines how the commissioning role relates to the public value process in a changing construction industry. Followed by the problem definition concerning the public value safeguarding challenge from the client perspective in section 1.3. Section 1.4 identifies gaps in extant research. Next, Section 1.5 outlines the research methodology by introducing the research aims and questions, the multi-disciplinary lens utilized, the research design and how the challenges associated with conducting value-based research were controlled for. The societal, practical and scientific relevance of the research is presented in Section 1.6. Finally, Section 1.7 provides an overview of each of the six chapters.

1.1 Public commissioning

The construction industry is of substantial economic importance. According to Eurostat the European construction sector accounted for more than 5% of (gross) value added in 2019. While its respective contribution to European economic activity has decreased in recent years, the construction industry nevertheless remains of paramount importance to European economies (Eurostat, 2020). For example, the Economic Institute for Construction and Housing reported that the output of the Dutch construction industry totaled almost €69 billion in 2019, thus signaling a return to pre-financial crisis levels (EIB, 2018). Many of the complex transitional issues contemporary societies are faced with today, such as globalization and urbanization, population ageing, climate change and digitalization (European Commission, n.d.), have a particularly notable impact on the construction industry (Munaro,Tavares & Bragança, L., 2020). To name a few: urbanization impacts upon mobility interests and enhances the demand for the regional distribution of work and living, which, in turn, impacts upon the nature and livability of urban neighborhoods and the countryside (CPB, n.d.). Moreover, an ageing population entails changed housing needs (Arnoldussen, Groot, Halman, & van Zwet, 2017).

These transitional issues create attendant societal challenges, as well as recalibrating the importance accorded to values and their interpretation as shown in policy documents. With the drafting of the government-wide program 'The Netherlands Circular in 2050', the Concrete Agreement, the signing of the Raw Materials Agreement and its elaboration in the Transition Agenda Circular Construction Economy, the Netherlands have taken the first steps towards a circular construction and built environment (Arnoldussen et al., 2020). This, among other things, means that there is increased demand for CO_2 neutral construction activities, necessitating transformation of existing building stock and a marked reduction in building materials and ensuring a more circular construction process (Munaro et al., 2020; De Bouwcampus, n.d). Furthermore, because the smart city concept is grounded in the notion of using data collected via sensors and algorithms to devise smarter policies, this also raises new issues, such as cyber security, data sensitivity and violation of privacy (European Commission, n.d.). Public organizations have a specific responsibility towards values; in fact, by their very nature they are accountable for public values (van der Steen, van Twist, Chin-A-Fat, & Kwakkelstein, 2013; WRR, 2000). The aforementioned societal transitions are occurring in parallel with altered expectations of what people want from the built environment. In this respect, the expansion of values in the construction industry is reflective of a much broader societal reconceptualization of prosperity. This, in turn, directly gives

form to public values, that is, what society believes to be integral to the process of delivering certain products or services, whose provision is ultimately considered the responsibility of the government (Eversdijk, 2013, van der Steen et al., 2013; Kuitert, Volker, & Hermans, 2019).These issues generate complex discussions about public values and how they can be safeguarded in the built environment by the public clients who are active in the construction industry.

In the Netherlands, almost 50% of Dutch building production is commissioned by public construction clients (Hermans, 2014). According to Boyd and Chinyio (2008), the term client either refers to 'being a customer paying for goods/services' or 'being a dependent under the protection of another'. In other fields such as project management the client is also referred to as principal, sponsor, buyer (Eisma and Volker, 2014), owner (Winch and Leiringer, 2015), or customer (Hartmann, Reymen, & Van Oosterom, 2008). In construction, the client is both the initiator of projects and the one that contracts with other parties for the supply of construction goods or services (Atkin, Flanagan, Marsh, & Agapiou, 1995). In some countries the activity of the construction clients - the owner - extends to the operation to serve the customer. Rather than an abrupt transition, soft landings are used to provide a period of professional aftercare by the project team after completion (Whyte & Nussbaum, 2020). Hence, the initiating role of the client does not only exist when starting new construction or renovation projects, but is also substantial during the use phase of assets when maintenance and refurbishment is required. In some countries public clients have united in client associations giving them more clout, for example the Danish Association of Construction Clients (in Danish: Bygherreforeningen) the Dutch Construction Clients Forum (in Dutch: het Opdrachtgeversforum) (Bang, Hermans, Simonsen & Mogendorff., 2017).

Clients can be both public and private (Boyd and Chinyio, 2008). Unlike customers in mass production industries, customers in the construction industry have an a major say in the creation of a facility. They are directly involved in the planning and construction and thus shape not only the product, but also the construction process (Hartmann et al., 2008). While the role of the construction client as principal in single projects has received ample attention, the role of the construction client as commissioning organization has rarely been recognized (Eisma and Volker, 2014). As Boyd and Haugbølle (2017) state clients control the supply system, but through various processes and mechanisms from this supply system they are also controlled. In this research, performing the client role is referred to as "commissioning" - a verb that has hardly been found in the literature (Bang et al., 2017). Herein, the concept of the client and its capabilities is central. In this dissertation Hermans's (2014, p.21) definition of commissioning is used, describing it as "the manner in which an organization in the public sector shapes and carries out its internal and external

interactions with the market in view of its responsibilities in the built environment". In accordance with this definition, public construction clients operate at the - external - intersection of public and private, while also having to support value pluralism via internal commissioning.

1.2 Safeguarding public values in a changing construction industry

Public values provide direction for governmental decision-making (Moore, 1995). However, at a juncture characterized by value pluralism, an instrument that effectively safeguards one public value may have a detrimental effect on another value of equal importance (de Ridder, 2010). Finding a way to deal with conflicting public values is thus essential for public organizations. The purpose of, and necessity for, balancing the different value systems of the public client organization is to create and maintain sustainable value for organizations and their stakeholders, or in other words: safeguard public values (Kuitert et al., 2019b; Too & Weaver, 2014). Currently the role of public clients is shifting in ways that impact upon the task of public bodies in the public value process (Bao, Wang, Larsen, & Morgan, 2013; Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014; de Graaf, Huberts, & Smulders, 2014). Historically, this can be witnessed in the governance reform from Traditional Public Management (TPM) through New Public Management (NPM) to New Public Governance (NPG).

Each of these governance mechanisms has a central value system as a means of mediating between the public, market and society (Coule & Patmore, 2013; Smets et al., 2014). The traditional way of working in the construction industry placed the government – in the role of client – in control. The public client commissioned the execution of these construction works to private contractors, while, simultaneously, focusing on the broader value of the construction product. In Traditional Public Management (TPM) the financial and operational risk remained with the public commissioner. To deal with budget problems and financial risks, lots of tasks are outsourced to many different – and competing – contractors. New contracts designed to share or transfer risk were introduced in the 1990's, when New Public Management (NPM) was launched. Within the Dutch construction sector, the percentage of integrated contracts increased in recent years. This means that public

parties increasingly subcontract at least part of their responsibilities to the built environment (Noordegraaf, 2015; Boyd & Chinyio, 2008; Kuitert, Volker & Hermans, 2018b), including their responsibility for public values. This, in turn, diminishes the ability of public bodies to also steer the project in accordance with these values. Optimal value for money was expected as a result of reallocating risk to the private sector (Hayford & Partner, 2006; Koops, 2017). Unfortunately, this reallocation of risk is often poorly managed in public private partnerships (Koops, 2017; Ng & Loosemore, 2007).

Given the reliance on detailed contracts and close performance monitoring, the competitive environment in the Dutch construction industry led to confrontational behavior and entails a high level of conflict between public and private stakeholders (Tazelaar & Snijders, 2010). Attempts to develop efficient, trust-based relationships in construction projects are hampered by construction contracts and procurement. Current practice leads to behavior that goes against an intuitive human understanding of what a cooperative relationship is supposed to look like and how a reliable exchange partner should behave (Kadefors, 2004). Resultantly, both contractors and clients tend to develop strategies and attitudes that are detrimental to trust-building (Kadefors, 2004). Formal public procurement policies are a case in point: it is often assumed that once the customer's subjective values are expressed in, for example, the weighting of criteria, then the rest of the process can be regarded as a value-free administrative exercise (De Boer, Linthorst, Schotanus, & Telgen, 2006). However, this is often far from the case and tensions invariably arise between the crude embedding and the original idea behind the multi-criteria decision-making model: to learn more about one's values during the process (De Boer et al., 2006).

Today, the ongoing shift towards NPG provides both public and private parties with a different approach, one which is focused on values (Bryson et al., 2014). The role played by the public client in the process of public service delivery has changed dramatically in recent decades (Koops, 2017). While still recognizing that values of entrepreneurship and competition following from NPM are important drivers for innovation (Osborne, 2010), more recent ideas associated with NPG allow governments to place greater emphasis on shared governance, using new types of partner and citizen engagement. In these network type of settings, effective and democratic values are important, citizens are placed at the center and co-creation is emphasized (van der Steen et al., 2013, Coule and Patmore, 2013, Casey, 2014). Indeed, public values are increasingly established in bottom-up public service delivery and self-organizing communities increasingly seek to contribute to or even take the lead in public value creation (van der Steen et al., 2013). The associated collaborative perspective on public value creation in NPG spawns formal and informal

actions (Crosby et al., 2017). With respect to administrative power, this increasingly concerns whether a public organization is capable of achieving its tasks and goals as a public construction client via its new collaborative role with other public, private and societal actors, while, simultaneously, remaining ultimately responsible (Duijn, van Popering-Verkerk, & Willems, 2019).

1.3 Problem definition

The growing range of public values to be taken into consideration complicates public service delivery in the built environment and newly added values often require innovative and specialized solutions. In order to realize ambitions, public clients need to develop an integrative way of working and utilize different modes of collaboration. Government bodies call upon the expertise of specialist partners to address precisely this, which also changes the position of these public bodies (Cornforth, 2003b; Kuitert et al., 2019; Kuitert, Volker & Hermans, 2019b). More specifically, it changes the relationship of government bodies to market-based entities and society at large (Clifton & Duffield, 2006; van der Steen et al., 2013). Governments are increasingly called upon to facilitate renewal by laying down solid visions of the future, dealing flexibly with for example building regulations and spatial policy, in addition to offering financial scope for, among other things, innovation (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2020). To sustain this role, institutional renewal is necessary. This is especially difficult in the construction industry. Construction is one of the most highly regulated sectors in Europe due to the attendant safety risks, which results in various obstacles to innovation, such as, among other things, public policy, legislation and procurement policy (Klein Woolthuis, Snoeck, Brouwer, & Mulder, 2012).

At the same time, more collaboration and participation is expected. In the Netherlands the new environmental law – de Omgevingswet - instantiates, for example, other forms of control and responsibilities. Societal partners and citizens also increasingly claim to have their respective roles to play in this process (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2020). As a consequence, it is no longer sufficient to merely pursue the traditional public values of the construction sector, such as functionality, build quality and impact of the construction. Rather, public clients must now take an ever expanding set of public values into account. For instance, sustainability, circularity and 'smart' are now

routinely added to the conglomeration of values to be pursued. If public clients want the Netherlands to remain a safe and healthy country for its citizens to live, work and spend their leisure time in the coming decades, it is important to consider the decisions that are currently being made in light of their impact on the ability to attain future values. For example, nitrogen measures cannot prevent short-term decline in new housing construction. At the same time, Statistics Netherlands projects that there will also be a strong increase in the number of households (Koning & Kragt, 2020). This makes for a difficult trade-off.

Hence, the difficulty with public values is that these values are not interchangeable, comparable or even necessarily compatible with each other (De Graaf, Huberts and Smulders, 2014), which explains why value conflicts can so easily arise. Especially In their commissioning role, public bodies are inevitably confronted with such value conflicts and have to balance public values, both with regard to their position within the organization and in relation to other partners. They find themselves in the eye of the storm when public construction projects experience prolonged delays in implementation, interruptions and even temporary suspensions (Awakul & Ogunlana, 2002; Ellis & Baiden, 2008).

As a consequence of public management strategies, also in the construction industry private partners have taken over many of the tasks traditionally entrusted to the government. In conjunction, private stakeholders are taking more initiative themselves and societal partners are claiming a role in the process. However, the responsibilities and tasks of the public client with respect to these external stakeholders are new and, hence, largely unknown (Koops, 2017). Furthermore, the scope of these tasks has also enlarged significantly as a result of the introduction of manifold values. So, responding to these various public values, while simultaneously dealing with the values of external partners, has become ever more challenging. Yet, it is paramount that public bodies continue to adhere to collective public values in the midst of increased value pluralism. In external commissioning, public value creation becomes a joint endeavor of public, private and societal partners, each of which bring their own values to the table. Their interdependence makes it difficult for public bodies to perform their social-political responsibility to uphold public values (Beck Jørgensen, 1999; de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014; van der Wal, de Graaf, & Lawton, 2011). This, in turn, diminishes their capacity to directly influence and guide the implementation of values, and thus they are forced to find other ways to ensure that important public values are taken into account by private market-based parties and societal stakeholders. In other words, public clients need to consider how to engage market-based and society-based parties in achieving public goals, in such a way that leads to the co-creation of public values. That is to say, how can public construction clients ensure that the responsibility for public value creation becomes

shared? Moreover, how should public clients address the impact from the private governance mechanisms of their partners upon the public value process?

Tensions typically arise at the external intersection of where public and private interests come together or collide. However, the project-based nature of many construction activities raises yet another difficulty. This pertains to the fact that long-term collaborative relationships are needed to develop sustainable approaches to improve project performance (Clifton & Duffield, 2006; Kuitert,Volker & Hermans, 2016). Public clients are involved in achieving the goals of both the 'permanent' public commissioning organization and the 'temporary' project-related network of public and private parties. As a result, they continually have to manage the recurring value conflicts deriving from the exploration-exploitation paradox (Kuitert et al., 2019). This concerns the way in which the short-term focus on efficiency, based on exploitation of existing knowledge and technologies, comes into conflict with the long-term focus on innovation and strategic development, that is based on the exploration of new knowledge and technologies (Eriksson, 2013; Kuitert et al., 2016). Here, public construction clients must find the requisite balance between the competing and often incompatible demands of the more permanent parent organization, and the situational requirements of the developing project (Stoltzfus, Stohl, & Seibold, 2011). This is complicated yet further by the fact that the groups of project participants continually change over time, over the course of the different stages of the construction life cycle. So, one of the key issues that public construction clients face is how to deal with different, often conflicting, interests at these various intersections?

In internal commissioning, public construction clients face other – but related – difficulties associated with public value management. To be able to safeguard public values externally, their own organization must first 'internalize' them, before they are able to subsequently act on them. Of course, this is easier said than done. In response to value pluralism and the concomitant mutual forms of understanding and values that public-private partnerships bring to the table, not to mention the other societal stakeholders who have various legitimate but potentially conflicting expectations apropos accountability, public organizations also become more complex insofar as they need to reflect all these various interests internally (Jay, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013; Schillemans & van Twist, 2016; Stafford & Stapleton, 2017). Conflicting interests are also just inherent to the public organization itself, namely at the organizational interface level, where project participants seconded from different parts of the organization each bring ideas and values belonging to different organizational cultures into confrontation with each other (Ankrah & Langford, 2005; Ellis & Baiden, 2008). Moreover, public bodies themselves can also adopt different roles within different projects or even within a single project: they can be the client as well as the supplier, working with wholly different objectives (Dubois & Gadde, 2002).
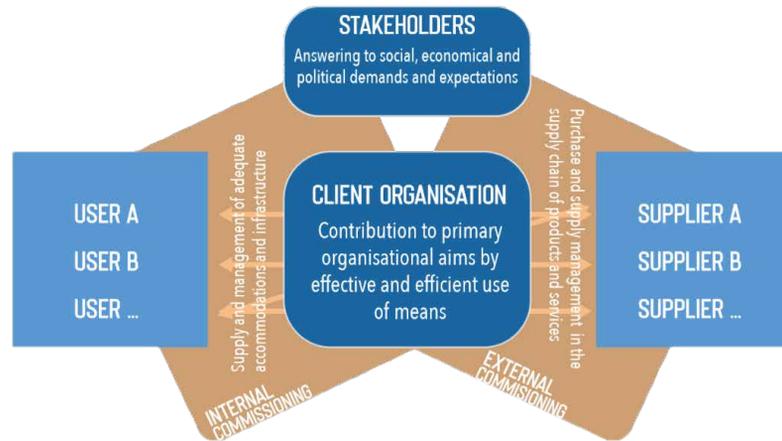
FIG. 1.1 Public commissioning in construction

Today public construction clients are expected to contribute towards the renewal and improvement of the building sector (Boyd & Chinyio, 2008), alongside delivering public values in various forms, such as, for example, by stimulating social innovation, providing safety and protecting weaker populations (Boyne, 2003; Kuitert et al., 2018b). Consequently, there is a large set of values that public construction bodies must consider, which influences public commissioning in the future. In their commissioning role, public construction bodies must take value pluralism into account when safeguarding specific public values. However, commissioning has hitherto not necessarily always been classified as a profession. Moreover, in those instances in which it is classified as a profession, it tends to either be relatively fragmented across the organization, or not understood as something that comprises both external and internal components (Hermans, Huizing, & Veldhuis, 2018). Rather, the commissioning role is often viewed as being restricted to procurement, which in terms of contractually stipulating mainly means that contractors engage in value creation. This view happens to be shared by NPM. However, the ongoing shift towards NPG challenges public organizations to seek out other ways to safeguard public values and achieve project results. More specifically, they must find ways to handle value conflicts alongside safeguarding key public values in network collaborations with private partners and other societal stakeholders, while also aligning them within their own organization. This dissertation focuses on this balancing act and examines how public construction clients safeguard public values in the context of an ever changing construction industry.

1.4 Research gaps and scientific relevance

A multitude of studies have been conducted on public service delivery. However, we do not yet fully understand how precisely public values are defined and interpreted in the construction industry, what the nature of the conflicts around public values is in this sector and how public construction clients can deal with multiple interests and values within their increasingly collaborative (daily) practice of the public service delivery process (Head & Alford, 2015; Mills, Austin, Thomson, & Devine-Wright, 2009). There is also scarce knowledge on the internal support for value pluralism in public governance (Greenwood, Díaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013). With this in mind, the following section discusses these gaps in extant research in greater depth by identifying what we know and what we 'do not yet know, before proceeding to outline how this research builds upon and contributes to the existing field of research on public values.

1.4.1 Understanding public values in the construction sector

Both literature and empirical research on public values emphasize the importance of values for businesses and public organizations that aim to provide value for their stakeholders (Laursen, 2017). Public organizations deliver values that are based upon what citizens and their representatives have mandated them to achieve. This differs from both for-profit organizations, who invariably attend to their customers, and non-profit firms that predominantly focus on their donors (Moore, 2000), both of which are potential partners in network collaborations. The conceptualization of public values as something that contributes to the enrichment of the public sphere testifies to the inherent complexity of attempting to ascertain what the 'public' in public values refers to, insofar as the public sphere comprises manifold value interests (Hartley, Alford, Knies, & Douglas, 2017). As Bennington (2011) explains: "The public part of public value includes the existence of one or more publics who are the locus of potential impact and whose interests are the foundation of the value proposition" (Cresswell, Cook, & Helbig, 2012, p. 7). Hence, multiple 'publics' taking part in complex network collaborations produce an expanding conglomeration of public values, which, in turn, generates ever more complexity.

Notwithstanding the work of scholars who have described the 'public' aspect as a government responsibility (Moore, 1995), there is hitherto little consensus over what precisely constitutes public values. Extant literature does refer to various

public value concepts, such as public interest, normative public values, managerial public values, economic value, market failure, publicness, integrative publicness and public goods (Bozeman, 2012). However, providing precise definitions of the adjective 'public' remains a challenge. No consensus has yet been established, while descriptions remain altogether abstract. Considering this, various authors have put forward their own descriptions: value qua shareholder value vs. value as a normative description (Moore vs. Bennington) or different perspectives, e.g. political, legal, organizational (Benington, 2011). Others have adopted different approaches, namely: the universalistic approach – which believes that public values are universal, absolute and static; the stakeholder approach – which purports that public values are the result of political debate and a process of negotiation; and the institutional approach – which posits that public values are context dependent, rather than being universal (Charles, Dicke, Koppenjan, & Ryan, 2007).

Although there is no clear definition of public values, different distinctions are drawn in extant literature between types of values, such as values that play a role in terms of managing/controlling public organizations – procedural values for democratic legitimacy – and performance values that pertain to the appropriate use of taxpayers' money. Based on, as well as in spite of, these aforesaid differences, most studies on public values recognize the importance of sets of procedural values, such as lawfulness and accountability, as well as the performance values of efficiency and effectiveness (e.g. Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007, Van Der Wal et al. 2008).

However, alongside these procedural and performance values, public construction clients also need to weigh-up more substantive public values that are integral to construction-related activities. None of the aforesaid conceptualizations of public value provide concrete insights into the content of these values, in such a way that would enable us to specify, clarify and describe the service or product (Bozeman, 2012; Mills et al., 2009), such as providing shelter, mobility or leisure. Therefore, various studies have stressed the importance of developing a more rigorous operationalization of public values across a range of industries. This could address this lacuna in extant research on public values, for example in relation to specialized codes for roles and professions (Charles et al., 2007; de Graaf, Huberts, & Smulders, 2013).

This research contributes towards a more rigorous operationalization of 'public' values in the specific context of public construction clients, at a historical juncture characterized by rapidly changing value systems as a result of complex network collaborations. Hence, I opted for an institutional approach to public value research, which is of critical relevance for understanding that governmental control does not develop autonomously, but rather changes in interaction with societal shifts (Charles et al., 2007; RWS, 2020). The institutional approach also emphasizes that actors'

value-based interactions are deeply embedded in institutional environments, and that these structural and cultural contextual dynamics profoundly influence actors' behavior and decision-making (Charles et al., 2007). From this perspective, public values are considered to be sector-, culture- and time-specific, while value interests are understood to be dynamic (Charles et al., 2007).

1.4.2 Understanding value conflicts in commissioning

The fact that public values are sector-, culture- and time-specific, not to mention that public construction clients operate in increasingly complex network environments, in which different internal and external actors each aspire to achieve their own sets of values, implies that value conflicts are practically inevitable. Indeed, research in the field of public management has shown that during periods of cutbacks and in the aftermath of governmental withdrawal, there is often an increase in tension between various (competing) values; morals and values become even more leading (de Graaf et al., 2014).

Although it is widely acknowledged that public construction client organizations need to simultaneously consider different logics, and, hence, distinct types of values, a mono-value perspective is often adopted in governance. Across the various governance mechanisms – TPM, NPM and NPG – different management paradigms are adopted, all of which prioritize certain values over others (van der Steen et al., 2013). With respect to the infrastructure sector, various scholars have shown that the formal governance structure comprises many mono-value oriented rules and norms, which seems to be reflected in literature on public policy and decision-making (Bozeman, 2012; Steenhuisen & de Bruijne, 2016; Tetlock, 2000; Thacher & Rein, 2004). When public actors fail to treat values as being commensurable with one another, instead prioritizing some values over other values, then conflicts arise (Bresnen, Goussevskaia, & Swan, 2004; de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008).

Although Bovens, 't Hart and Van Twist (2007) stressed the importance of identifying more potential conflicts that lay outside the binary distinction between procedural and substantive output values (de Graaf et al., 2014), value conflicts have received increasing attention in public governance literature. However, most of this literature is grounded in a binary conflict perspective. Consequently, there is a real lacuna in extant knowledge concerning both how conflicts arise in situations where more than two types of values or management paradigms are in operation, and the exact nature of the value conflicts that can occur in complex network environments (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Mair, Mayer, & Lutz, 2015).

In order to understand both the sector- and role-specific conflicts that public construction clients encounter, investigating the context in which they operate is of paramount importance, insofar as it can aid the identification of potential value clashes. Based on the definition of public commissioning as comprising both internal organizational value activities and partnership value activities, it is critically important to study both internal governance conflicts and public-private conflicts. The assumption in this research is that the value conflicts public construction clients experience take manifold forms and occur at different levels and intersections (de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006; de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014; Ellis & Baiden, 2008; Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Kernaghan, 2000). Resultantly, I adopt a multi-type perspective to the implementation of network governance within the Dutch traditionally market-oriented construction industry. Doing so adds both an external and internal conflict perspective to the commissioning role of public construction bodies.

1.4.3 Addressing and understanding how to deal with value conflicts as a means through which to safeguard public values

As aforementioned, value conflicts can easily arise, especially in network environments. Previous literature has discussed how these conflicts have both positive and negative effects. For example, conflicts can be functional – constructive conflicts – or dysfunctional in nature (Dreu, 2015; Duke & Geurts, 2004; Lousberg, 2012). In this respect, a conflict only becomes a problem when it is mismanaged. Good governance, then, is about doing justice to situations of conflict in such a way that serves to safeguard public values, or, in other words, to manage conflicting values (de Graaf et al., 2014; Heres & Lasthuizen, 2012; Thynne, 2013). Public construction clients who find themselves in a value conflict thus are faced with the challenge of safeguarding public values.

However, there is scarce knowledge about safeguarding public values in the context of a complex network. This is due, in part, to the fact that, as discussed earlier, little is known about value conflicts generally, but also because literature on safeguarding is closely linked to governance mechanisms that are dominated by certain value systems. This, in turn, serves to prevent a more dynamic understanding of how to deal with value conflicts, which is necessary when dealing with complex networks that are characterized by value dynamics.

Traditionally, literature on safeguarding has been embedded in public administration and conceptualized governance mechanisms as a reflection of the relationships between the public, market and society, for the express purpose of describing the

institutional logics that prescribe what constitutes legitimate behavior (Fossestøl, Breit, Andreassen, & Klemsdal, 2015). De Bruijn and Dicke (2006) and de Ridder (2010) describe different strategies that reflect the interdependency of the different public and private parties: hierarchy – which involves the imposition of public values, such as via regulation; market – competing in terms of public values; and network – interacting about public values. These authors emphasize that it is about establishing a balance between the three governance mechanisms (TPM, NPG and NPG).

However, there is a gap in extant knowledge about the challenges public actors encounter when applying these different mechanisms, and regarding how they deal with public value conflicts that emerge from coexisting governance mechanisms (de Graaf et al., 2014; Keast, Mandell, & Brown, 2006). Most research has focused on understanding public values and public value management in terms of the dominance of TPM and NPM. For example, research has explored the safeguarding of public values during periods of privatization (e.g. de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006) or economic individualism (e.g. Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007) (van der Wal & van Hout, 2009). Hence, it has yet to consider complex network environments that are characterized by a plurality of values, both externally and internally speaking. Research examining how public values are handled in complex network environments, which are ever more managed from an NPG perspective, has only recently begun to emerge.

We still do not fully understand how public-private temporary organizations select, prioritize and integrate pluralistic institutional value systems (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Mair et al., 2015). These organizations that combine different tasks, values and organizational forms, are called hybrids(Christensen & Lægreid, 2011). Hybridity may also exist within the public organization itself. In this dissertation, following Fossestøl et al., (2015, p. 290), hybridity is approached in terms of "the ability of organizations to incorporate elements from contradictory institutional logics over time, and thus as the organizational processes through which this incorporation is managed". In hybrid environments, actors must coordinate their activities and seek for interventions that integrate multiple objectives (Bressers & Lulofs., 2010; van Broekhoven, Boons, van Buuren, & Teisman., 2015).

Relatively few authors have went further in terms of considering how different values are achieved, and even then such research predominantly focuses on actors' decisions to opt for a certain approach in value trade-offs (Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke, & Spee, 2014). According to Bygballe and Jahre (2019, p. 697) "One exception is Vrijhoef and Koskela (2000), whose work illustrates how a rearrangement of the interface between site and supply chain activities can improve supply chain performance". Even fewer studies have specifically addressed the way in which hybridity and value pluralism can be used to deal with public value

conflicts, especially from a process and operational practice perspective, rather than solely focusing on the output/product conflict. Furthermore, although it has been discussed that alongside external hybridity, which is based on public-private partnerships, public organizations also become internally hybridized, there remains a relative dearth of empirical evidence at the organizational level and between the different intra-organizational levels (Mair et al., 2015). Generally speaking, there is scarce knowledge concerning how actors deal with the internal hybridity that derives from the implementation of network governance (Bryson et al., 2014; Jensen, Johansson, & Löfström, 2018; Kuipers et al., 2014; Lundin, 2007; Provan & Kenis, 2008).

In this research I propose a broad perspective to the safeguarding of public values. De Ridder (2010, p. 127) defines safeguarding of public values and public interests as: "any intervention in societal affairs by a governmental body or public agency". In this definition, safeguarding is designated as an activity. Therefore, alongside the aforementioned organizational perspective of governance mechanisms safeguarding public values, and in accordance with conceptualizations of value that see it as a dynamic concept occurring within a network environment, I argue the process view of how to deal with value complexity and safeguard public values is also of critical relevance (Alford & Yates, 2014; Hartley et al., 2017). With respect to this process view, as well as literature on governance mechanisms, this research also draws upon literature on coping, which has been described as a ''strategy'' to deal with complexity, and thus deal with value conflicts (Thacher & Rein, 2004).Despite this strategy element, coping is principally about the action actors engage in when a conflict occurs. Either by making trade-offs from an either/or perspective (Ward & Daniel, 2012), or by embracing the paradoxical both/and thinking that aims to optimize the balance between conflicting values (Steenhuisen, 2009). By virtue of adopting both a process and organizational view on safeguarding public values, this research broadens our current understanding of how to deal with conflicts in complex, hybrid environments. Adopting a dual perspective is important, insofar as there are two sources of public return, or, to put it differently, two ways through which to achieve, create and ensure public value (Cresswell, Burke, & Pardo, 2006). Firstly, from an organizational view, there is the value to society to be gained from improving the government itself. And secondly, from a process view, there is the value to be gained from delivering specific benefits directly to persons or groups.

1.5 Research Methodology

1.5.1 Research aims and scope

The present research examines public values in public commissioning within the construction sector. Indeed, values has been said to be a good entry point for investigating changes in the contemporary public sector (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004; Kuipers, Higgs, Kickert, Tummers, Grandia and Van der Voet, 2014). The complexity and interdependency of public service delivery in the project-based construction industry provides an interesting context to extend our knowledge about dealing with value complexity in network environments.

Public commissioning constitutes a particularly interesting field of research inasmuch as it provides researchers with the opportunity to increase their understanding of the effect of role change on both project-based public clients and their organizations, as well as in terms of the differences between sub-industries, which there is currently scarce knowledge about (Mills et al., 2009). This coincides with the call to involve a wider range of stakeholders than simply managers in public value research (Hartley et al., 2017).

The aim of the present research is to generate insights that add to extant understanding on how public construction clients safeguard public values while delivering public services in the built environment, both in the collaborative process with external partners and within their parent organization. The research sets out to answer the following research question:

How can public construction clients safeguard public values in public service delivery within the built environment?

Multi-disciplinary lens

From a public construction client perspective, my research adopts both a process and organizational view towards public construction service delivery. It is about considerations of public administrators in dealing with value pluralism. In light of this focus, it applies insights from both public administration and organization science to the field of design and construction management. Borrowing from other academic fields, and thus adopting an 'outside-in' stance, is particularly expedient when attempting to establish an emerging research field that lacks its own body of theory, concepts and models (Edmondson & McManus, 2007; Fellows & Liu, 2020; Volker, 2019). Volker (2019) emphasizes that the impact of contemporary societal challenges on the construction industry necessitate a greater level of multi-disciplinary, allied with more integrative and creative research approaches. For Volker (2019), this can only be realized if researchers look beyond their own academic fields and utilize insights from the social sciences to aid their study of construction management processes.

However, when borrowing from other academic fields, it is important to also delineate the limits of the application of the theory; the differences and similarities in content and context (Fellows & Liu, 2020). Hence, applying insights from both public administration and organizational science in the field of design and construction management must be done carefully. This content has been extensively discussed in Section 1.4 when discussing gaps in extant literature and stating the theoretical relevance of the research. In accordance with both the context and subject of this research, the literature from public administration that was selected as input for this research, share the governance level of analysis. It is important, however, to consider that the context in which most of these studies were conducted differs from the context of this research. As explained in Section 1.4, studies on the time frame of network governance are still limited. Moreover, organizational science studies offer different units of analysis, ranging from a single project (process) up to an organization as a whole. It is important to note here that organizational science literature on hybridity in value systems primarily adopts an inter-organizational perspective, and, as such, lacks an intra-organizational perspective.

Challenges in value research

Empirical research on public values has hitherto been limited (Hartley et al., 2017). This research explicitly opts for empirical research. The study of public values is regularly hindered by more general problems that impact upon the study of values (Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007). Value research poses a dilemma for scientists between, on the one hand, the importance of value neutrality for conducting rigorous scientific enquiry and, on the other hand, the meaning and practical relevance of the research in practice (Steenhuisen, 2010). Steenhuisen (2010) deepens our understanding of what this dilemma means in the context of analyzing values in research. Specifically, he posits that there are four frequently occurring dilemmas that every value researcher must address in a way that is congruent with their research design. The choices I made in this research are summarized in Table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1 Summary of how dilemmas were handled in the present value research

Dilemmas in value research	Approach taken in this PhD research
The pluralist dilemma *Values are always contested*	– Part of the research lens – Using an open definition of public values – Focusing on relative interests – Thick description and interpretation
The causal dilemma *Values are always incomplete explanations*	– Mapping in process research – Traversing the organization (multi-level)
The framing dilemma *Values are always prone to framing*	– Contextualization (institutional view of value research) – Aggregating multiple angles (triangulation)
The commensurability dilemma *Values are always relative*	– Part of the research lens – Traversing the organization – Studying the approaches to value conflicts

In the context of this research, the pluralist dilemma – values are always contested – first presented itself due to the fact that I was researching public values in different parts of the commissioning role, and that many different stakeholders were thus involved, and secondly, because the research was conducted in a specific sector. The concept of values always being contested thus constituted part of the research lens. I chose to use open definitions of various public values and focus on my respondents' sensemaking. For example, value cards were used with many synonyms as well as blank cards to allow the respondents to 'fill in' their understanding of particular values. For the purposes of this research, the operationalization of public values were of less importance than their relative importance to other values, so I opted to focus on relative interest. The goal here was to make practitioners understand the value dynamics that were in operation in their work and to improve practitioners' ability to engage with multiple and competing values. It is for this

precise reason that thick, rich descriptions were provided, which was only possible because I used in-depth research methods and data triangulation. This method also provided multiple angles on an issue, in terms of what respondents said, what I saw and what was documented.

Having multiple angles also helps in terms of approaching the framing dilemma – values are always prone to framing. Moreover, studying a specific sector, in this case the construction sector, and even more specifically, public construction clients, allows for extensive contextualization. Insights from different academic fields were thus used, albeit they were applied in a specific context. This is in accordance with the growing recognition of the role of complex socio-cultural-political environments in the management of construction projects, and the attendant need to understand projects as socially constructed realities (Dainty, 2008; Gajendran, Brewer, Runeson, & Dainty, 2011).

Critical realists accept that reality is socially constructed and thereby acknowledge the importance of context, which is in line with an institutional approach to value research. The institutional view of value research also adds to this contextualization (Charles et al., 2007). The institutional characteristics considered in this research were, for example, laws, regulations and governance mechanisms, both in the public construction domain and the public client organization. The causal dilemma – values are always incomplete explanations – had less impact on this research, insofar as values were not studied as a variable that produced an effect. However, in combination with the pluralistic view, which allows for the fact that interpretations of values change over time, a process study was also incorporated into the research design.

The dynamic characteristics of public values, and the evolving roles of stakeholders and stakeholder groups in public service delivery, requires longitudinal research methods (Hartley et al., 2017). Inspired by public values process mapping, I decided to focus part of the research on examining what happens in the public value process, using outcomes solely to understand what conflict situations and barriers lead to (the perception of) value reduction. In this respect, neither the outcome itself nor the value proposition are of any importance. Studying how values are implemented, both in the internal commissioning role and in the value creation process during a project, thus traversing from the strategic to the operational level, provides different (both complementary and contradictory) views, or frames, on, among other things, the value considerations in a specific case. Above all, the commensurability dilemma – values are always relative – is paramount to this PhD research and integral as a research lens. By studying safeguarding in commissioning as both an internal and external multi-level management and governance challenge, the internal and external network organization levels are thus traversed.

Research design

Research approach

A proper research design involves the intersection of a philosophical worldview, strategies of enquiry and specific methods (Creswell, 2009). The mode of enquiry or paradigm should be congruent with the specific purpose of the study (Kumar, 2018). To ensure this, I opted to conduct qualitative empirical research, insofar as it allows one to engage in theory building from practice and is suitable for providing insights into processes about which little is currently known (Bryman, 2015).

The research comprises three qualitative studies into construction sector-specific public values and how public values are managed and governed in the construction sector. From an institutional perspective on value research, the contextual setting is of paramount importance. The research is about how things work - unravelling the mechanisms – in a specific context and setting, which also aligns nicely with a critical realism approach (Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2005). Each of the three empirical studies focus on different parts of commissioning, with particular attention on the specific actions that transpired within specific levels of the organization or network.

I primarily used semi-structured interviews, observations and documents as additional data sources. To allow for source triangulation, different types of data were gathered to ensure both the quality and credibility of the three different studies (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1994). Scholars have recommended the use of multi-level approaches for studies of governance logics (Lynn Jr, Heinrich, & Hill, 2000) and hybridization (Kurunmäki & Miller, 2006), and, hence, this multi-level perspective directly informed the sampling frame for the three case studies.

1.5.4.2 Data gathering

At the start of the research, for the first interview-based study explored construction sector specific values, contextual influences on public clients' value interests, and the value conflicts that arise in the overall commissioning role in the construction industry (Study 1). The insights into conflicts were deepened and expanded by drawing on additional insights of how actors deal with these conflicts to safeguard public values in the internal commissioning role in a comparative study (Study 2), and in the external commissioning role from a case-based study (Study 3).

The aim of Study 1 was to capture as much variation of public and semi-public construction client organizations and executives at different construction-related organizational units, in order to ensure good representation of public construction clients and to allow for different perspectives to appear (Hennink & Hutter, 2011). Overall, 44 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 47 interviewees (in some interviews two respondents participated), representing 17 Dutch public and semi-public construction client organizations. Each interview focused on the meaning and significance of public values in the daily practice of public construction clients, as well and the challenges that they face in their commissioning role. Inspired by Q-methodology (Stephenson, 1953), 'value cards', which were informed by the review of extant literature, were used to guide the interviewees through discussing the wide range of types of public values.

In an effort to both specifically focus on what happens within public client organizations and to deepen understanding into internal conflicts and how actors deal with internal hybridity, an internal multi-level comparative case study of two municipalities was conducted in Study 2 (Yin, 1994). Municipalities were chosen because they are becoming ever more integral to public values management, insofar as decentralization leads to more responsibilities being outsourced from the national government to the municipalities (Duijn et al., 2019). A total of 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted with actors from various departments in the urban domain. The interviewees were selected via expert sampling to target respondents known to have specific expertise in the field (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2020). For each organization, the principal goal was to interview civil servants who were involved with different clusters of values related to heterogeneous institutional logics, which one would expect to see at different levels within the organization. The interviews focused on steering, management approaches, motivations and their specific role in applying – combinations of – governance mechanisms. In addition to this, four months of observations were carried out at the urban management department of one of the municipalities – the same one that was the client in the single case study introduced in study 3 – and documents were also utilized.

In order to create a deeper understanding of value conflicts in external commissioning in collaborative network environments, and to shed light on the way public clients cope with these conflicts, the single case study of Study 3 enabled the examination of social processes over time and allowed for multiple perspectives on the situation under examination (Hartley, 2005; Yin, 1994). More specifically, this consisted of an in-depth single case study of a participatory process involving the redevelopment of a local city square into a park. This was chosen because it enabled a process view on both the different phases of the public service delivery process and the (degree of) involvement of the different stakeholder

groups, for the purposes of examining where frictions between value systems appeared, and how public clients dealt with the conflicts (Alford & Yates, 2014).

A strong process orientation can help to provide insights into how practitioners are influenced by organizational and social practices in their decision-making and strategy implementation (Bos-de Vos, 2018). The case examined in Study 3 included both current and retrospective data spanning over a two-year period. The semi-structured interviews and observations concentrated on the current actions of participants. A total of 19 semi-structured interviews were conducted, of which 6 were carried out from a public management perspective with actors from both the public client organization and public members of the project management team, while the remaining 13 interviews were with intermediaries and various external public and private institutions that represented the project network perspective. The interviews included questions about the actors' experiences and perceptions of the process via which the project objectives were chosen, the implementation and outcome of the participatory approach, and the role of the public client in this process. The on-site observations took place over a period of 19 months. The observations were gathered at both the client organization and the project network. In addition, documents were gathered on both the public and private side.

While the studies focus on different aspects of commissioning, they also overlap somewhat in scope, shedding light on the potential (miss)alignment between internal and external commissioning. Study 1 deals with the overall commissioning role. In addition, the public client in the single case study of study 3 - zooming in on the external commissioning role - is one of the studied municipalities in the comparative case study of study 2 - focusing on the internal commissioning role. Based on an additional analysis of the entire dataset of this PhD research, the understanding of the reciprocity between the way the external commissioning role supports the internal commissioning role and vice versa, is enhanced. The data gathered in the studies was used – sometimes in combination with one another – to answer a set of sub-research questions, see figure 1.2. Based on the practical implications of this research, a dialogue tool has been developed that can be used by public clients in the construction industry who want to add value to their existing value palette and sustain that value in external and/or internal commissioning.

Understanding public value in construction *More rigurous operationalization*	Understanding value conflicts *Sector- and role specific*	Adressing and understanding how to deal with value conflicts *Organizational and process view*

Study 1: Overall commissioning role

- Which public values play a role in public service delivery between public clients and contractors in construction?
- What contextual factors influence construction clients' value interests in these practices?
- Which public values challenges do construction clients face in collaborative practices of public service delivery in construction?

Study 2: Internal commissioning

- How does the implementation of New Public Governance confront civil servants in municipal organizations with internal hybridity and value tensions?

Study 3: External commissioning

- How do collaborative network approaches deliver value through projects?
- How do these approaches influence the type of conflicts that appear?
- How are these conflicts dealt with by public client organizations with or without the various organizational, project-related and societal actors involved?

Reflection: Alignment internal and external commissioning

- How can the integration of different forms of governance and coping strategies best be aligned?

Tooling:

- How can public values be discussed in commissioning?

FIG. 1.2 Research gaps, studies and sub-questions

Table 1.2. provides an overview of the data collected in the three studies, as well as the sub-questions that are answered in the chapters of this dissertation.

Data analysis

The research is grounded in an interpretative epistemological approach, which posits that social facts are not universal, deterministic facts. In interpretative research, dependent and independent variables are not formulated prior to conducting research; rather, an understanding is created by the meanings people assign to the examined phenomena. As Langley and Abdallah (2015, p. 106) explain, 'the key challenge of conducting qualitative research on organizational processes lies not so much in collecting the data, but in making sense of them in order to generate a valuable theoretical contribution'.

Realist review has an explanatory basis of the evaluation, rather than a judgmental focus (Pawson et al., 2005). To analyze both the sensemaking of the interviewees themselves and my own observational field notes, an iterative coding process was employed in all three studies, which involves moving back-and-forth between engaging with the data and extant literature (Locke, Feldman, & Golden-Biddle, 2020). Inspired by the use of visual mapping strategies as a sense-making mechanism in process research, a three-step iterative process to theory building was adopted in Study 3, using inductive coding, joint comparison and discussion of the code reports and seeking out of similarities and differences (Alford & Yates, 2014; Locke et al., 2020). Each chapter includes a more detailed description of the data analysis process.

The process of validating the findings occurred over the course of multiple events, namely presenting and discussing the findings with the Dutch Client Forum, as well as with multiple groups of (international) colleagues at various (inter)national conferences. This is also shown in Table 1.2.

TABLE 1.2 Overview of the research

CH	Topic & research question	Method and data collection	Publications and presentations
2	**Taking on a wider view: public value interests of construction clients in a changing construction industry** 1. Which public values play a role in public service delivery practices between public clients and contractors in construction? 2. What contextual factors influence construction client's' value interests in these practices? 3. Which public value challenges do construction clients face in collaborative practices of public service delivery in construction?	**Data of Study 1** Semi-structured interviews - 44 qualitative semi-structured interviews, with 47 executives/public administrators from 17 different (semi)public organizations - Q-sort tables	*Journal paper* Published in Construction Management & Economics, 2019, 37(5) ***Conference papers & Presentations*** - ARCOM – 33rd Annual Conference, 2017: Public commissioning in a new era: Public value interests of construction clients ***Presentations*** - Presentation outcomes Study 1, Board meeting Opdrachtgeversforum, February 14, 2018 - Seminar KTH, April 17, 2018 - Pitch VOGON PhD event, Friday January 19, 2018
3	**Doing it right or doing the right thing? Internal hybridity and value tensions in implementing New Public Governance in municipal organizations** How does the implementation of New Public Governance confront civil servants in municipal organizations with internal hybridity and value tensions?	**Data of Study 2 and part of the data from Study 3** Comparative case study between two municipal organizations - 15 semi-structured interviews with actors from various departments in the urban domain - 19 months of observations of gatherings of the project team, local businesses and residents' panel - 4 months of observations in one of the urban management departments in one of the municipalities - Document analysis: value-related documents, both internal and four projects	*Journal paper* Prepared for submission ***Conference papers & Presentations*** - ICPP4 2019: Organizational tensions in managing public service delivery - PUPOL 2016: Public Service Delivery in Hybrid Organizations: public management reform and horizontalization as main challenges for public leaders.
4	**Definitely not a walk in the park – coping with public-private value conflicts in participative project environments** 1. How do collaborative network approaches deliver value through projects? 2. How do these approaches influence this the type of conflicts that appear? 3. How are these conflicts dealt with by public client organizations with or without the various organizational, project-related and societal actors involved?.	**Data collected in Study 3 and part of the data collected in Study 2** In-depth single case study of a participatory process of delivering a neighbourhood park - 19 case-based semi-structured interviews with public, societal and market actors - 19 months of observing gatherings of the project team, local businesses and residents' panel - 4 months of observations at the public client organization - document analyses	*Journal paper* Under review at Project Management Journal ***Conference papers & Presentations*** - PM Congress 2019: Navigating value systems in urban PPP projects - 11th International Process Symposium 2019: Mapping safeguarding processes of conflicting institutional value systems in delivering public services ***Presentations*** - TU Delft DCM section meeting, 2019

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TABLE 1.2 Overview of the research

CH	Topic & research question	Method and data collection	Publications and presentations
5	**Tooling for public value management in the construction sector** How can public values be discussed in commissioning?	– Desk study – Design by scenarios – Trial version test	***Tool validation sessions*** – Workshop on sustainable commissioning with multiple water boards, 2020 – Validation session with TUD colleagues, 2020
6	**Discussion and Conclusions** How can public construction clients safeguard public values in public service delivery within the built environment?	**Section 6.2: Data from Study 1, 2 and 3 combined** – How can the integration of different forms of governance and coping strategies best be aligned?	Section 6.2 based on: ***Conference papers & Presentations*** – ARCOM 2018: The impact of shifting values on the role and responsibilities of the construction client in delivering public goods – EPOC 2018: Rethinking Roles and Responsibilities in the Context of the Public Private Value Shift from a Client Perspective – NIG (PUPOL track) 2017: Facilitating the value shift in public private collaboration – PUPOL 2018: A Client perspective on changing values, roles and responsibilities in public private collaboration – ARCOM 2020: The public construction client of the future: network-based collaborator in a traditional public administrative system

1.6   Societal and practical relevance

1.6.1   Societal Relevance

In light of the fact that governmental control changes in response to broader changes in society, scholars have acknowledged that it becomes increasingly important to connect economic, societal and environmental objectives within an economy through the establishment of collaborative structures (Duijn et al., 2019; RWS, 2020). The result of this is a renewed division of roles and tasks between governments, society and market, which requires a new 'repertoire' to shape these relationships in purposeful ways (van der Steen et al., 2013; Kuitert and Volker, 2016).

If we look ahead into the future, there will be an increased demand for approaches that are grounded in governance, whereby network cooperation between authorities, social parties, businesses and citizens will collaborate together to solve societal challenges. Conversely, when more is achieved in collaboration there will be a renewed call for governments to step up once again, namely to guarantee core tasks and formal public responsibility (Duijn et al., 2019). Administrative power, such as that held by public construction clients, needs to combine government and governance roles. The Dutch Council for the Environment and Infrastructure posits that, in practice, economic renewal has been sought for too long within the existing system, as a result of which transitions towards new systems have been either slowed down or completely thwarted. This highlights how transitions always involve tension between the desire for stability and the necessity for change.

By improving construction clients' knowledge of safeguarding public values, this research thus not only provides support to multiple occupations in public client organizations, but by contributing towards the professionalization of the commissioning role also positively impacts upon society at large. When public client organizations are able to balance their various roles and strengthen their capacity to manage the resulting conflicts in order to benefit public values in the long-term, then the societal impact will also be enhanced.

Practical Relevance

Taking accountability for a wide range of public values is increasingly an integral part of the daily practice of public construction clients. To cope with these emergent challenges, such as the demand for adaptability and the need for product and process innovations, public bodies have little choice but to innovate and evolve, both internally and in relation to other institutions (Cornforth, 2003b; Kuitert et al., 2019b; Miozzo & Dewick, 2004). Why? Simply put, the demand for public actors to confront their differences and manage value conflicts have emerged in conjunction with the transition towards network contexts (Tjosvold, 2008). For public construction clients value conflicts can occur both in internal shifts and purchasing in internal-external relations. Value conflicts influence the complexity of ensuring and safeguarding public values by public construction clients (Kuitert et al., 2018b). Therefore, safeguarding public values has become increasingly challenging in a network environment. Such difficulties are further exacerbated by the fact that practitioners often lack knowledge about good value management and governance in public commissioning by construction clients.

Despite the growing attention paid to the practice of public values, there is still a relative dearth of empirical research in this area (Hartley et al., 2017). Indeed, scarce attention has been paid to providing guidance to practitioners for dealing with multi-value trade-offs in operational processes (Steenhuisen & van Eeten, 2008). This complicates public construction clients' attempts to manage public values in their daily practice. Public officials are asking for a framework that helps them pursue new (and often competing) values, while, simultaneously, honoring the structures of authority and values of the regimes within which they operate (Bao et al., 2013). Current public value tools need further refining (de Jong et al., 2017), especially in terms of incorporating NPG as opposed to only continuing from the perspective of NPM alongside TPM. The insights generated through this research allow for the extension of the 'public value toolbox' for public construction clients, in such a way that allows for their proper operationalization and application within network environments.

1.7 Structure of the dissertation

This article-based dissertation focuses on the role of public commissioning as a key position in the process of external and internal value safeguarding activities. Three empirical research papers form the core of this dissertation (Chapters 2, 3, and 4). These papers have either been published or are currently under review at different journals (please see Table 1.2). These papers are included in full, in either their published or in-review form. The practical implications deriving from the research are outlined and subsequently translated into a dialogue tool in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 comprises a conclusion and reflection upon the body of knowledge, complemented by the limitations of the research, and its contributions to the existing body of knowledge in the field. Below, I provide a brief summary of each of the chapters and explain how they connect to one another.

Chapter 2 *"Taking on a wider view: public value interests of construction clients in a changing construction industry"* provides an understanding of the meaning and significance of different public values in the daily practice of public construction clients, who strive to establish client-contractor relationships that are suitable for the changed relations in society. The paper identifies the challenges that these clients face in commissioning potentially conflicting values, both externally and internally. Adopting a context dependent view of public values, the paper provides insight into the dynamics of the value interests of public construction clients, revealing both internal and external factors of influence. The chapter also sheds light on how the dynamic value palette of public construction clients influences the challenges they face in creating public values via public service delivery. An incommensurable view results in six main public value dilemmas that complicate the task of developing an open, transparent and sustainable long-term client-contractor relationship. This leads to a value shift away from an emphasis on procedural values towards managing performance and product values, which necessitates clients adopting a broader view on public values. The paper illustrates how larger societal transitions influence public clients' core task of ensuring public values.

Chapter 3 *"Doing it right or doing the right thing? Internal hybridity and value tensions in implementing New Public Governance in municipal organizations"* focuses on internal governance conflicts and provides a deeper understanding of internal hybridity and the value tensions that civil servants from different parts and levels of the organization face as a result. Integrating an organizational governance mechanisms-based approach with a value conflict approach, the implementation of the network type of governance and its attendant new value logics is examined. The

study took place within a traditional public construction client organization, where project-based urban planning sections are dominated by market mechanisms. The chapter demonstrates how both vertical and horizontal differentiation in governance and value orientations can cause conflict. More specifically, it shows that mixing governance mechanisms can lead to internal governance conflict, which, despite protecting public responsibility, ultimately hinders the transition towards network governance.

Chapter 4 *"Definitely not a walk in the park – coping with public-private value conflicts in participative project environments"* provides a dynamic understanding of how collaborative network approaches deliver value through projects. Above all, it illustrates how this influences the type of conflicts that appear and how these conflicts are dealt with by public client organizations with or without the various organizational, project-related and societal actors involved. By adopting a 'coping' lens, it was found that both the occurrence of conflict and how public actors dealt with these values could be linked to various phases of the construction life cycle (on a temporal axis), and the various departments, institutions and actors in the project network (on a spatial axis). The paper reveals various conflict arenas in the network environment and offers an understanding of the effect of dominance in value systems in various phases on these conflicts. The chapter unravels patterns of coping combining a paradoxical perspective allowing for engagement with complexity in network environments and trade-off thinking which is focussed on reducing complexity. These patterns show the effects of shifting coping relative to where the conflict occurs in both time and space, as well as illustrating how value pluralism can lead to conflicts, while also allowing for innovative approaches to dealing with value complexity.

Chapter 5 *"Tooling for public value management in the construction sector"* presents the dialogue tool 'Speaking of Values'. This tool can be used by public clients in the construction industry who wish to add values to their existing value palette and want to sustain these values in external and/or internal commissioning. The chapter is based on an extensive understanding of the limitations of the current public value toolbox, as well as being informed by the practical implications of the empirical insights generated in the research. The dialogue tool is introduced by presenting its purpose and development, functionalities and implementation, in terms of who, when and in which situations the tool can be applied.

Chapter 6 *"Discussion and conclusions"* presents a theoretical discussion of the research and brings the dissertation to a close. First it provides a summary of the key findings emerging from the three qualitative studies. Then an additional consideration of the combined findings of the three studies follows, translated

into focal points for the construction client of the future. This chapter furthermore presents a reflection on the research approach adopted across the three studies, before outlining the scientific and practical contributions of the research and providing suggestions for further research.

2 Taking on a wider view

Public value interests of construction clients in a changing construction industry

ABSTRACT   For financial and strategic reasons, public and semi-public construction clients increasingly depend on private parties to carry out public service delivery. They subcontract operational responsibilities to private parties while remaining socio-politically responsible for ensuring public values. Public administration literature mainly addresses the importance of procedural and performance values in safeguarding public values. However, safeguarding the quality of the built environment also requires a focus on product values. In this study, we aim to increase the understanding of the meaning and significance of public values in the daily practice of public construction clients and identify the challenges they face in commissioning these seemingly opposing values. A set of semi-structured interviews with the public administrators of a variety of public and semi-public construction client organizations in the Netherlands shows that both internal and external factors influence the collaborative practices between clients and contractors. This causes a value shift from an emphasis on procedural values to managing performance and product values, indicating that clients need to take on a wider view on public values. Six main public value dilemmas were found that complicate the task of developing an open, transparent and sustainable long-term client–contractor relationship. The current contractual system, however, lacks the flexibility to facilitate this product-based value view in construction.

2.1 Introduction

In order to achieve and ensure their public objectives in the built environment, public client organizations deliver public services: they exchange direct or indirect products and services among individuals, companies, social institutions and the government (Benington, 2009, 2011). In construction, the government was traditionally in control as the client and a private contractor was commissioned to execute the work. In recent years, however, we have seen a growing percentage of integrated contracts (Noordegraaf, 2015; Winch, 2010). In these types of collaborations, the operational responsibility for creating public values is transferred to the private party, the public party is left with governing and management tasks while remaining socio-politically responsible (Eversdijk, 2013; van der Steen et al., 2013).

The presumption that complexity and specialization are required in solving today's societal challenges, reinforced by the lack of resources and competencies of public organizations, makes it sensible for public agencies to outsource specific functions to other organizations (Boyne, 2003; Cohen, 2008; Cornforth, 2003a). An increasing number of quasi-autonomous government agencies develop and furthermore market mechanisms introduce elements of competition in public service delivery, making public organizations increasingly dependent on private parties to accomplish public purposes (Cornforth, 2003a). As a consequence, public construction clients are involved both in the long-term focus on innovation and the strategic development goals of the public organization, as well as the shortterm focus on the efficiency goals of the temporary project-related network of public and private parties (Lundin, Arvidsson, Brady, Ekstedt, & Midler, 2015). Construction clients are often challenged by the constantly recurring value conflicts of the exploration–exploitation paradox (Eriksson, 2013). As a response to the fragmentation and special purpose entities that outsourcing causes, there is an increased focus on building a strong and unified sense of values, trust and value-based management between public and the private parties, affecting the task of public administrators in the public value process (Bryson et al., 2014; Christensen & Lægreid, 2007; de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014).

Hence, due to the complexity of the relationship, public–private collaborations do not always contribute to public goals (Hueskes, Verhoest, & Block, 2017; Liu, Wang, & Wilkinson, 2016). For example, in recent decades, several large and complex infrastructure works and utility buildings in the Netherlands have been delivered as DBFM contracts in close collaboration with private parties (Lenferink, Tillema, & Arts, 2013). As a response to time pressure, the involvement of external stakeholders and project culture this has not always led to the desired level of performances (Verweij,

Teisman, & Gerrits, 2017). Similar experiences can be found in the UK. In line with the UK government's drive to pursue a knowledge-based economy, the "Building Schools for the Future" (BSF) was launched in 2003 as a long-term programme of DBFM investments and change in the English school system (Aritua, Smith, & Athiyo, 2008; Liu & Wilkinson, 2014). Difficulties in BSF arose from not sorting out strategic issues and instituting appropriate organizational frameworks before engaging the private sector, resulting in a lack of clarity about the long-term needs and end-user aspirations of such long-term public–private collaborations (Aritua et al., 2008; Liu & Wilkinson, 2014).

To better understand the value interests and challenges that construction clients face in the "wicked problems" settings of public service delivery in the project-based construction industry (Head & Alford, 2015), more information is needed about the meaning and significance of different public values in the daily practice of public construction clients. Realizing the opted value, considerations need to be made in assessing the most suitable way to achieve the best value in the context of this governance reform. It is, therefore, important to perform an analysis in order to indicate what "value" should be achieved, to locate contributors to this value and understand how these value contributors could be evaluated in terms of objective and subjective indicators in relation to the built environment (Palaneeswaran, Kumaraswamy, & Ng, 2003).

This study contributes to the management of values in construction in two ways. First, it identifies the full spectrum of public-private values from a public client perspective that come into play when delivering public services in the construction industry. Most studies on public values recognize the importance of sets of procedural values such as lawfulness and accountability, and the performance values of efficiency and effectiveness (e.g. Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007, Van Der Wal et al. 2008). Hence, none of these concepts provides concrete insights into the content of these values in order to specify, clarify and describe the service or product (Bozeman, 2012; Mills et al., 2009), such as providing shelter, mobility and leisure. Other studies pointed out the importance of a better operationalization of public values in different industries (e.g. specialized codes for roles and professions) (de Graaf et al., 2013). Hence, we complement the existing public value concepts with the concrete product-related public values, such as the quality of public space and well-functioning infrastructure, and explicate the process and performance values that are related with the construction industry.

Second, we provide insight into the value trade-offs that need to be made in various stages of the construction lifecycle (Brown, Potoski, & Van Slyke, 2006; Hughes, Hillebrandt, Greenwood, & Kwawu, 2006). Public management scholars seem to pay less attention to criteria for judging public values. Yet, this is especially important

when multiple logics are combined, such as in public-private collaborations. As a result value conflicts are likely to appear (de Graaf & van der Wal, 2008), which complicates the task of public construction clients to actually manage public values in their daily practice. The characteristics of public values complicate decision-making as rational assessment often seems impossible (de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014). Hence, identification of the trade-offs professionals in client organizations makes contributes to facing the challenges of collaborative practices in construction.

In this study, we build upon the public value theory and extend the construction sector-specific value debate. We specifically look into the dynamics of the value interests of public construction clients and address the following questions:

1   Which public values play a role in public service delivery practices between public clients and contractors in construction?
2   What contextual factors influence construction client's value interests in these practices?
3   Which public value challenges do construction clients face in collaborative practices of public service delivery in construction?

The article proceeds as follows. We first elaborate on the public value concept, the different types of public values that could be of importance for public construction clients, while also taking into account the contextual influences on value interests, such as socio-political responsibilities and regulatory developments in the Dutch construction sector. We also discuss the complexity of managing public values by elaborating on the challenges public construction clients face in balancing seemingly opposing values in today's collaborative public service delivery. This theoretical elaboration is summarized in a framework containing 25 values divided into different types. We then describe our research approach which involved a series of semi-structured interviews with 47 public administrators from commissioning agencies in the Dutch construction industry. The findings are presented in three separate sections on public value interests, factors of influence and challenges faced by public clients. Based on these findings, we conclude that professionals in public construction client organizations are increasingly aware of the shift from procedural and performance values to product-related values that are required to improve public service delivery. Yet, the current contractual system seems to lack the flexibility to facilitate this value shift and safeguard "new" product-related values. In their commissioning role, public administrators face value dilemmas that are usually solved in an operational rather than a strategic manner. Instead, they should take on a wider view. Finally, we discuss the boundaries of the current value system in relation to change of the practice of the commissioning role and provide potential interesting avenues for further research that relate to the alignment of roles, organization and the system in construction industry.

2.2 Theoretical background

2.2.1 The public value concept

Public values are a reflection of what society believes are important values in the production of certain products or services and whose provision is the responsibility of the government. This provides direction for governmental decision making. For a value to be called public, there needs to be a collectivity – a collective benefit (de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006). So, whereas private values reflect individual interests public values are about meeting shared expectations. There is also value pluralism, meaning that not all values can be achieved at the same time, and public values are often incommensurable and incompatible leading to their conflicting nature (de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014). Although the definition of a public value remains rather abstract, it is clear that the "public" aspect relates to ultimately remaining responsibility. To list the specific values that could relate to public commissioning in construction, we, therefore, particularly looked at the work of Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007), Van der Wal (2008) and De Graaf et al. (2013) from the field of public administration. Based on a systematic literature survey of a large amount of studies in the United States, the United Kingdom and Scandinavia, Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) identified eight central public values, namely sustainability, human dignity, engagement of citizens, secrecy, openness, integrity, compromises and robustness. And, although the time range from 1990 to 2003 in the research of Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) excluded certain periods of public governance reform and some identified values are removed from their context, the study gives a broad overview of values in different categories that could be considered in more specific industry contexts like construction. The fact that values have a strong resemblance internationally is also confirmed in the study of De Graaf, Huberts and Smulders (2014), in which they compare international codes of governance. Van Der Wal (2008) distinguished 13 values that are most relevant in public organizations, namely honesty, humanity, social justice, impartiality, transparency, integrity, obedience, reliability, responsibility, expertise, accountability, efficiency and courage. His work mentions the possible use of the public–private continuum as a feasible value survey research tool. Especially in relation to the shifting relationships between the public and the private, Van Der Wal (2008) provided an interesting view on the degree of association of value to the public and private sector poles and the overlap thereof. De Graaf et al. (2013), especially, studied the relevance and role of values in the Dutch Code of Governance using two case studies of a Dutch municipality and a Dutch

hospital, interviewing various actors about their daily practice. They found valuable insights into the specific values related to different aspects of good governance that show that (a) democratic governance particularly values openness, participation, accountability and legitimacy, (b) proper governance focuses on lawfulness and decent contact with residents, (c) incorruptible governance values integrity and (d) performing governance values effectiveness, efficiency and professionality which give meaning at different management and executive levels (de Graaf et al., 2013).

Another characteristic of public values is their typology. Distinctions are made among different types of public values. De Graaf and Paanakker (2014), for example, followed the most general consensus on the interpretation of good governance and differentiate between the performance values of effectiveness and efficiency (e.g. good infrastructure, services, no waste of taxpayers' money) and procedural values, relating to the quality of the process (e.g. integrity, transparency, equality). Their case study research focusses on conflicts between performance values and procedural values in different phases of the political processes of formation, negotiation and implementation. Whereas their governance level of analysis corresponds with our level of analysis, De Graaf and Paanakker (2014) remained quite conceptual in their study on public values in the public domain rather than providing concrete details about how to manage these values in delivering services in the built environment. De Bruijn and Dicke (2006), however, provided explicit examples when presenting their inventory of the literature on public values from three disciplines (i.e. law, economics and public administration) in the context of the utility sector, in which, like the construction sector, increased privatization and contracting out is seen. A division is made between procedural values – the way the public sector should act and which standards of government action should be met, such as integrity, transparency and equality – and substantive public values, that is, the services the state is responsible for, either directly by offering products or indirectly by providing services and finance (De Bruijn and Dicke 2006). According to De Bruijn and Dicke (2006), the discourse around procedural values can be recognized in codes of conducts of various international governments; on the other hand, the substantive productrelated values can be specified for each utility sector. Reflecting on their results, De Graaf et al. (2013) went even further, suggesting the need for codes specified for roles and professions next to more general codes.

Based on these insights, we use the distinction among procedural values, performance values and substantive product-related values to develop our (theoretical) understanding of the content of public construction clients interest and their challenges in value-based decision-making. In particular, in relation to these substantive product-related values, it is important to note the difference between value and values. Inspired by the most advanced individually grounded theories on

human value, the Schwartz Values Survey and Universal Values Structure, Mills et al. (2009, p. 7), Mills (2013, p. 86) define values as "abstract, humanly held notions and beliefs that provide a broad and relatively universal framing structure to understand particular choices in a wider context of concerns". And, value is "an attitude or judgement made by a person of some object at issue (whether this is a product, service, process or other person) against some resource" (Mills 2013, p. 118), which is in line with Volker's (2010) definition of value judgement in the context of a building object. In the field of public value management, Moore and Bennington seem to be the two main contributors to value thinking. Moore (1995) considered public value as the equivalent of shareholder value in public administration and spoke of the singular public value. According to Moore (1995), public values are designed to provide managers with a notion of how entrepreneurship can contribute to the general welfare. Benington (2011) referred to the plural of public value and interpreted public values as the combination of safeguarding and enriching the public sphere with the delivery of public values. His work presented a rather normative description of the "rights, benefits, and prerogatives" to which citizens should or should not be entitled "within the notion of the 'public sphere'", as "a democratic space which includes, but is not co-terminus with, the state within which citizens address their collective concerns, and where individual liberties have to be protected" (Benington, 2009, p. 233). Moore (1995) also described a process, which he calls the public value chain, in which inputs are transformed into valued social outcomes, or in other words public values. Farrell (2016) added an important governance dimension to this chain by specifically looking at the position of the public value proposition. He placed it between the demand and the supply chain and connected the value that should be produced in order to meet the demand to the activities of the production. Farrell (2016) thereby underlined the importance of understanding the value interest of a commissioning agency in the process of public value creation. In creating and ensuring public values, it must be clear which values should be secured in relation to the socio-political responsibility of the public agent in the supply chain.

2.2.2   Factors of influence on value interests

Both Mills et al. (2009) and Volker (2010) emphasized the importance of a dialogue on organizational values and human values in aligning the value priorities of individuals and organizations. Based on insights from previous governance reforms, there are many reasons for the value paradigms of public organizations to change (Bryson et al., 2014; Casey, 2014; Christensen & Lægreid, 2007; Coule & Patmore, 2013). In governance reform, different governance paradigms follow each other in time, positioning more or less towards public and private values. For example,

as a response to the fragmentation, the structural devolution, single-purpose organizations and performance management caused by new public management, there was a new emphasis on public value, focussing on a unified sense of values, trust, valuebased management, and collaboration. Although interpretations may be different from country to country, in different time periods and from sector to sector (van der Wal, 2008), some values (e.g. social justice and impartiality) seem to be more prominent for public organizations, Whereas other values (e.g. profitability and self-fulfilment) are more prominent for private organizations, and yet others (e.g. honesty, accountability, expertise and reliability) appear to apply to both public and private parties (van der Wal, 2008).

Hendriks and Drosterij (2012) argued to specifically look into the importance of values in the different stages of the policy process, in which public organizations express the values they stand for. Although various scholars have pointed to this relationship between publicness and value paradigms, Andersen et al. (2012) also stated that different modes of governance reflect different value orientations of management paradigms. In line with this, according to Talbot (2008, p. 10), this competing values framework *"asserts that human organizations are shaped by just two fundamental contradictions – the desire for flexibility and autonomy versus the need for control and stability; and the focus on internal concerns and needs versus responsiveness to the external environment"*.

The need to recognize the value orientation of organizations is also noticed in organizational studies. Several studies show that market and community logics are combined and values are created by networks of public and private parties (Casey, 2014; Coule & Patmore, 2013; van der Steen et al., 2013). Using market logics, the basis for strategy is profit maximization. Using community logics, relations of affect, loyalty, common values and personal concern are pursued (Smets et al., 2014). Each logic influences which values are considered most important in governance. Market logics are dominated by performance values, whereas community logics are dominated by procedural values (de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014; Smets et al., 2014). This indicates that the perspective on the public–private relations influences the approach to public values and, as a result, the way of safeguarding public values.

Whereas the works of Smets et al. (2014), Van Der Wal et al. (2008), Andersen et al. (2012) and Talbot (2008) focus on the organizational level, Meynhardt (2009), especially, looked at public value creation from the perspective of the individual and therefore encouraged research into social relations. Meynhardt's work draws a public value landscape departing from four basic value dimensions derived from the psychologically oriented needs theory. What is especially interesting is that this landscape is filled out for a public sector in a democratic society, following

the inventory of public values compiled by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2012), who categorized values related to different relationships between public administrators, such as politicians and their environment, showing noteworthy similarities with the client–contractor relationship in the context of studying the commissioning role in construction.

Starting from the internal perspective on the public client organizations, the studies mentioned above show the relevance of studying the impact of governance reform, the value perspective, the positioning of the client in the public–private continuum and the social relationships on organizations in construction. Looking more closely into the context in which public construction client organizations operate, an important distinction can be made between organizations that are purely public or are governed by public law and are required to apply public procurement law, and semi-public and private organizations, which only have to obey common law (Boyd & Chinyio, 2008; Winch, 2010). Taking on this external perspective, we can understand that the position of an organization on the public–private continuum is partly determined by the extent to which organizations are constrained by political control, how they are funded and financed, and the extent to which they perform public and private tasks (Besharov & Smith, 2014). When an organization is more constrained or enabled by political authority, it is more public (Bozeman, 2012) and an increase in constraint by economic authority seems to increase the "privateness" of the organization (Moulton, 2009), limiting public clients' positioning in the value landscape and thereby the expression of value interest. Especially in the mid-section of the public–private continuum, the organizations governed by public law and public–private organizations are internally hybrid, pursuing both values from the political/ public mandate and private organizational values (Heres & Lasthuizen, 2012). This differs per culture, country and region (Boyd & Chinyio, 2008).

From the previous parts of this article, we can conclude that most of the work on public value focuses on procedural and performance values. We also learned that substantive product-related value may be specified in its context, especially per role and/or profession. In the context of the construction industry, specific assessment methods and policy documents can provide insights into the governance challenges of product values. The more project-oriented steering mechanisms of money, stakeholders, time, information and quality in the context of project management (Ogunlana & Toor, 2010) play a significant role in the construction industry. The Design Quality Indicator (DQI) provides a toolkit to measure, evaluate and improve the design quality of buildings. This tool, which was developed by the Construction Industry Council of the UK, builds on Vitruvius's product values of utilitas, firmitas and venustas (commodity, firmness and delight) to provide concrete discussions on functionality (use, accessibility and space), built quality

(performance, technical systems and construction) and impact (form and material, internal design, integration and character and innovation) in different phases of the construction process (Gann, Salter, & Whyte, 2003; Volker, 2010). In relation to the publicness of the organizations, we noticed that the periodically developed policy documents concerning the built environment influence the product values of clients. The Dutch government, for example, is currently implementing the "Omgevingswet" – an integrated law to ensure the quality of the built environment. This new law is dominated by specific values, such as collaboration, knowledge and expertise, commonality, integrated concepts, health and motivation in solidarity. It is these kinds of developments that also shape the challenges that clients face in delivering public services in the construction industry. So by looking more closely into the external contextual factors, we found that the influence of regulations (especially public procurement law) as well as time-dependent policies which relate to societal challenges, strongly affect the value interests of public construction clients in the construction industry.

2.2.3 Specific client challenges in creating public value

In construction the collaborative character of today's public service delivery complicates the task of choosing which value to pursue. This challenges public construction clients to balance the different kinds of competing values while honouring the structures of authority and regime values within which they operate (Bao et al., 2013). After all, it is the value proposition of the client organization that should steer the decisions and trade-offs that occur between the creation of private and public values (Farrell, 2016). Because public values can be incompatible, the pursuit of certain values must inevitably comprise or limit the ability to pursue certain other values (de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014). Furthermore, because public values can be incommensurable, there is no single currency or scale with which to measure conflicting values. Where a conflict occurs, no rational assessment can be made. This study should, therefore, contribute to identifying the challenges that client organizations face in working with contractors to deliver public services.

In this context, it is important to realize that public values are achieved in different phases of the construction lifecycle. In the initial phase, there is the most flexibility and the decisions made largely determine the ability to ensure and safeguard public values in the following phases (Hughes et al. 2006). The make-or-buy stage revolves around whether conditions are suitable for contracting and whether public values are safe in private hands (Brown et al., 2006). After deciding to contract, a client needs to structure and execute a competitive bidding process in order to select

a contractor to produce "what is asked". In designing a contract, a client needs to make many decisions that are laden with public value, including specifying a contractor's obligations and tasks, defining the contract's renewal provisions, and specifying its incentive and performance-measurement systems (Brown et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2006). After a contractor has been selected and the contract awarded, the client must shift its focus to managing the contract. This stage is about deploying monitoring tools to oversee the implementation of contracts. It is expected that different value conflicts will arise during different phases of public service delivery and that trade-offs between performance values, procedural values, and product-related values in the construction context, will need to be made (de Graaf et al., 2014; de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014). Clients will be called to account for the process as well as the outcome, and for individual incidents as well as aggregate patterns observed at each step along the way to public value creation (Moore, 2000).

From this, we understand that safeguarding public values in public service delivery has both governance components and management components in public construction client organizations. According to the OECD, a construction client *"is a natural or legal person for whom a structure is constructed, or alternatively the person or organization that took the initiative of the construction"* (Eurostat, 2013). As in this research, the context is formed by the collaborative public service delivery, the relationship between client and contractor is central. We look at commissioning as the manner in which an organization in the public sector shapes and carries out its internal and external interactions with the market in view of its responsibilities in the built environment (Hermans, Volker, & Eisma, 2014). Different relations can be recognized, namely client–stakeholders (all kinds of societal parties), client–user and client–contractor/supplier. The last-mentioned is the focus of this study.

In integrated contracts, quality assurance is focused on organizing the process, ensuring that there is compliance with both the product and the process requirements (Brown et al., 2006). In this context, the client is limited to establishing a functional set of requirements, emphasis on performance and outcome, on what is expected (Boyd & Chinyio, 2008; Bryson et al., 2014), for which private parties then submit design solutions (performance contracts) (Hughes et al., 2006). A completely different dynamic arises if the client outsources not only the design and execution but also the activities or services that usually take place during the usage phase. Zheng et al. (2008) found that specifically in long-term public–private supply arrangements, complicated value trade-offs take place at different levels of the client organization, related to private parties in different ways of relational and contractual governance. This means that public construction clients are confronted with multilevel challenges in their attempt to improve public service delivery with which public values are created, using integrated tasks and public–private collaborations.

Public value framework for construction clients

Based on the theoretical insights into the different kinds and types of values, the contextual factors of influence in the increasingly collaborative public service delivery and the specific challenges for client organizations in identifying the values to pursue, we take on the view that, in addition to the procedural values and the performance values, the product-related values are deemed especially important for public clients in the construction industry. Hence, we created a public value framework for construction clients that presents a comprehensive and inclusive overview of 25 public values that could be considered of importance in public commissioning tasks (see Table 2.1). This framework provides the basis for the study.

TABLE 2.1 Public value framework for construction clients

Public value used in interview	Jørgensen & Bozeman (2007)	Van der Wal (2008)	De Graaf et al. (2013)	Hendriks and Drosterij (2012)	Talbot (2008)	Van der Wal (2008)	Meynhardt (2009)	Ogunlana and Toor (2010)	Gann et al. (2003)	Dutch policies (several years)
Procedural values										
Lawfulness	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Accountability	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Collaboration										x
Participation	x		x	x	x		x			
Transparency	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Integrity	x	x	x	x			x			
Safety										
Reliability		x			x	x	x			
Equality	x	x			x	x	x			
Honesty		x								
Collegiality										x
Wisdom		x				x		x		x
Health										x
Performance values										
Efficiency		x	x	x	x	x		x		
Effectiveness			x	x						
Product values										
Quality					x	x	x	x	x	
Functionality									x	
Innovation							x		x	x
Sustainability	x						x			
Context									x	
Character							x		x	
Beauty							x		x	
Integrality										x

2.3 Research approach

2.3.1 Research methodology and data collection

The main purpose of this study is to gain insight into the meaning and significance of public values in the daily practice of public construction clients and the challenges that they face in their commissioning role. This implies recognition of the role of the sociocultural and political environments in the management of construction projects, and thereby the need to understand projects as socially constructed realities and the subjective relevance (Dainty, 2008). Hence, an inductive qualitative approach was chosen to gain a profound understanding of the existence of construction sectorspecific public values, to establish their meanings and identify the way the values are embedded in public client organizations (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The study presented in this article is based on 44 semi-structured interviews with 47 interviewees (in some interviews two respondents participated), representing 17 Dutch public and semi-public construction client organizations. The interviewees were chosen by expert sampling, a form of purposive sampling that selects respondents known to have a certain expertise in the field, followed by snowball sampling (Hennink & Hutter, 2011). Because the position of an organization on the public–private continuum influences the need to perform public value tasks and the ability or inability to adopt and balance public value with other types of values (Besharov & Smith, 2014; van der Wal, 2008), a wide range of public client organizations in the study were included. This afforded the opportunity to study differences and similarities, and generalizability where possible (Chi, 2016). We approached members of the Dutch Construction Clients' Forum which represents a group of large and medium-sized public and semi-public clients in the Dutch construction industry, including the Central Government Real Estate Agency, the national highway agency Rijkswaterstaat, several water boards, housing associations and municipalities. For each organization, the aim was to involve three or four public administrators, divided over four position categories: general manager, chief procurement officer, director of new – real estate and/or infrastructure – developments, and/or director of asset management or maintenance, reflecting the multilevel challenge. During the initial interviews, additional respondents were obtained through their networks, until we reached the data saturation point. Table 2.2 presents an overview of the respondents in relation to the publicness of the organization and the position of the respondents.

We used an interview guide with open-ended questions in order to discuss the sensitive topic of public values in relation to experiences in various parts of the commissioning role, and providing topics and some related standard questions were used (Hennink & Hutter, 2011). Each interview started with a brief discussion about the background of the interviewer and interviewee in order to ensure a mutual understanding of the perspective to be discussed. In order to discuss different aspects of the commissioning role, the interviews were divided into three parts. The first part referred to the commissioning role in shaping the collaborative relationship with the supply market. The second part related to how management steered employees in ensuring values in public service delivery, and the final part referred to the organization itself, emphasizing the way of steering on organizational values related to public commissioning. We, therefore, focused on the translation of these values into the identification of organizational goals, and whether the position in society, influenced by different groups of stakeholders would be relevant in this context. Inspired by Q-methodology – a method that is increasingly applied to gain insight into the range of viewpoints providing a foundation for the "systematic" study of subjectivity, a person's viewpoint, opinion, beliefs, attitude and such like (Stephenson, 1953) – we used value cards to support the interviewees in answering the interview questions. Hence, the 25 public values from the public value framework for construction clients from Table 2.1 were printed on paperboard cards. To ensure that the distinction between the different values was absolutely clear to the interviewees, word clouds with interchangeable terms were included.

All interviews were conducted by the first author and each lasted 45–60 min. Interviewees were asked to explicitly explain their choices discussing the relevance and meaning in the part of the commissioning role being discussed while working on this sorting task. The interviewees were respectively asked to choose three-value cards that appealed most to them when asked: (a) which values they consider important in their commissioning role, (b) which values are most likely to be traded off, (c) which values they prefer to be safeguarded and (d) which values do not get safeguarded by their organization. There also was a possibility to create an additional card by filling out a blank. These choices prepared the interviewees to subsequently rank the value cards according to the extent they are considered to be of interest in their commissioning role from -3 (of least interest) to +3 (of most interest). To conclude, interviewees were asked to indicate whether they expect the ranking to be the same in about 10 years' time and to elaborate on this, also in relation to the public values that are assigned to the organization as a whole and the mutual influence with the public values discussed. To ensure the reliability of the data, all interviews were audiotaped and fully transcribed. The value cards chosen by the interviewees were recorded on an Excel sheet and photos were taken of the filled-out Q-sorts.

TABLE 2.2 Overview of respondents

	Position / organization	General manager (GM)	Chief procurement officer (CPO)	Director of new development (DD)	Director of Asset or maintenance (AM)
Public	Central government (CG) *8 organizations*	7, 10, 21, 41*, 42	11, 12, 15, 19, 22, 40, 41*	,3, 6, 16, 25, 37	8, 9, 23, 32, 36
Hybrid	Governed by law (GbL) *6 organizations*	14*, 28, 29, 39, 43	13, 24, 44	1, 14*, 27, 30, 33	5, 17, 31, 34, 35, 38
	Semi-public (SP) *3 organizations*	4, 18, 20*	2, 26	20*	

* joint interview

2.3.2 Analysis of the data

We adopted a systematic inductive approach to concept development as described by Gioia et al. (2013) allowing for studying social construction processes focussing on sensemaking of our respondents. The data structure was built using a set of five transcripts in Atlas.ti and an additional set of another five transcripts for a second round to become familiar with the data (Altheide, 2000; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). In the initial data coding, we applied open coding as described by Corbin and Strauss (2008), sticking to the respondents terms focussing on the means by which respondents construct and understand their commissioning experiences (Gioia et al., 2013). After reducing this first-order analysis to a manageable number of first-order concepts, axial coding was applied in order to seek for similarities and differences in a second-order analysis and placing the categories in the theoretical realm (Gioia et al., 2013; van Maanen, 1979). We then looked for overarching theoretical themes to further reduce the categories to secondorder "aggregate dimensions". Figure 2.1 demonstrates how the interview transcripts, the first-order data, through second-order concepts progressed into overarching theoretically grounded themes that related to the research questions.

Looking into the understanding of sector-specific public values in commissioning (RQ1) led to the operationalization of public values: procedural values, performance- and product values and additional values. In addition, an overarching (theoretical) theme was created around value interests and safeguarding of public values, containing second-order concepts corresponding with the interest in different aspects of public commissioning and accompanying safeguarding mechanisms. The often reflective explanation of the interviewees resulted in the identification of the shift of values as experienced by the respondents and gave a particularly good insight in the meaning and importance of the different public values in the desired client–contractor relationship.

In relation to the dynamic value interest of public construction clients (RQ2), two overarching (theoretical) themes were found; (1) internal factors of influence, subdivided into the type and character of the organization, the maturity stage of an organization and the perception of the clients position in the client–contractors relationship, and (2) external factors of influence, clustered in groups of data related to politics and the administrative system, construction laws and regulations, and developments in the building sector at system and executive level. Furthermore, the overarching (theoretical) theme of roles and responsibilities in the client–contractor relationship includes data about the current situation and the desired situation, with explicit attention to changing perceptions about specific collaborative models and contract types. Regarding the public value management challenges (RQ3), an overarching (theoretical) theme specifically focusses on detecting dilemmas. This divided the data of the second-order concept of specific value conflicts between different types of organizations and origination from the character of the organization and sector, and a concept about the (way of) balancing and specific interventions focused on the steering part including the current and (desired) future practice and accountability against distinguishing the different aspects of the commissioning role. Especially, the reflection on the ranking (Q-sorts) gave insight in the value dilemmas that clients face and increased the understanding of the restrictions that certain values, mainly procedural, bring along in pursuing the desired client–contractor relationship.

In order to analyze differences between the types of client organizations in degrees of publicness and different decision-making levels within these client organizations, the transcripts were grouped into public and semi-public and then analyzed in among the groups. The Excel sheet with the outcomes of the value cards was used to validate the outcome of the analysis of the data reports, because some values might be discussed more extensively, suggesting a greater importance and imposing certain ideas or thoughts. Furthermore, data reports were read by the second author, as well as the data structure during its development, and interpretations were compared and discussed with all authors for further validation.

FIG. 2.1 Data Structure

Column 1 (left boxes) → Column 2 (categories) → Column 3 (themes):

- Giving meaning to specific procedural values in different parts of the commissioning role → Procedural values
- Giving meaning to specific performance values in different parts of the commissioning role → Performance values
- Giving meaning to specific product values in different parts of the commissioning role → Product values
- Specification of added values in different parts of the commissioning role
- Understanding of different ways of categorization → Additional (types of) values

→ Operationalization public values

- Contextualization of procedural values
- Growing interest in product type of values
- Understanding of interest in specific values in the client-contractor role → Value interest in different commissioning tasks
- 'Maturity' of (hierarchical) safeguarding mechanisms of procedural values
- Awareness of need for 'creating room' to achieve product type of values
- Counteracting nature of safeguarding different types of values → Safeguarding mechanisms

→ Value interests and safeguarding of values

- Degree of distrust between client and contractor due to integrity issues
- Traditional, risk-averse and future-oriented cultures
- Transitions in structure, process, attitude and behaviour → Reorganization: stages of organizational development
- Publicness relates to (feeling) responsible to walk ahead in the public sector reform
- Influence of sense of responsibility on outsourcing
- Influence of sub-sectors seems to be limited → Type/character of organization
- View on the position of the public client in the client-contractor relationship influences the use of different types of contracts
- Degree of integrality relates to the need of specification in earlier stages
- Different accents on values are placed depending on the (short or long) term of contracts → Position of client

→ Internal factors of influence

- Accountability: audits lead to shifting attention for an indefinite time being
- 4-Year election period leads to focus on current challenges
- European politics demarcate value management → Politics and administrative system
- European procurement law restricts the interaction with market parties in the early phases
- Dutch policy documents and their embedded values: 'The Energy Agreement', 'The Building Agenda', 'Innovation Map', 'Environmental Law', 'Future Agenda' → Construction laws and regulations
- Parlementary inquiry created distance between the public and the private
- Financial crisis led to a stronger focus on efficiency
- Increasing competitive position of market parties in the last years results in attention to being an attractive and predictable client
- Today's complex tasks ask for involvement of the market as their expertise is needed; contract forms need to enable early involvement
- ICT is changing the design and building process, e.g. BIM
- Industry initiatives such as the 'Market Vision' shift focus to commonality → The building sector

→ External factors of influence

- An increasingly collaborative process asks for other competences; soft skills increasingly important
- In discussing the value of collaboration 'being reliable' is the overarching theme → Roles now and in the future
- Integrated contract models ask for dialogue about the responsibility division between client and contractor
- Taking responsibility is expected of contractors, needed for a client to enter in integrated long-term contracts → Resonsibilities now and in the future

→ Roles and responsibilities client-contractor relationship

- Dilemmas between value types: lawfullness vs. collaboration, renewal vs publicness, soft vs. hard values → Conflicting values
- Dilemmas related to characteristics of the public and the construction sector: reponsibility vs. equality, transparency vs. collaboration, continuity vs. incidents
- Considerations in the context of accountability and responsibility to different stakeholder groups
- Steering through operational level: leadership, interventions, examplary role → Trade-off / intervention
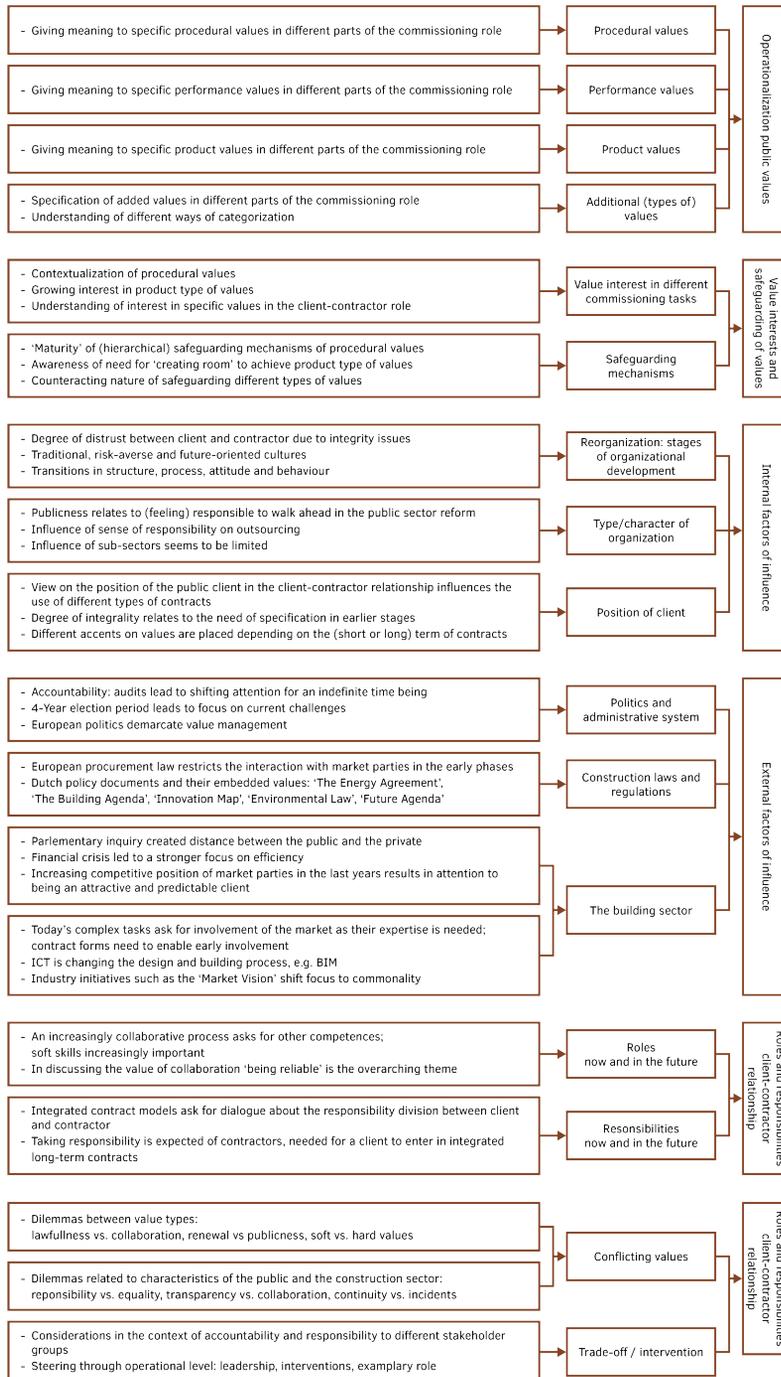
→ Roles and responsibilities client-contractor relationship

2.4 Findings

2.4.1 Public value interests of public construction clients

In relation to the question, which public values play a role in collaborative practices between public clients and contractors in construction (RQ1), we found a general agreement on the importance of a set of procedural values strongly related to the lawfulness and responsibilities of public client bodies represented in the values of integrity, transparency and reliability (see Table 2.3). Semi-public clients seem to lay the most emphasis on lawfulness compared to other types of organizations. In general, there appears to be a strong awareness of the public task in officials of all types of public organizations.

Intrinsically, people working at governmental bodies feel that they are there to serve the general interest, not the interest of the organization. (19: CPO, CG)

I just have to retain integrity. That is part of the public value I represent. A government official should always keep this in mind. (11: CPO, CG)

Whereas the figures in Table 2.3 suggest that there is no further consensus on values of significance in the client–contractor relationship, many of the values were actually clustered by the respondents. For example, the values honesty, accountability, integrity, lawfulness and transparency are seen as inextricably connected.

Reliability, but I think this also includes honesty, lawfulness, integrity and safety – I take a wider view. (13: CPO, GbL)

Results also show that in the current collaborative practices of public service delivery, the procedural values of integrity, lawfulness, reliability and equality are increasingly considered as contextual, whereas the purpose of steering becomes directed at other values, such as innovation, sustainability and quality. Remarkably, the value of quality is ranked relatively high by public organizations as opposed to organizations governed by law and semi-public organizations.

If you're talking about how we do things, I think that it could be a bit more innovative […] Transparency, and I should say integrity, even though I think this is less important, remains an important theme. (1: DD, GbL)

Nonetheless, these product-related values are under pressure. If the public character is leading in a certain situation, it becomes clear that "the system" is inflexible, whereas "space" is needed to pursue these productrelated values. The desire to shift the focus towards these product values originates from the aim to improve public service delivery. According to the respondents, in addition to performing the legal task as a contracting authority, added value may be achieved by pursuing values such as innovation, effectiveness and sustainability.

Those are not the values that drive me the most, meaning that they do not add a lot of value at this moment, but we should monitor them – lawfulness, transparency and integrity, however that is of course not where our greatest added value is. The supply market is much broader. Then you also come across other things, such as innovation, effectiveness and sustainability. (2: CPO, SP)

The basic project values of time, money and quality still have a significant influence on the way public clients act. As they work with taxpayers' money and need to account to society, these values are an important tool in quality assurance. Adding values such as innovation and sustainability can owadays only be achieved through these basics.

Money is very much a driving force. That affects the functionality, which influences innovation, which affects quality. (5: AM, GbL).

To pursue other values requires room to manoeuvre. According to the majority of the respondents, the room can be created to achieve these additional product values only if other procedural values correlating with the public character of the clients and other quality assurance measures are well arranged.

TABLE 2.3 Top 5 public value interests according to degree of publicness

Public	Governed by law	Semi-public
Of greatest interest		
Collaboration	Collaboration	Collaboration
Reliability	Reliability	Transparency
Quality	Integrity	Reliability
Integrity	Transparency	Integrity
Transparency	Quality	Lawfulness
Preferably safeguarded		
Collaboration	Integrity	Collaboration
Responsible	Collaboration	Lawfulness
Integrity	Transparency	Transparency
Reliability	Quality	Quality
Transparency	Reliability	Responsible
Quality		
Most likely to be traded off		
Innovation	Innovation	Innovation
Ecological sustainability	Ecological sustainability	Ecological sustainability
Collaboration	Collaboration	Participation
Equality	Equality	Beauty
Beauty	Beauty	
	Participation	

2.4.2 Being a reliable public client

When discussing the commissioning role and the values that play a role within the client–contractor relationship, the value of collaboration was put forward as an increasingly important value. In discussing the value of collaboration, "being reliable" was the overarching theme. Two lines of reasoning can be recognized in this context (these lines are also summarized in Table 2.4).

First, being a reliable partner in the client–contractor relationship. Public clients are increasingly concerned with their approachability: they seek connections rather than contradictions in order to build an equal, sustainable relationship on the basis of common values. Respondents said that they feel like they should be more predictable for the supply market and they often mentioned changing their perspective from the short term to the long term and the need to think ahead and clarify values beforehand. An interplay between the processes of the public organization itself and the

development of the supply market plays a role in this. The client needs to find ways to challenge the future contractor to take a proactive approach while still performing as a reliable business partner. Approaching contractors then becomes oriented towards future tasks and what the supply market can offer. Therefore, the respondents reported reaching out to the supply market earlier to discuss the latest developments and possible solution spaces. They, for example, organize consultations, are involved with different collaborative initiatives and organize meetings with SMEs in order to inform their future suppliers about possible collaborations.

Second, they referred to being reliable as a public body, meaning that, in the implementation of policy, the point of departure is clear and transparently communicated. In addition, integrity is perceived by the respondents as an essential entity for a reliable public body. This concerns the way private parties are treated. Fair treatment is considered a precondition, after which other organizational values may be pursued.

TABLE 2.4 Values related to being a reliable public client, with examples of explanatory quotations

	Value effect	Explanatory quotation
Reliable partner	Predictability	*"Reliability to me is also about: what am I going to ask the supply market in the coming years, and am I predictable?" (13: CPO, GbL)*
	Commonality	*"Simply by agreeing and sharing common developments, both public and private, in a client-contractor relationship or in relationships to discuss general industry development, we increase the contact with the supply market." (10: GM, CG)*
Reliable public body	Transparency	*"So with the execution of the procurement policy, and the fact that we are reliable in what we advise. And not be prejudiced towards a supplier or a private party. That we are always honest, transparent and reliable." (44: CPO, GbL)*
	Integrity	*"Yes, I think we should have a procurement policy that is always integral, that is never biased whatsoever, but considerate and correct towards the supply market. Meaning that the supply market is also treated fairly, that the interests of our own organization are not always prioritised. Of course these are prioritised in the end, but the prerequisite is the considerate and correct treatment of the supply market." (24: CPO, GbL)*

2.4.3 Factors influencing the steering of public value interests

Looking into the considerations made in steering on the different public values or types thereof, the context appears to influence the position of the values. The respondents understand context in its broadest sense and discussed the context of the construction industry, the project context and the administrative context in which they operate.

We also have to deal with an administrative context. This sometimes makes it difficult to really implement this, because there is always an alderman or mayor who says something that is contradictory to, at least in the eyes of the employees, the broad view. Integrality and quality first, be guided by the environment. (9: AM, CG)

An analysis of answers to the question what contextual factors influence construction client's value interests in collaborative practices of public service delivery in construction (RQ2) reveals the importance of both internal and external factors, as discussed in the following sections.

2.4.3.1   Internal factors of influence

Based on explanations of the significance of the values given by respondents, we found three overarching internal factors that influence the value interests of public construction clients: (1) the developments of the organization; (2) the public character of the organization and (3) the view on the position in the client–contractor relationship.

First, the stages through which the organization has gone or is going through. For example, the centrality of the value integrity is explained by the integrity issues that some of the studied organizations had been confronted with in the past. These issues created a lot of distrust between client and contractor. Although the issues had generally been solved and additional measures were taken, which led to integrity now being called *"a no-brainer"* (5: AM, GbL), respondents also stated that they cannot yet afford to pay no attention to this value. Nevertheless, the culture of the organization seems to influence the degree of expression of this value; traditional, risk-averse and future oriented cultures are mentioned in this respect. Some organizations had experienced a reorganization or were currently reinventing their role in the client–contractor relationship, which seems to influence the way values are regarded. Transitions in the organization were referred to both at the level of the structure and processes and in the desired attitude and behaviour of employees. Furthermore, the respondents said they recognize the influence of specific persons on certain positions on the values that get pursued by an organization.

Second, the sense of responsibility of public construction clients influences the tasks they put on the market and thereby the values strived for in public service delivery together with private parties. Public parties are generally put under a microscope; much is expected of them. Despite recent fraud incidents and innovative pilots that failed, public construction clients still feel that they should lead the way and

play an important role in the construction sector reform and the changes needed to deal with the increasingly complex tasks. This sometimes means that they have to make themselves vulnerable while they are held accountable and closely monitored. Choices need to be made about handing over certain values to private parties, as public parties take on an explanatory role in the desired public–private collaborative culture.

Third, the view on the position in the client–contractor relationship influences the type of contracts that are used to achieve certain public values. Respondents increasingly see the opportunity to achieve other types of values by offering tasks integrally, which makes it necessary for clients to specify requirements beforehand. Respondents reported being concerned with different emphases on values in long-term integrated contracts compared to short-term more traditional contracts. Concerns about the dynamics of the system and the associated changing interests were mentioned. The newly required collaborative structures also change the nature of the relationship between client and contractor. There is a need for more trust, which is something hard to capture in a contract. Respondents indicated that it has become important to focus on a level playing field and an open, honest and transparent relationship with the supply market. Table 2.5 presents an overview of these findings.

TABLE 2.5 Influence on values of internal factors, with examples of explanatory quotations

	Value effect	Explanatory quotation
Stages of organization		
Culture	Degree of integrity	*"So I have a rather integer, rather strict procurement office. That plays an important role here." (28: GM, GbL)*
Value perspective	Abstraction level of values	*"So we are changing into a directing organization, from an organization that prescribed everything and only hired a labour force, towards a directing organization that also makes requests at a somewhat higher level of abstraction." (5: AM, GbL)*
Personal aspects	Personal values	*"That is very dependent of the tone of the management. The values that are considered important there." (17: AM, GbL)*
Public character		
Sense of responsibility	Progressive (innovation, sustainability)	*"We want to use the wider knowledge more, and this also means that we sometimes have to be more vulnerable and open up to what the supply market is offering and not always immediately assume that they mainly want to make money out of it." (9: AM, CG)*
Position of client		
Accents on values	Degree of value specification	*"The more complex you make a contract, the more you need to think upfront about what you are actually asking. If you do not ask that question correctly, then you do not get what you would have wanted. So, it is no guarantee that the larger contracts will also be profitable in that way, but we do try of course." (5: AM, GbL)*

External factors of influence

The external factors of influence that we found relating to the sector, the system and the industry: (1) construction sector-related laws and policies; (2) developments within the construction supply market; (3) the administrative system (politics and accountability) and (4) societal challenges.

First, there are some laws that influence public service delivery in the construction sector. The procurement principles of transparency, objectivity and non-discrimination (equality) are the most constant factors that restrict the interaction with private parties in the early phases of a project. In addition to these values, respondents identified a growing interest in sustainability in aiming for circularity. In this respect they named certain Dutch policy documents: "The Energy Agreement" to decrease CO_2 emissions, "the Building Agenda" and the accompanying "Innovation Map" to speed up the construction production of houses and performance of the industry. In particular, the upcoming new Dutch Environmental Law was often mentioned by the respondents in relation to the changingroles and responsibilities in the client–contractor relationship, both for the client and the contractor.

Second, over the years there have been some developments within the construction industry that have affected the client–contractor relationship, especially regarding mutual expectations. The financial crisis has enforced a stronger focus on efficiency on the part of both the client and the contractor. With the financial setbacks there was an increasing need for smarter, cheaper and faster public service delivery, for which innovative solutions are needed. Additionally, the Dutch construction sector recently experienced severe cases of construction fraud in the public sector.

A subsequent parliamentary inquiry initially created distance between the public and the private parties by paying meticulous attention to compliancy principles. Respondents now notice the increased attention to building "healthy" relationships with private parties by yet again entering into dialogue, in order to restore reliability, also because economic recovery ensures that private parties regain a stronger position. Public clients are therefore forced to actively work on being "attractive" clients, and pay extra attention to their predictability to ensure that private parties have sufficient opportunity to prepare for possible future tasks.

What we see happening now, is that the supply market is picking up again, that it is going to be hard to attract the interest of private parties. (26: CPO, SP).

The awareness of the importance of building stronger client–contractor ties has led to the emergence of various initiatives to contribute to this aim. Of these initiatives, the "Market Vision" was most often mentioned. This vision focusses on shared motivation to work on innovation, collaboration and the sustainability challenge and includes several leading principles on how to act on critical aspects in construction projects such as procurement and risk allocation. Third, the administrative system in which public construction clients operate, for example politics and accountability structures, restrict and can change value perspectives. A public body is confronted with a comprehensive accountability structure and different types of stakeholders are involved representing different interests. Respondents explained that whenever they get a visit from the audit office, they are asked to account for decisions regarding certain values, and because of this the focus of the organization can shift towards a certain value for an indefinite period of time. When something goes wrong, for example the balconies of one of the residential buildings of a housing association collapse, parliamentary questions are immediately asked and the indefinite value shift can spread throughout the sector. Additionally, one of the main influences is the four-yearly election in the Netherlands and the challenges that public actors are confronted with during their reign. This also makes it harder to think in longer terms because political mandates are always leading.

And finally, today's societal challenges add complexity and make it increasingly important to be flexible and manoeuvrable as a public client to react sufficiently and take advantage of ongoing developments.

Whatever you see, manoeuvrability. Developments are rapid, and how can we cope sufficiently with this? That one is also very important. (22: CPO, CG).

The complexity of the societal challenges increases the dependence of clients on private parties. Integrality can be a tool with which to work together on achieving the required levels of sustainability and innovation. Within the Dutch construction industry, tasks nowadays are put on the market differently. The respondents reported that they increasingly cluster tasks (e.g. design, construct and maintain), moving away from the standardized separate agreements towards performance-based contracts. Responsibilities are then divided in a different way and the respondents indicated that they are still learning how to actually leave more to private parties. Performance-based contracts leave more room for contractors to be proactive and apply their expertise, but they require a different kind of commissioning process. Furthermore, the respondents indicated that the need to work with these types of contracts is strongly related to the increased complexity of the commissioning tasks, such as population growth and the growth of cities, suggesting the need to pay more attention to a value such as sustainability. All respondents said they were aware that

the way we used to build is no longer sufficient and that these changing tasks need to be aligned with sufficient ways of commissioning in which dialogue is needed and therefore a more open client–contractor relationship is pursued. These findings are summarized in Table 2.6.

TABLE 2.6 Influence on values of external factors, with examples of explanatory quotations

	Value effect	Explanatory quotation
Construction related laws and policies		
European Procurement Law	Transparency, equality	*"In the case of European tendering, non-discrimination, transparency and objectivity are the first things that come to mind." (15: CPO, CG)*
Dutch policy documents	Innovation, sustainability	*"We are getting a new environmental law, and that also means another role for the government. We also need to anticipate that." (5: CPO, CG)*
Developments within the construction supply market		
Financial crisis	Reliability, attractive	*"One of the things now, now that the crisis is over, is that you try to carefully serve the supply market." (25: DD, CG)*
Parliamentary inquiry	Indefinite value	*"If we get a note from the accounting office that we do not score well on this area, the focus will be more on it." (11: CPO, CG)*
Industry initiatives	Process innovation; collaboration	*"When I look at the 'market vision' and the like, then it is those three: innovation, collaboration and the sustainability challenge. To me, those are issues that should become an integral part of the collaboration with the supply market." (6: DD, CG)*
Administrative system		
Audits	Limits long-term values	*"You can see that we are influenced from the outside, what is coming towards us, and by outside I also mean what is required of us. That also translates into our contracts." (3: DD, CG)*
Four-yearly election	'Current' values	*"Our focus on the future is partly driven by the administrative system. Yes, a council in a municipality is only active for four years, and only looks ahead four years, and within this frame things should also happen" (19: CPO, CG)*
Societal challenges		
Complex tasks	Integrality	*"This integrality will become increasingly important and complex. You cannot act as a single organization; you are part of a chain. And that will only increase." (39: GM, GbL)*
New contract forms	Expertise	*"We now say to the contractor: 'These are the functional requirements. You just have to maintain it or improve where we indicate it needs to be improved. How you will make that happen does not really matter because we mainly state functional requirements regarding the use of a road'." (8: AM, CG)*

Challenges in managing significant public values

In this section, we look more closely at the public value-related challenges construction clients face in the collaborative practices of public service delivery in construction, answering the last research question (RQ3). Respondents did not often mention the word conflict in relation to seemingly opposing values. Instead, they talked about difficulties, dilemmas and tensions. Based on respondents' perspectives on possible opposing values that complicate their commissioning tasks, we found six thematic dilemmas, three relating to the challenge of balancing different types of public values and three relating to the nature of being a public construction client. Table 2.7 presents an overview of these dilemmas.

2.4.4.1 ## Dilemmas in balancing different types of values

A first, important dilemma concerns the legitimisation of the commissioning role versus collaboration on the basis of trust. This dilemma arises from the need to collaborate more in order to be able to run today's complex construction projects in combination with the lawfulness that public organizations should meet. In order to collaborate, such values as trust, collegiality, honesty, transparency and understanding each other's interests were mentioned. Good collaboration takes time because relationships need to be built. However, one cannot build on earlier collaborations because of the law prescribing new procurements in order to meet equity and non-discrimination.

You cannot guarantee that you will be able to continue to collaborate with the partners that you chose in a previous tender. (5: AM, GbL).

The legalization of commissioning competes with the desire to collaborate on the basis of trust. In addition, the contractual relationship between client and contractor is still more common than other soft relational initiatives.

Second, the need for renewal versus the inflexibility of the public sector. Respondents are aware of the need for innovation to resolve today's societal challenges. However, they struggle to embed thinking and acting on renewal within their formal organizations. The decision to "innovate" is sporadically made. These processes are, however, often given an experimental status. Discussing which values are most likely to be traded off in the context of shaping the collaboration with contractors, it was noticeable that there is consensus on the substantive value innovation (Table 2.3).

In order to explain this, the conflict with efficiency and effectiveness was mentioned, whereas for innovation it is not possible to account for and explain choices beforehand, because the outcome is unknown.

And last, dilemmas between "soft" and "hard" values. If there is a tension field, respondents argued that soft values suffer when the pressure increases. The values of the iron triangle are still of great importance in the construction industry. Respondents also reported that when shaping a collaboration, honesty is one of the "old-fashioned" procedural values that provides a boundary.

Position the task that we are focusing on centrally, create good conditions that are fair. (13: CPO, GbL)

The "hard" obligations will always remain of importance in the administrative and political context of public clients. The respondents admitted that when the pressure rises, they easily revert to old patterns and return to being the principal client. In addition, they said that it appears that the supply market is not yet ready to deal with broad, unclear tasks corresponding with pursuing more "soft values", so they remain quite directive.

2.4.4.2   Dilemmas in being a public construction client

Regarding dilemmas related to being a public construction client, we can distinguish between three dilemmas, related to the different characteristics of this specific type of client.

First, the public character implies the dilemmas of public responsibility and ownership versus striving for equality in collaboration. Looking at the expression of this reliability in the different perspectives, results show the need for a certain distance in the perspective reflecting the interaction between the director and the contractor, whereas in the perspective reflecting the closer collaboration between the project manager and the contractor, "showing ownership" is pushed forward. According to the public directors, an inequality seems to exist within the client–contractor relationship, as the client is the "bigger" commissioning body. In addition, public bodies are always concerned with the question of what is fair to hand over to the private parties. Respondents discussed the importance of not placing risks in the hands of private parties that they cannot control or manage, as the ownership of and responsibility for risks lies with the public client.

Second, being transparent is one of the legal obligations when it comes to public procurement. However, the question remains: "How open can you be?" Transparency is strived for on a daily basis to be able to collaborate in an efficient way. In this context, it is explained from the perspective of the procurement law, as being transparent to the contractor. However, one can think of many reasons to not be transparent. Transparency is under pressure from various directions, especially when it comes to its reciprocity in the client–contractor relationship. In order to collaborate well on complex tasks, a lot of knowledge needs to be shared, and this may disadvantage the competitive position of private parties, particularly if you take into consideration that a good collaboration does not guarantee a subsequent task. In addition, the presence of control authorities in the public domain and the need to be able to explain every decision that comes with these accountability structures makes the exchanges needed in collaboration a special point of attention.

The third dilemma arises from being a client in the project-based construction industry and concerns the dilemma between continuity and incident management. As public service delivery in the construction industry is to a large extent project based, conflicts always exist between the long-term goals of the parent organization and the short-term goals of the project. Quick problem solving within projects – responding to the moment – often competes with integrality contributing to the continuity of the organizational visions. In addition, the collaborative character of today's public service delivery introduces another continuity issue, namely the different interest of the public and the private party, and thus the source of their organizational existence (continuity). Whereas public clients have an interest in the continuity of services, private parties have an interest in making a profit.

TABLE 2.7 Value conflicts, with examples of explanatory quotations

Value conflict	Explanatory quotation
Dilemmas in balancing different types of values	
Lawfulness vs. collaboration	*"And yes, it should also be focused on collaboration. That is, in my opinion, the central point. Of course we want to collaborate, but we have to act as open public clients that have to deal with tenders." (32: AM, CG)*
Renewal vs. publicness	*"And related to, that you want to innovate and that you want to experiment, as opposed to the so to say solidity, the side of offering quality, the side of not doing crazy things with the risk of much failure costs, that make the customer dissatisfied. I'm looking for the space to innovate, to enter into new forms of cooperation. That involves a bit of risk management." (4: AM, SP)*
Soft vs. hard values	*"If things get complicated, then we always revert back to our old role, that of the directive client, so that puts the collaboration under pressure." (9: AM, CG)*
Dilemmas in being a public construction client	
Responsibility vs. equality	*"I always try to strive for equality, but I never really succeed. You always notice, whether it is a small or a large party, that there is always a sort of artificiality in a relationship. Because you are the client and you always have something to ask for, so it is not equal up front." (35: AM, GbL)*
Transparency vs. collaboration	*"If you are forced to put things on the market in a very open manner every few years, then the collaboration can come under pressure. That is a real challenge to us. There are disciplines in which you need a lot of expertise. Then it can be quite challenging if you have to deal with a new team every three years. That is something that we really struggle with." (5: AM, GbL)*
Continuity vs. incidents	*"If problems occur within projects, then you solve these problems within the project. The project members do not think: what are the consequences of this for other projects?" (22: CPO, CG)*

2.5 Conclusions and discussion

The purpose of this study was to better understand the meaning and significance of different public values and types thereof in the daily practice of public construction clients. We also looked at the challenges that public administrators in client organizations face in approaching seemingly opposing public values in the interdependent context of public service delivery in the project-based construction industry. We identified two major points of discussion that challenge public client organization in safeguarding the public values for which they are held accountable by society, namely (1) the value shift and value trade-offs and (2) boundaries of the system in relation to change. These two areas also open up interesting avenues for further research in the field of construction management.

Value shift and value trade-offs

Our study contributes to public value theory and the sector-specific value debate by providing insight into the dynamics of the value interests of public construction clients. In contrast to most literature on good governance, we found that all three types of procedural, performance and product values have a role in commissioning public services in the built environment. We identified an ongoing shift in focus from procedural values related to lawfulness and the performance values of effectiveness and efficiency, towards product values of innovation, sustainability and quality of services. This shift can be understood as a response to the ongoing post-NPM governance reform which is recognized internationally (de Graaf et al., 2014). Considering that respondents made less use of the opportunity to "add" values on the value cards, it can be concluded that the combined list of 25 values in our public value framework for construction clients reflects the common value pallet of Dutch client organizations. Nevertheless, the value pallet in other segments of the industry might differ (van der Wal, 2008), a matter that can be explored in further research.

Three internal factors – stages of organization, public character and the position of the client – and four external factors – construction-related law and policies, developments within the construction supply market, administrative system and societal challenges – appeared to influence the public value interests of public construction clients. This underlines the theoretical understanding on value interests departing from the internal public character and the context in which these organizations operate. The findings also extend on the understanding of the professional development of the actors in the construction supply market, as well as the administrative system and the impact of its control mechanisms as currently applied in the industry because these factors of influence sometimes require contradictory measures in practice. In building the desired open, transparent, sustainable client–contractor relationship, emphasis is for example being placed on acting as a reliable partner aiming for predictability and commonality and being a reliable public entity aiming for transparency and integrity. The interdependences that are typical of the collaborative project-based construction sector imply that decision making mainly results from interaction and that no party is solely able to impose its views on others (de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006; Lundin et al., 2015). The current client–contractor relation has, unfortunately, not adopted too many characteristics of this type of interaction yet.

The dynamic value pallet of public construction clients influences the challenges they face in creating public values through public service delivery and the way they approach the safeguarding of different kinds of public values. Although professionals in client organizations seem to be aware of the shift in values required to improve

public service delivery, the shift is not yet fully embedded in the sector. In line with the identified pluralistic character of public values (de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014), clients sometimes struggle with judging conflicting values in public–private collaboration. Classifying which values to pursue, at what moment and with what type of service delivery proves to be a complicated multilevel challenge. We noticed that many values were clustered in order to avoid acknowledging potential conflicts, leading to a discussion of overarching themes in public commissioning rather than of values alone. However, for some values, such as "reliability", there seemed to be less doubt and no real trade-offs were needed. This reliability value is actively pushed forward, both in interaction with the supply market and within the public management of the organization. Further research could look more closely into this alignment of the role and responsibilities and the flexibility of the relationships to deal with the identified dependence on private suppliers and the restrictions that accompany administrative and political obligations.

2.5.2 Boundaries of the system in relation to change

In an effort to produce better public services, public organizations are challenged to align their organization with their changing role in public service delivery (Boyne, 2003). In this context, the public clients involved in this study actively look for innovative ways to approach procurement and partnerships. Clients and contractors are encouraged to transgress the conflicting interests that lie at the heart of their exchange relationship by appealing to common interests centred on specific project goals and/or more strategic long term relationships. However, this presumes a level of mutual interest that is arguably unrealistic in many contracting situations (Bresnen & Marshall, 2000). We saw that although procedural obligations are formally well arranged for in today's public construction client organizations, and despite that procedural values are being explicitly contextualized in the commissioning tasks, clients easily revert to old patterns and behaviour. This is particularly reflected in the dilemma of responsibility versus equality, in which the client emphasizes the accountability of public bodies, which deserves more research in the future.

We noticed that the construction industry in general, and common contractual governance mechanisms in particular, lack the flexibility to actually act upon the anticipated changes in value needs and safeguard "new" product-related values. Clients are generally aware that they need to secure room in projects to be able to manage specific public product-related values during the process and not to restrict themselves beforehand. Being aware that in decision making clients can maintain the

system, and thereby counteract the safeguarding of certain values, is crucial. Several formal safeguarding mechanisms for procedural values are already implemented, such as an integrity commission, a complaints procedure, an escalation ladder and a tender board. Hence, clients have no tools, except stimulation or dedicated managerial actions, to actively implement new values in order to adjust their value pallet (Meynhardt, 2009; Talbot, 2008). This is in line with Bryson et al. (2014) who also indicate that the renewed emphasis on public values advocates more contingent, pragmatic kinds of rationality, going beyond the formal rationalities. This provides a fruitful avenue for further research.

In addition, the complexity of today's societal challenges increases the importance of collaborating even more and makes it important to be flexible and manoeuvrable as a public client. The administrative system in which public construction clients operate, however, introduces many restrictions on and demarcations of value management activities in commissioning public services. In line with Farrell's (2016) positioning of the value proposition between the supply and the demand in Moore's (1995) public value chain, clients stressed the importance of common values when delivering public values in construction. This implies that one might start a collaboration by making one's values specific, which is important not only for the own organization but also for being a reliable partner for one's suppliers. From there one can create a common value frame (Love, Davis, Edwards, & Baccarini, 2008). In this context, research from the perspective of private clients and suppliers would add to the understanding of commonalities. In contrast to public value theory, which focuses on the formal arrangement of the value proposition (Meynhardt, 2009), our findings show the importance of relational aspects. This implies that softer mechanisms may be more appropriate because these are specifically focussed on understanding each other's interest and forming a shared goal. Addressing each other on certain issues, telling stories, actively informing each other, holding working visits, walking together and "looking into each other's kitchen" were mentioned as important mechanisms to safeguard the management of public values.

In the public value thinking paradigm, the importance of combining logics to solve conflicting values is recognized (Benington, 2011; Coule & Patmore, 2013; Smets et al., 2014). This management paradigm, however, proves hard to accomplish. Based on our study, we understand that public construction clients struggle to find a new balance between procedural values related to their legal obligations and the increasingly important product values related to the new tasks as an increasingly facilitating client organization. When public actors do not treat values as commensurable, they find themselves in a value conflict, as also shown in the six main public value dilemmas of seemingly opposing values that were found. Due to the plethora of stakeholders in different public environments – political, juridical,

administrative and social – there might be overlapping accountability relationships within various negotiated environments. This also implies the importance of extending research to the operational level. So, the question might be one not of safeguarding public values, but one of safeguarding public responsibility in a network of safeguarding mechanisms where decision-making results from interaction, consultation and negotiation with different stakeholder groups, starting with a wider view on public values.

3 Doing it right or doing the right thing?

Internal hybridity and value tensions in implementing New Public Governance in municipal organizations

ABSTRACT   The implementation of New Public Governance (NPG) as a mode of governance has added new principles and governance mechanisms that supplement those associated with Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. This leads to a complex policy arena, in which various mechanisms, values and goals must be accommodated. Moreover, inside the public organizations where these governance modes are implemented, practical value dilemmas emerge when the traditional administrative value systems designed to safeguard public accountability are confronted with new public governance value systems that aim to add value for society. By conducting two multi-level case studies, based on observations, interviews and document analysis, in two large Dutch municipalities, we analyze the internal hybridity and value tensions engendered by the implementation of NPG. Through integrating a governance mechanisms-based approach with a value conflict approach, the paper contributes to the understanding of internal

hybridity and the implementation of NPG by identifying both vertical and horizontal implementation challenges.

3.1 Introduction

A more interactive, inter-organizational and indirect form of governance, that is commonly referred to as New Public Governance (NPG) has been unfolding over the last decade (Torfing & Triantafillou, 2013). NPG is considered to be the third dominant mode that public administration management has passed through, following Traditional Public Administration (TPA) in the late 19th century and New Public Management (NPM) in the late 1970s and 1980s (Osborne, 2010). While NPG has by no means replaced TPA and NPM, it has introduced a whole new set of principles and mechanisms of governance that supplement those that were already there (Torfing & Triantafillou, 2013). For example, NPG demands that public organizations change their attitude towards the market and society at large, inasmuch as they have to move away from their former role as service providers and instead see themselves as service brokers (Bovaird, 2007; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2005). The corresponding expansion of principles and mechanisms causes a more crowded, complex and contested policy arena where various mechanisms and alternative values and goals must be considered and accommodated (Keast et al., 2006). For example, while the public sector ethos was the main concern in TPA, just as efficiency and competitiveness was in NPM, under NPG values that extend beyond this, such as trust and reciprocity, are pursued, discussed and evaluated (Bryson et al., 2014; Rhodes, 2016). As a result, the current policy arena comprises elements of all three governance modes, thereby requiring public organizations to effectively isolate, select and mix and match elements from each of these three modes of governance into harmonious collective action (Keast et al., 2006). We know that value pluralism and conflicts occur from the implementation of NPG. However, extant theoretical perspectives primarily focus on the organizational network governance level when discussing hybrid governance, that is, the collaboration and conflicts that arise between organizations with different governance preferences.

However, it is inside public organizations that these governance modes are implemented, and where the mixing and matching takes place. Organizational actors thus encounter internal tensions when implementing NPG stemming from

the coexistence of these three modes of governance. While previous studies have also established that multiple logics can manifest themselves internally (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Mair et al., 2015), what we do not yet know is if and how multiple logics manifest themselves in the context of implementing NPG. This is due, in part, to a lack of level diversity. Indeed, public administration scholars have recently argued for more level diversity (Roberts, 2019), by, for example, considering how macro governance reforms are institutionalized and what this means for civil servants, by examining how internal structures of governance filter down through organizational hierarchies into executive agencies (Stafford & Stapleton, 2017), or by simply conducting more cross-level research in institutional theory (Battilana & Dorado, 2010). Most studies of NPG focus solely on field level actors, casting light on, for example, how field-level actors facilitate the replacement of one dominant logic with another (Reay & Hinings, 2009), or how the coexistence of multiple logics can be mutually beneficial at the level of organizational fields (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014; Mair et al., 2015). This means that we currently lack empirical evidence at the organizational level, particularly between different intra-organizational levels (Mair et al., 2015), and that, generally speaking, too little is known about how actors deal with internal hybridity due to the implementation of NPG (Bryson et al., 2014; Jensen et al., 2018; Kuipers et al., 2014; Lundin, 2007; Provan & Kenis, 2008). In this article, we aim to close this gap by bridging the intra-organizational levels of analysis. We do so by examining the implementation of NPG in municipal organizations and identifying the internal hybridity and value tensions that civil servants from distinct parts and levels of the organization encounter. We thereby answer the following research question: *How does the implementation of New Public Governance confront civil servants in municipal organizations with internal hybridity and value tensions?* To answer this question, two multi-level case studies were conducted. Through this study, we aim to contribute to extant understanding of the impact of implementing NPG within public organizations and the resulting manifestation of the internal hybridity and value tensions. In so doing, our study advances understanding on (the functioning of) hybrid organizations by addressing how vertical and horizontal organizational dimensions constitute challenges to implementation.

In this article, we first discuss the theoretical background of NPG, before proceeding to unpack the concept of internal hybridity and show how it can cause value tensions. Next, we explain the research method, the data used and the analytical framework that was used. Subsequently, we delineate the main results emerging out of the case studies. Conclusions and reflections on the outcomes of the analysis are then provided in the final part of our article.

3.2 Theoretical Background

Approaches to public management have a central logic as a means of mediating between organizations and society (Coule & Patmore, 2013, p. 981). Each of these logics influence what (kinds of) values are considered most important in governance. Traditional Public Administration (TPA) is dominated by community logics – e.g. delivering a public good – which are governed by procedural and bureaucratic values that indicate the quality of the process, such as integrity and associated values like transparency, equality, lawfulness, and honesty (Kuitert and Volker, 2016). New Public Management (NPM) is dominated by market logics that are governed by performance values – organizational – and business-oriented values – effectiveness and efficiency (Kuitert and Volker, 2016). In the third and more collaborative or joined-up mode of public management, which is commonly referred to as New Public Governance (NPG) market and community logics are ultimately combined for the express purpose of achieving added value (Casey, 2014; Coule & Patmore, 2013; de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014; Smets et al., 2014; van der Steen, Hajer, Scherpenisse, Van Gerwen, & Kruitwagen, 2014). Each distinct institutional logic provides a coherent set of organizing principles for a particular realm of social life (Besharov & Smith, 2014, p. 366). This leads to situations in which logics often overlap. In these instances, actors are forced to confront and draw upon multiple logics, both within and across social domains (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Friedland & Alford, 1991). The strength of mixing modes of governance and their constituent elements derives from the fact that strong aspects of one mode of governance can compensate for weaker aspects of other modes of governance. For example, a lack of transparency can be compensated for by collaborating with all actors. On the other hand, a central feature of hybridized modes of governance is that the institutional logics that they embody are not always compatible (Greenwood et al., 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013). The consequence of this is that a number of rivalrous public values have to be preserved simultaneously, or, alternatively, an instrument that may effectively safeguard one public value may well have a detrimental effect on another value of equal importance (de Ridder, 2010). For example, the value of collaboration can have a detrimental impact on the overall efficiency of a project.

"The role of and implications for organizational governance – the systems and processes by which organizations are directed, controlled and held accountable (Cornforth, 2003b) – have long escaped scholarly attention" (Mair et al., 2015, p. 714). In this article, following Fossestøl et al., (2015, p. 290), we approach hybridity in terms of "the ability of organizations to incorporate elements from contradictory institutional logics over time, and thus as the organizational processes through which

this incorporation is managed". In hybrid environments, actors must coordinate their activities and seek for interventions that integrate multiple objectives (Bressers and Lulofs., 2010; van Broekhoven, Boons, van Buuren, & Teisman., 2015). In the next section, we discuss extant literature on hybrid governance (external perspective) and internal hybridity and elucidate how they can result in value tensions.

3.2.1 Hybrid Governance

Most studies on multiplicity and/or plurality in modes of governance focus on the network level when discussing hybridized forms of governance, more specifically, the collaborations and conflicts that can arise between organizations characterized by different governance preferences. For example, Stafford and Stapleton (2017) examined the ineffective rendering of public accountability via the use of corporate governance mechanisms that aim to ensure financial accountability, in public-private partnerships. This also applies to studies on the implementation of modes of governance. More recently, these studies have focused their attention on the implementation of collaboration, based on the fact that many implementation issues are rooted in problems of cross-sector and inter-organizational forms of collaboration (Bryson et al., 2014; Jensen et al., 2018; Lundin, 2007). Keast et al. (2006, p. 12) argue that "a possible solution to the problems of a crowded policy domain relies on a better understanding of the operational models underlying the three governance modes". The different modes of governance reflect various models of public management, each of which have different values and ideologies that support government-third sector relations (McMullin, 2020). For each of these respective modes, there are specific structural arrangements, distinct integrating mechanisms to link actions to outcomes, as well as different desirable outcomes (Keast et al., 2006, p. 12).

Public value management literature provides a critical understanding of the challenges of efficiency, accountability and equity (Stoker, 2006). TPA and NPM have clear answers with respect to safeguarding these values. The question is whether the new mode of governance can develop similar answers. In both TPA and NPM, "a greater emphasis is placed on the procedural notions of the democratic process, rooted in formal elected officials, 'shifting the focus of administrators' actions to the creation of that value rather than the authorization stage" (Casey, 2014, p. 111). TPM has an administrative management focus, which is based on centralized and legitimate authority, rules, regulations, procedures and legislation, while NPM has a formal contractual focus based on legal and contractual arrangements, transactions and bargaining (Keast & Hampson, 2007). The increase in governance networks

is driven by the ongoing criticism of traditional forms of governance, based on hierarchies and markets, which are either too rigid or too reactive, respectively (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). However, networks often lack the accountability mechanisms that are available to the state (Keast et al., 2006). One of the reasons for this is that it can be difficult to understand and determine who is ultimately 'in charge', relying as it does on autonomous units operating in a context characterized by demand uncertainty and high interdependence in performing complex tasks (Jones, Hesterly, & Borgatti, 1997; Keast et al., 2006). In order to truly apply public value management in NPG, the role of the public client must change from being the legitimate (TPA) and performing (NPM) government towards a networking and participatory government (Kuitert et al., 2019b; van der Steen et al., 2014). Within this formulation, government acts as a facilitator, negotiator, and collaborator, who works in partnership with private, public, and non-profit sectors to come up with solutions to public problems (Coule & Patmore, 2013). In contradistinction to TPM, in which they act as controller, and NPM, where they act as the steering client, in NPG 'government agencies can be a convener, catalyst, and collaborator – sometimes steering, sometimes rowing, sometimes partnering, and sometimes staying out of the way' (Bryson et al., 2014, p. 448). Another issue highlighted in governance theories is that horizontal, hybridized, and networked elements are added to vertical ones (Hill & Lynn, 2004; Kettl, 2002). Network governance attempts to overcome these problems by using social mechanisms rather than through authority, bureaucratic rules, standardization, or legal recourse (Jones et al., 1997). In networks, the emphasis is on horizontal ancillary rather than, say, a vertical organizational principle in which superior-subordinate relationships exist (Keast et al., 2006). In other words, no one is in charge and leaders at various levels play key roles (Hartley, Parker, & Beashel, 2019; Stoker, 2006). In NPG, management is focused on building relationships grounded in interpersonal trust, mutuality and reciprocity (Keast & Hampson, 2007).

This raises the question of how this plays out inside municipal organizations, as well as whether similar social mechanisms are used to overcome problems. As aforementioned, scholars do acknowledge the importance of governance in settings of institutional plurality, but do so primarily by providing a macro 'organization as a whole' perspective. This says little about how logics are actually successfully incorporated within organizations, or how things are solved at an organizational level (Greenwood et al., 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013). Following Mair et al. (2015), we argue that it is vital to understand more about mixing governance modes at the micro level, in order to improve our understanding of how hybridized systems operate.

Internal hybridity

Kraatz and Block (2008, p2) argue that because the pluralistic organization is a composite of multiple institutional systems, its internal functioning is thus reflective of the contradictions between the larger systems themselves. The implementation of new ideas therefore is context-specific, and, as such, various management ideas have to be reinterpreted in order to be aligned with the individual circumstances of the organization. Hybrid organizations that incorporate incompatible logics often see coalitions emerge who represent each of these distinct logics (Pache & Santos, 2010). The resulting process of translation can lead to problems in implementation, insofar as new knowledge is reinterpreted and adjusted to fit diverse organizational conditions and contexts (Bresnen et al., 2004). These coalitions of multiple institutional logics are likely to cause internal tensions, inasmuch as they fight each other to let the one they prefer prevail, and because the members of the organizations are ultimately responsible for enacting the institutional logics, they invariably come into conflict with one another (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013). Safeguarding public values can be considered as a question of institutionally balancing the three basic modes of governance, for the purpose of creating an optimal mix of administrative justice, effective social security and efficient use of public means (de Ridder, 2010). It is therefore critically important that policy and decision-makers are cognizant of the difference between these modes, and select optimal mixes from their respective components to create the space needed for a more meaningful dialogue and interaction between the most beneficial elements (Keast et al., 2006, p3). However, despite their often-commendable intentions, governments continue to struggle to distance themselves from old rational-technical approaches (Brown & Head, 2019). One reason for this is that new approaches are at odds with established bureaucratic norms and practices (Brown & Head, 2019). While organizational level scholars have acknowledged the increased occurrence of multiple institutional logics – and the ensuing tensions – within organizations, this research – albeit with some exceptions which will be discussed below – offers little in the way of understanding about how hybridity occurs in practice.

Besharov and Smith's (2014) framework demonstrates that both the nature and extent of conflict depends, in part, on the type of logic multiplicity within different categories of organizations. They highlight two critical dimensions that delineate heterogeneity in organizations: compatibility – the extent to which the instantiations of multiple logics within an organization are suggestive of consistent organizational action – and centrality – the extent to which these logics manifest in core features that are central to organizational functioning (Besharov and Smith, 2014, p. 365). Through conducting survey-based research on social enterprises qua hybrid organizations, Mair et al. (2015) found two reasons for assuming

hybridity: first, for symbolic reasons – acting as conforming hybrids that prioritize dominant logics, whilst, simultaneously, complying with the basic requirements of other logics; secondly, for substantive reasons – acting as dissenting hybrids that perceive heterogenous logics as a resource rather than a restriction. Contributing to extant understanding of how hybrid organizations function by also studying social enterprises, Pache and Santos (2013) demonstrate how multiple logics influence the core mission and strategy of organizations. More specifically, their work shows how these hybrid organizations internally manage the logics they embody by manipulating the templates provided by the multiple logics in which they are embedded, in order to gain acceptance when they are lacking legitimacy (Pache & Santos, 2010). Finally, in their category study of the architect profession, Jones, Maoret, Massa and Svejenova (2012) found that although they were simultaneously serving multiple clients from distinct social sectors, architects also tended to serve a dominant logic, in which these additional logics took on a more peripheral role.

Despite their respective merits, these studies are limited to social enterprises and private organizations. As a result, while they undoubtedly shed light on logic multiplicity within organizations, they do not focus specifically on the implementation of NPG. Moreover, they are limited to discussing the inherent duality within logics, they do not discuss the existence of more than two logics. Besharov and Smith (2014) mention the importance of analyzing organizations that embody more than two logics simultaneously. Although these aforementioned studies indicate that two logics can indeed exist inside an organization, and that this can induce conflict, we still do not know if and how the implementation NPG in public organizations, which also contain elements of TPA and NPM, leads civil servants to be confronted with internal hybridity and value tensions.

3.3 Methods

In order to examine the implementation of NPG across the different levels – individual, group and organizational – of the public sector system, we conducted a multi-level case study in two large (> 500,000 and >600,000 inhabitants) municipalities in the Western region of the Netherlands (Yin Robert, 1994), which hereafter are referred to as municipality A and municipality B. The use of multi-level approaches has been recommended for studies into governance logics (Lynn Jr et al., 2000) and hybridization (Kurunmäki & Miller, 2006). As argued previously, we opted

to specifically focus on the multiple levels *within* an organization. In particular, we examined the parts of the organization that dealt with physical interventions, such as real estate, water resources and maintenance, such as roads and public greenery, in the city. These two municipalities were selected because they have a shared ambition to adopt new ways of working in order to increase participation.

3.3.1 Data gathering

To allow for source triangulation and to be able to draw a distinction between self-reported behavior, actual behavior and official documentation, different types of data were gathered for each case. Both formal and informal interviews, observations and documents were utilized as sources of information. With respect to municipality B, no observations were conducted for this study, however both the first and second author had already gathered data and knowledge about the functioning of the organization and people therein in an earlier study, which ensured that distinctions can be drawn for both studies between the self-reported and actual behavior of the civil servants in the implementation of NPG (Kuitert, Willems, Volker, Hermans, & van Marrewijk, 2018; Willems, van Marrewijk, Kuitert, Volker, & Hermans, 2020). The combination of interviews, observations and document analysis allowed for the assessment of how civil servants are confronted with hybridization and value tensions related to the implementation of NPG, both formally and informally at multiple levels within and across their organizations.

Concerning the interviews, the interviewees were selected via expert sampling, a form of purposive sampling that selects respondents known to have a certain level of expertise in the field (Hennink et al., 2020). For each organization, the principal goal was to interview civil servants who were involved with different clusters of values related to competing institutional logics. The specific value clusters were identified as part of a separate study into value interests and value conflicts (Kuitert et al., 2019). From each value cluster, interviewees were selected that fitted a specific job description, namely: the directors of the management and development departments, the general integrity coordinator, those that are responsible for policy and assessment of procurement, program managers or internal advisors for either innovation or sustainability, the person responsible for socially responsible procurement, the person responsible for finance and/or control, and for managing functions around the use of (new) forms of contracts. In both cases, a contact person with specific knowledge of the internal commissioning – which in both cases was a representative from the Dutch Construction Clients' Forum that represents a group of large and medium-sized public and semi-public clients in the Dutch

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construction industry – helped us to select and invite actors to take part in an interview. In total, 15 interviews were conducted, which lasted, on average, between 45 to 90 minutes. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews were semi-structured. Although an extensive topic list laid the foundation for the interviews, the interviewees were still given considerable leeway to elaborate or discuss topics that they deemed to be relevant. This topic list comprised questions related to four elements of the three modes of governance (TPM, NPM and NPG): governance systems, management approaches, motivations and adopted roles. Each topic was discussed in relation to multiple levels: the organization as a whole, the department/domain which the interviewee was part of, and the project. In order to effectively encompass all three levels, a template was used that contained three triangles, each of which represented one element (e.g. management approaches), with each corner of the triangle representing specific characteristics of an element of one of the modes of governance (e.g. administrative, contractual, relational). When discussing the interview topics in relation to each specific level, the interviewees were asked to place a sticker (with a different color representing each level) in the triangle that they deemed best captured the balance between the three elements for this specific level, and asked them to explain why they had positioned the sticker in that way. The differences in the placement of the stickers for each element, as well as between the different elements, and the possible tensions that these differences generated were subsequently discussed.

In addition to the interviews, documents were also gathered and analyzed. First, the documents that were cited in the interviews were collected, often with help of the interviewees themselves. Second, using a purposeful sampling technique, the internet was searched for documents using the different value clusters and distinct levels. We searched for documentation on the organizational structure, specifically searching for internal commissioning, mandate regulations and codes of conduct. Furthermore, we used the different values as search terms and then combined them with different organizational levels and departments, in order to gather a sample of policies, visions, laws and regulations, stakeholder groups, programs, portfolios and projects, and measurement tools, that were directly related to the value clusters.

During the four months of observations at the urban development department, and the two years of following a project that was seeking to implement a policy on participation (between June 2017 and October 2019,) around forty hours of observation data were gathered. This included data at both the organizational and project level. During the observation period, amongst other things, we observed tender pool board meetings, meetings on the client role, a project evaluation meeting, a meeting of a workgroup focused on innovation, and monthly gatherings of the project-private project team. Actors from various domains or departments

were involved in these meetings, which enabled thorough analysis of the application of (elements of) modes of governance across different organizational levels. Throughout the observation period, notes were taken to collect as much rich detail as possible about the observations and interpretations, which were then subsequently included in the final analysis.

3.3.2 Data analysis

Both the interview transcripts and templates with colored stickers were analyzed. Interview transcripts and observation notes were coded by the first author in Atlas. ti and validated by the second author. The coding allowed us to systematize the data and understand where internal hybridity led to implementation challenges. A back-and-forth coding process was used for the interview transcripts, in which codes were based on the topic list, but additional codes were also added during the coding process. For example, when it became obvious that certain actors were more likely to adopt elements of NPG, an additional code pertaining to the influence of roles on the embedding of NPG was created. Moreover, when it became clear that there was misalignment in elements of modes of governance, not only between levels, but also between sub-departments, this type of misalignment was subsequently added to the code list. The parts of the interviews that discussed specific documents were also given a separate code. The observation notes were also coded, albeit some in a less structured way, using free coding.

The positions of the colored stickers in the templates were translated into an Excel sheet. For each of the elements (e.g. governance system, management approach, motivations and roles), we analyzed which main governance mechanisms (TPM, NPM, NPG) were identified. We carried out this translation in two different ways; first, the triangles were cut into surfaces by dividing the sides into two parts. The placement of the stickers then determined whether an element belonged to a certain mode of governance (1) or not (0). If a sticker had been placed in the direction of one of the corners, away from the center, then it was considered as belonging to the mode of governance to which the characteristic in that corner belonged. Second, to gain insight into the various possible combinations of elements and the potential dominance of certain modes within these combinations, the sides were divided into three parts (1, 2 and 3, where 3 was the most dominant). Once again, depending on the direction, the sticker was then assigned to a specific mode of governance. Given that the division on this occasion was threefold (leading to seven surfaces), the 'degree of' belonging to a mode of governance was determined. Hence, the sticker could be interpreted as showing signs of more than one mode

of governance. This analysis allowed us to identify the manifestation of internal hybridity. For each interview, the (combinations) of modes of governance that were identified were subsequently filled out in a table (see Table 3.1). By clustering interviews based on the characteristics of the actors, we were able to subsequently compare these outcomes based on municipality, department, profession and other various combinations.

TABLE 3.1 Analytical dimensions

Elements	Levels		
	Organization as a whole	Domain/Department	Project
Governance system			
Management approaches			
Motivations/values			
Roles			

These analytical steps were important for understanding if and how civil servants were confronted with hybridization and value tensions stemming from the implementation of NPG.

3.4 **Findings**

Based on two case studies of Dutch municipal organizations, we found that the implementation of NPG in municipal organizations resulted in a heterogeneous picture of different modes of governance within the two organizations and varying translations of the accompanying value systems in the respective elements of modes of governance, in terms of governance systems, management approaches, motivations and roles of municipal civil servants. Specifically, civil servants were shown to be confronted with internal hybridity, both vertically between different (scale) levels of their organization and horizontally between different domains and departments within their organization. In the following sections, we first discuss the vertical implementation challenges caused by the implementation of NPG, proceeded by a discussion of the horizontal implementation challenges.

3.4.1   **Vertical NPG implementation challenges**

From a vertical governance perspective, we identified internal hybridity and found that a dilemma between formalization and flexibilization, as well as a misalignment in top-down and bottom-up governance and between the organization as a whole and parts of the organization, were the primary cause of implementation challenges.

3.4.1.1   Formalization vs. flexibility

NPG requires various actors to view the entire process and discuss how a certain outcome can be best achieved. We found that parts of the TPM and NPM value systems hindered this new approach. TPM and NPM values systems are driven by 'delivering something within time or budget', rather than engaging in the participative question of 'how to add value to this part of the city'. The dominance of TPM and NPM value manifests in a need to translate 'new' NPG values into frameworks for each department and to formalize them. For example, at the urban development department sustainability was translated into a points-based system for nature-inclusive building, whereas in the public works department sustainability was translated into core values, such as health and resilience, within an asset management plan. This meant that every department had their own operationalization of value, which, in turn, engendered internal hybridity.

The bureaucratic and formal way of implementing NPG values within the two organizations did not necessarily make the implementation of these values more effective. For example, we observed how members of the tender board consistently asked project leaders if they could include sustainability in their new project, even when it was unclear if it would make any contribution to the societal goals that underpinned these values. Moreover, the inclusion of these values was often found to be easily pushed aside. As a department head from municipality B stated:

"We always try to be participative. To say: we're going to tackle your neighborhood, you get to have a say. […] In the end we notice that, within the framework of the zoning plan, we all think they're nice ideas, but we still just do what we want."

3.4.1.2 Misalignment between top-down and bottom-up governance

The analysis of the triangles showed that in both cases the implementation of the new NPG values, such as innovation or sustainability, often transpired at lower levels of the organization. This means that compared to TPM and NPM values, the NPG values were less dominant in strategic 'organization-as-a-whole' decision-making than they were at the level of substantive departments and the operational project level. However, initiatives to shape the integration of these overarching NPG themes often occurred at higher levels, thus requiring implementation in the organization in a top-down way, which, in turn, caused misalignment between bottom-up and top-down initiatives and induced internal hybridity.

For example, we observed in the evaluation of a smart city living lab that it was often unclear which problem the lab was addressing, while the tasks of the lab often appeared to be more about complying with existing policies and linking the solution to an established problem, than it was about achieving the goal of sustainable urban development. The lab, a bottom-up initiative, thus did not fit in with the larger strategic goals of the municipality. This, in combination with other findings, indicates that it is relatively straightforward to get initiatives created by enthusiasts at the operational level, but that in the end, such initiatives must also be deemed to be important at the strategic level and aligned with broader organizational strategies, which, in turn, allows these values to be implemented across all levels and departments of the organization. As one of the policy advisors from municipality B stated:

"I know that if I want to get something done with a program, it doesn't make much sense to only talk to people with substantive tasks. I also have to make sure that I talk to people, in my case around procurement, at the management level."

In both cases, we found that the primary mode of governance remained hierarchical, thereby limiting the implementation of NPG, both in terms of bottom-up attempts at accountability and in the translation of new values at the lower levels. The findings thus show that administration is still seen as a dominant condition for each initiative that is undertaken by these municipalities. Moreover, although our findings also show that there is an increasing level of cooperation within organizations, the preference for bureaucracy and formalization ultimately hinders the achievement of certain objectives. For example, in one of our interviews with the head of the urban planning department, they indicated that *"everyone comes with an Excel sheet, and does not consult each other"*. Hence, even when efforts are made to meet each other, the old TPM and NPM values of budget control and efficiency and transparency operate as control mechanisms, rather than as instruments that facilitate the implementation of NPG values such as innovation or participation.

3.4.1.3   The whole vs. the part

Our findings indicate that the implementation of NPG differs per organizational scale level. At certain levels of the organization, such as the level of the organization-as-a-whole, there is still a clear preference for TPM and NPM elements, while other levels, such as the individual project level, are more likely to adopt NPG elements. This results in differences in NPG implementation and adoption rates across the different levels of the organization. For instance, a project focused on the redevelopment of a park, which also included citizen participation, showed that its project members were willing to take much greater risk in designing an innovative procurement process than the engineering department of the municipality would. Indeed, the department as a whole was found to be more defensive, risk averse and non-opportunistic, than specific projects were. As a project manager stated*: "My colleagues are still a bit conservative"*. The differences in implementation rates between different levels led to value tensions. For example*,* from the perspective of a *specific* project, it may well be desirable to focus on certain NPG values (e.g. innovation, participation), while from the department perspective it may be desirable to focus more on TPM and NPM values, such as efficiency and formalization. The head of a department in municipality A explained how implementing NPG values, such as sustainability or innovation, is important, but that ultimately control is still key:

"Of course, as a municipality we are also very busy with how we procure, and which topics are involved [….]. And we also have to be careful that we do not put things on paper, which cannot be assessed in reality. Of course, this is something that people in my municipality may run into during the implementation. You can ask a lot of things in your tender, but you also have to be able to assess them when the contractor is working."

3.4.2   Horizontal NPG implementation challenges

While, based on our review of literature, we had expected to find vertical implementation challenges, we also identified horizontal implementation challenges. More specifically, differences between pillars, professions and value interpretations were found to pose challenges to the implementation of NPG.

3.4.2.1 Differences between pillars

In both cases, the organizations showed signs of pillarization, with different parts of the organization existing side-by-side as separate columns, units or piles. Each pillar had its own responsibilities, which, in turn, caused fragmentation and compartmentalization within the organization. This complicated the implementation of 'new' and overarching NPG values such as innovation and sustainability. This is because these types of values demand a broader multi-perspective, and, as such, require an integrated approach. The pillarization of the organizations thus made it difficult to cross these intra-organizational boundaries and embed the new NPG values and attendant governance elements. A sustainability manager described how much of his works ended up 'falling in between':

"Basically, everything in the department is framed within the policy frameworks. I, on the contrary, always have things that just fall in between them. So, things that just don''t fit within the frameworks. So, I always have to find out how I can do this in a good way and spend public money the right way."

However, even if a person, policy, project or team that aims to implement a specific new value is typically granted a formal position within the pillarized organizational structure, this means that he or she is ultimately accountable to that specific department. The result of this is that, for example, a working group on innovation becomes part of one particular service column, the urban development pillar, the activities of the innovation working group are financially accountable to the development department that they are formally part of. This causes a tension between NPG values, which require a broad and integrated approach, and the traditional and bureaucratic TPM and NPM accountability values that require all activities to be accounted for within their own department, thereby challenging the implementation of NPG.

3.4.2.2 Differences between professions

Not only did we find differences between parts of the organization, we also found differences in implementation levels across professions. The analysis of the triangles showed that management professions were still dominated by TPM values, showing only limited adoption of NPG values, while the development professions experienced explicit conflicts stemming from the simultaneous implementation of NPM and NPG values. This can cause value tensions between different professions, especially when using an integrated approach. One respondent involved with procurement explained that this was not always appreciated:

"They ask us: 'Does it always have to be like this?' Occasionally we act as supervisors and police officers to alert them to the legitimacy of procurement."

This was exacerbated by the fact that when new values were introduced into the organizations, they were often assigned to specific people or teams, who were given the task of driving its implementation. The implementation of the new thematic instruments across departments, such as a citizen participation policy, remained difficult due to this person-relatedness. A manager from municipality A explained how this can have a detrimental impact on the institutionalization of such values:

"When the word participation is mentioned in the management team, everyone is looking at me now. 'Oh, there''s [name] from participation.' But this is not good. It might be good compared to a year ago, because no one ever looked at me then. But this is not what I want, because participation has to belong to everyone."

Furthermore, we found that the people in the executing professions varied in terms of their motivations, attitudes and behavior, and that as a result, certain professions (e.g. engineers) were more likely to adopt NPG values than others (e.g. controllers). This was because certain professions appeared to be linked to attitudes that favored or disliked the implementation of the new values. For example, advisors were generally considered to be more composed, while engineers were perceived as out of the box thinkers who possessed an experimental attitude.

3.4.2.3 Different value interpretations between the departments

Our findings show different interpretations of values, as well as demonstrating differences in the level of dominance of governance models when these are mixed in the implementation processes, which causes internal hybridity. For example, departments differed in their perception of the term 'participation', as well as in terms of how it should be integrated into their role. While some civil servants considered asking citizens which option they preferred as participation, others only considered it to be truly participatory when citizens were able to actually participate in the design. Another example is found in conflicting interpretations of what a certain process of a project should deliver. Some actors spoke about a specific output whereas other actors discussed the service delivery from an outcome perspective, which, once again, led to conflict:

"Sometimes we're stuck with a certain product, that actually gets in our way. Then we don't ask the question behind the product: what do we really want to achieve?"

Such interpretative differences made communication and collaboration between departments relatively hard at times, with several misunderstandings resulting from this. For example, people were less likely to collaborate if they thought their possible partner was striving for something different from them.

3.5 Discussion

By enriching our understanding of the organizational dimensions of implementing NPG in the public domain, this study contributes to both literature on governance reform and ongoing debates on policy implementation. These two areas also open up interesting avenues for further research in both fields.

3.5.1 Governance reform discussion

Our study suggests that the range of values that need to be safeguarded by public organizations is continually growing, in such a way that extends the pluralistic character of the public value system rather than replacing the older values. The implementation of additional values leads to changes in the prevailing value themes, but also leads to concrete conflicts in the daily practice of civil servants. The fact that the dominance of the different modes of governance and the emergence of governance conflicts not only differ between levels and their centrality (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Biesenthal & Wilden, 2014; Roberts, 2019), but also between departments and even professions, increases the degree of internal hybridity experienced by these actors. In their attempt to establish a balance between their procedural obligations as a public agent and the increasing need to steer on sustainability, innovation and quality, our results show that civil servants rely on established governance mechanisms (TPM, NPM) to position new NPG values. This potentially leads to internal conflicts over what exactly is needed to add value and provide public legitimacy. The study provides illustrative examples of how actors in both network roles and traditional roles encounter tensions as a result of the internal hybridity associated with NPG implementation. Given this, one interesting avenue for future research is to closely examine how and to what extent these different roles encounter and are restricted by internal hybridity, as well as how their capabilities could be used to achieve environmental ambidexterity for the long-term safeguarding of values (Raisch, Birkinshaw, Probst, & Tushman, 2009).

Our research is limited to two Dutch municipalities and focuses solely on the psychical domain, specifically urban management and development. Although municipalities provide an interesting representation of the dynamic and complex multi-institutional environment, especially in terms of the project-based activities in which municipalities operate. The extent to which the permanent client organization is involved in pursuing public values, is dependent on the "degree of publicness" (Besharov & Smith, 2014). Future research could thus focus on organizations that have a different degree of publicness and, hence, a different level of hybridity.

Implementation discussion

Although we previously stated that values were added rather than replaced, reflecting on the findings we can say that civil servants' daily experience of value conflicts centered around one main dilemma: *am I going to do it right, or am I going to do the right thing*? This dilemma particularly concerns the transition from TPM to NPG. A participative NPG society demands policy control from a directive, coordinating role at the municipal level, one which is grounded in dialogue and focused on assessing purpose and content. Yet, the specific process value pallet from the TPM mode of governance were found to be deeply embedded within the considered organizations. In adopting NPG, civil servants actively started looking for ways to 'add value' that better connected their practice with 'contemporary social developments that could be framed as '*doing the right thing'*. New value systems were, however, often not yet translated to managerial processes, governance systems and other formal practices, as we discussed in the findings. It is therefore hard to fulfill the requirements of '*doing it right'* with the value systems that are currently available. The value systems that were perceived as '*doing it right'* derived from TPM and NPM. Civil servants not only discussed their traditional legitimacy responsibilities as a public client, but also placed considerable emphasis on the actual contractual agreements that were signed as part of collaborating with private parties. In this respect, there appeared to be a battle going on between established values and new values. Our study shows that the balance is currently tilting towards the established side. That is to say, 'old' ways are currently winning the value conflicts due to the sheer range of implementation challenges standing in the way of 'new' values being implemented. In the end, the answer remains the following: *I am going to do it right*. Hence, the only chance that new values have of being implemented is if they accord with the old values in TPM and NPM governance mechanisms. Whether or not this is a bad thing, or whether it should be understood as a preliminary step in the transition towards the dominance of NPG, is an interesting question to raise in ongoing discussions around implementation.

The danger is that the internal hybridity caused by multiplicity in (elements of) modes of governance between fragmented departments and misaligned levels – and the ensuing conflicts this creates – may lead to an overall reduction in value creation (de Ridder, 2010; Stafford & Stapleton, 2017). When the transition towards NPG stalls, the most likely scenario is that value conflicts will result in trade-off value systems rather than collaboratively striving towards balancing values. The sheer amount of different professions and interpretations makes it difficult to work together. And the dominance of hierarchy fosters a risk averse and accountability culture in which new initiatives hardly get embedded for long term success. Overall, the implementation process is slow. Given that the performance of individual actors or parts of organizations is less important than the performance of the organization as a network in truly implementing NPG, a joint culture must be developed. Moreover, the dependency of people in value roles and practical informalities endangers sustainable implementation. We argue that in the search for a new internal governance balance dominated by network elements, the ultimate challenge is to lean in (towards NPG), but not completely give oneself over to it, in order to ensure that one remains a legitimate public agent. The question of how to overcome the intra-organizational challenges associated with implementing NPG in order to ensure a sustainable balance of values in the public domain is a highly relevant one. However, establishing a new balance is incredibly difficult in the public domain. On the one hand, the ability to cross internal boundaries to work in an integral way is key for innovation in NPG. On the other hand, sustaining existing boundaries is needed to defend traditional public values. Further research on boundary work should thus focus on balancing innovating and sustaining boundary spanning 'actions' (Balogun, Gleadle, Hailey, & Willmott, 2005; van Broekhoven & van Buuren, 2020), which, in turn, will allow actors to "*do the right thing right*".

3.6 Conclusion

Through integrating a governance mechanisms-based approach with a value conflict approach – from institutional logics – the present study aimed to learn more about the challenges civil servants faced in implementing NPG within municipal organizations. More specifically, we sought to examine how civil servants are confronted with internal hybridity in the delivery of public goods and services in the urban environment. Focusing on values appeared to be an appropriate way through which to investigate changes in the contemporary public sector (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004; Kuipers, et al., 2014). Given the lack of evidence about the organizational embedding of values, an empirical approach was adopted in the present research (Haveri, 2006). The research demonstrates that values from all three modes of governance were in operation, but that internal hybridity and value tensions challenged the implementation of NPG. We identified several challenges, both vertically and horizontally speaking, within the organization that civil servants are confronted with, which, in turn, limit the implementation of NPG. From a vertical perspective in the organization and in terms of the differences in the degree of adopting NPG, it is concluded that the translations of values into new modes of governance appeared to be rather top-down in their approach. Implementation challenges stem from dilemmas between formalization and flexibility, misalignment in top-down and bottom-up governance, as well as between different levels of scale, the whole and the part. When considered from a horizontal perspective, the differences between pillars, professions and value interpretations were found to challenge the implementation of NPG. Pillarization of the organizations meant that trying to implement NPG values, such as sustainability, which requires a broad approach, fell between pillars, while the traditional bureaucratic accounting systems limited the options for implementing intra-organizational border crossing. Differences in implementation rates were also discerned between professions, whereby some professions experienced explicit conflicts between concurrently implementing the values associated with NPM and NPG, respectively. In conclusion, then, I would argue that civil servants were primarily confronted with a tension between *doing it right* – implementing traditional TPM and NPM values, such as transparency, legitimacy and effectiveness – or *doing the right thing* – implementing NPG values such as sustainability, innovation or citizen participation.

4 Definitely not a walk in the park

Coping with public-private value conflicts in participative project environments

This chapter is a co-authored paper with Leentje Volker and Marleen H. Hermans. Currently, the paper is under review at Project Management Journal. Previous versions of this paper were presented at conferences:
– Kuitert, L., Volker, L., & Hermans, M. (2019b). Navigating value systems in urban PPP projects. In Proceedings of Project Management Conference: Research meets Practice. Towards Project Management 3.0 (pp. 196-236). Delft University of Technology
– Kuitert, L., Volker, L., Hermans, M.H. (2019 unpublished) Mapping safeguarding processes of conflicting institutional value systems in delivering public services. PROS2019, Chania, Crete

ABSTRACT Collaborative project approaches confront project actors with value pluralism that originate from competing organizational and institutional systems. Using a single case study of a participatory redevelopment of a municipal park, we examine how project actors are affected by the dominance of relationships in delivering value through projects and the effect this has on coping with value conflicts. Unravelling the link between conflict development and coping in time and at network-level, we found four conflict arenas and seven coping patterns that expand traditional project management approaches. This contributes to the understanding of the dynamic implementation of network governance in public-private collaboration.

KEYWORDS Conflict management, public-private partnerships, complexity, value pluralism, construction, projects, public value conflicts, conflict arenas, patterns of coping

4.1 Introduction

Intense cooperation among project actors from diverse sectors with various interests and professional identities, and institutional domains with specific organizational procedures and structures, can lead to high degrees of institutional complexity (Dille & Söderlund, 2011; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; Söderlund & Sydow, 2019; Stjerne, Söderlund, & Minbaeva, 2019). In these complex project environments, public client organizations find themselves confronted with a higher degree of differentiation and interdependency between internal and external tasks, reflected in the various organizational departments and units involved in the management of construction projects (Gidado, 1996). Consequently, this is accompanied by a shift in the value systems by which these public organizations operate. Whereas in recent decades procedural values relating to lawfulness and the performance values of effectiveness and efficiency were the most prominent considerations in complex construction projects, nowadays substantive values such as innovation, sustainability and quality of services appear to be more highly valued (Kuitert et al., 2019).

The organizational and institutional complexity arising from the sum of internal and external dynamic value interests creates a context in which public client organizations have to deal with clashes and incompatibilities both within the public commissioning organization and between different public and private value systems (Smets, et al., 2014; van der Wal et al., 2011). The probability of value conflicts is increasing, especially with regard to the implementation of public-private partnerships in the construction sector. But conflict is not necessarily a negative phenomenon. It is only when conflicts are not managed - or not managed correctly - that disputes and other disruptions arise. The purpose of, and necessity for, balancing the different value systems is to create and maintain long-term sustainable value for the organization and its stakeholders (Kuitert et al., 2019b). In light of these considerations, our research aim is to understand how collaborative network approaches deliver value through projects, how this influences the type of conflicts that appear and how these conflicts are dealt with by public client organizations with or without the various organizational, project-related and societal actors involved.

In project management literature, research into value and value creation has mainly focused on what is achieved in relation to the general project performance in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and other more commercial values (Martinsuo, Klakegg, & van Marrewijk, 2019). However, we have also seen a shift away from rational-technical approaches to decision-making, planning and implementation in projects,

and towards approaches that capture the complex and dynamic aspects of projects (Head & Alford, 2015; Bygballe and Swärd, 2019). In search of valuable insights into the practice of embedding conflicting institutional values in the process and organization within the context of a project (Dille, Söderlund, & Clegg, 2018; Hall & Scott, 2019), we turn to social theories – 'a promising but relatively unexplored alternative in extending our understanding of the 'actuality of projects'' (Benítez-Ávila et al., 2019, p716) – (Geraldi & Söderlund, 2018; Greenwood et al., 2011). In conflict management literature, for example, the specific focus has been on how a team's ability to deal with conflict impacts on team performance, both negatively and positively. However, more recent bodies of literature on 'coping behavior' search for functional responses to conflicts rather than typical cost-benefit and multi-criteria approaches. These paradoxical models have been developed to cope with the various conflicting institutional pressures and complexities of project environments (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Söderlund & Sydow, 2019).

In this study, we expand conflict management theory by adopting a practice lens to look into the participatory process of delivering a new municipal park. This is an approach that is relatively new to management literature (Della Corte & Del Gaudio, 2014; Gehman, Trevino, & Garud, 2013). With a view to understanding the dynamic and social aspects of partnering, new collaborative forms and the impact of projects on society at large, we have adopted a process-related research method (Lundin et al., 2015). This study answers the call for a dynamic theorization of projects (Dille & Söderlund, 2011; Söderlund, 2011) by offering a dynamic understanding of the conflicts and ways of coping involved in an extensive network approach. Our findings include the identification of four conflict arenas that occur due to the dominance of organizational and institutional relationships in the process of delivering value through complex projects. And by looking into the patterns of application of various coping mechanisms in different approaches towards institutional and organizational complexity – reduction or engagement – relative to where the conflict arises in the phasing - temporal axis - and network levels - spatial axis - of a project not only provides a valuable extension of seven copings patters to the field of conflict literature but also offers theoretical insights into network governance in public client project collaborations.

4.2 Theoretical background

4.2.1 Value conflict arenas in projects

The multiplicity of value systems that project actors bring to projects leads to organizational and institutional complexity and can result in conflicts at different intersections of the project network, also referred to as intragroup and intergroup relations (Jehn, 1995). We call these relations conflict arenas.

As regards intergroup conflict arenas, especially in construction projects, the relationships between public and private parties have traditionally been quite adversarial and limited to the individual project (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). The parties involved in projects are therefore likely to have only partly overlapping interests and goals, as well as incompatible systems and routines (Bygballe & Swärd, 2019). In public projects, the context is often political: public clients have a political responsibility, which raises the possibility of political interventions that may affect the balance between the values of the parties involved (Leijten, Koppenjan, ten Heuvelhof, Veeneman, & van der Voort, 2010). Public project managers are therefore confronted with institutional complexity that arises from the social and political context (Matinheikki, Aaltonen, & Walker, 2019). Private organizations can be characterized by their profit-oriented and competitively driven nature, while policy outcomes shaped by socio-political interests generally drive the operation of public organizations (Benítez-Ávila, Hartmann, & Dewulf, 2019). Especially in public procurement systems designed to offer public and private organizations a context in which to work towards collaboration, actors are confronted with competing demands and dilemmas resulting from conflicts of interest and moral hazard (McCue et al., 2015). What is more, projects are usually organized and run by formal organizations (Söderlund and Sydow, 2019). Regardless of whether these organizations are project-supporting or project-based, this means that the project is embedded not only in the respective permanent line organizations and/or interorganizational networks but also in wider institutional fields (Lundin et al., 2015; Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016).

In public project environments, conflicts also arise at the level of intraorganizational interface (Ellis & Baiden, 2008; Fossestøl et al., 2015; Schilke & Lumineau, 2018; Thacher & Rein, 2004). In cases where project participants are seconded from different parts of the organization, each participant will bring ideas and values belonging to a different organizational culture, and will in turn find themselves

confronted with the distinct viewpoints and approaches of other participants (Ankrah & Langford, 2005; Ellis & Baiden, 2008). Value pluralism often exists within public clients due to the differentiation of governance mechanisms between departments, domains and/or levels (Matinheikki et al., 2019; Pache & Santos, 2013). Consequently, these internally complex organizations exhibit a good deal of ambiguity in their approach to management. The sheer number of different organizational entities involved in projects leads to levels of organizational structural complexity which are so high they need to be managed within the organization (Matinheikki et al., 2019).

These diverse relationships are dynamic in nature and conflict arenas may therefore appear at different activities of the process of delivering value through projects; value identification, value creation and value capture during and after the project (Laursen & Svejvig, 2016; Lepak, Smith, & Taylor, 2007; Svejvig, Geraldi, & Grex, 2019). During the implementation of new collaborative project approaches, there will inevitably be times when participants are confronted with contrasting organizational and institutional value systems from departments and layers that normally appear in other phases. Furthermore, the groups operating on behalf of the public and private participants within a project are heterogeneous: they change in line with the various phases of the project's life cycle as different professional and organizational skill sets are needed in the various phases (Bresnen et al., 2004). An additional effect of political embeddedness is that the values of a public party can change over successive administrative terms, and conflicts at system level can arise or worsen as a result of such changes.

4.2.2 Dealing with complexity in delivering values

4.2.2.1 Views on value pluralism

There are different views on creating and capturing value, and these represent different approaches towards institutional and organizational complexity. Against the background of value pluralism, a distinction can be made between (a) reducing complexity and (b) engaging with complexity.

Different views exist on the ability to make value considerations in a situation of value pluralism. Most of these views relate to how decision-makers view the commensurability of values. Reducing complexity – supporting a process whereby a single value system becomes dominant in an "either/or" perspective – is only possible

when one believes that values can be commensurable (Fossestøl et al., 2015; Thacher & Rein, 2004; Tjosvold, 2008). The classical economic view, adopting the classical value chain described by Porter, is dominated by rational-technical approaches. In this view, values are assessed as commensurable and can therefore be traded off (Ward & Daniel, 2012). To justify their trade-offs, 'actors first identify the relative importance of each value to this ultimate standard, e.g. social welfare, and then make a decision that maximizes that "master" value' (Thacher & Rein, 2004, p.462).

However, in discussing the delivery of public values, the classical economic theory falls short in accounting for intangible aspects of value choices (Miller, 2016). Public organizations tend to address value much more broadly, viewing it as incommensurable and both tangible and intangible, e.g. substantive vs. procedural values (Kuitert et al., 2019; Moore, 2000). Opposing public actors may consider trade-offs to be inevitable and – given the intrinsic nature of values – impossible at the same time (Steenhuisen, 2009). Adopting social value theory, which includes process elements and non-financial effects (Riis, Hellström, & Wikström, 2019), Parsons & Smelser (1969) argue that the relation between maximization of production and the complexity of various institutionalized and societal value systems is relevant in economics. This means that one should embrace the conflicting nature of value, adopt a paradoxical view and aim to optimize the balance between conflicting values (Steenhuisen, 2009).

To adopt the incommensurable perspective on value pluralism is to actively embrace conflict, accepting the co-existence of competing extremes by means of confrontation, transcendence and adopting a "both/and" perspective rather than an "either/or" perspective in rational-technical approaches (Jarzabkowski, Lê, & Van de Ven, 2013; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Avoiding comparisons in rational-technical approaches – consistently making hard choices in support of one strategy while ignoring the other – is a relatively defensive way of dealing with complexity (Smith, Binns, & Tushman, 2010; Tetlock, 2000).

4.2.2.2 Dealing with value conflicts

These approaches also differ in their ways of dealing with value conflicts. Previous research in the field of dealing with value pluralism suggests that when faced with competing institutional interests, organizations are either likely to resort to decoupling as a response strategy or attempt to compromise (Pache & Santos, 2013). Decoupling refers to organizations symbolically endorsing practices prescribed by one value system while actually implementing practices promoted

by another value system, often one that is more aligned with their organizational goals (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Compromise is the attempt by organizations to enact institutional prescriptions in a slightly altered form, by crafting minimum standards, adopting new behavior or by bargaining (Pache & Santos, 2013). More recent work on organizational coping mechanisms also hints at response strategies involving value system combination by engaging and encouraging conflict through synthesis (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2013; Smith et al., 2010), allowing more flexibility in decision-making (Smith et al., 2010).

Various authors mention a range of decoupling techniques related to time, topic, environment and organizational unit, in other words it is a form of seperation Separating contradictory elements either temporally – by dealing with one, then the other (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989) – or spatially – by compartmentalizing elements into different areas (P. E. Eriksson, 2013; Poole & Van de Ven, 1989) – is also referred to as splitting, projection, regression or ambivalence (Jarzabkowski, Lê, et al., 2013). Thatcher and Rein (2004) mention other coping strategies such as firewall (structural separation), bias (favor through dominant discourse), casuistry (taking a case-based approach) or cycling (sequential separation), while (Schillemans & van Twist, 2016) talk about anchoring strategies, meaning that public actors resort to procedural means instead of resolving value conflicts.

In contrast, Greenwood et al. (2011) suggest borrowing from the literature on ambidexterity to provide new insights into the integration of competing value systems (Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, & Spee, 2013). From an ambidexterity perspective, institutional complexity is not a problem to be resolved, but a naturally occurring condition to be engaged with (Jarzabkowski, Smets, et al., 2013; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Contextual ambidexterity refers to 'a behavioral capability to simultaneously and synchronously pursue exploration and exploitation within a business unit or work group' (Eriksson, 2013, p.334-335). This is not done through structural, task-related or 'temporal separation, but by building a business unit context that encourages individuals to make their own judgments on how to strike the best balance between the conflicting demands of alignment and adaptability' (Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004, p.211). This type of strategic response is referred to as synthesis by Poole and van de Ven (1989) and may also be called adjusting: a response to tension that recognizes the importance and interdependency of both poles of the paradox, thereby acknowledging the need to accommodate both (Jarzabkowski, Lê, et al., 2013). In this response, the coping mechanism called 'hybridization' – better off together – is a result of the ability to manage the complexity of the various value systems (Thacher & Rein, 2004). In this setting, tensions may be confronted using the iterative responses of splitting and integration, or using acceptance and embracing conflicts as part of a strategy of "working through" (Smith & Lewis, 2011).

This leads us to the following overview of the two perspectives on dealing with complexity in delivering value in public project environments: (1) reducing complexity and (2) engaging with complexity. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive and can be combined, although they may prove to be conflicting in terms of their application.

TABLE 4.1 Overview of different approaches to institutional and organizational complexity

	Reducing complexity	Engaging with complexity
View on value pluralism		
Value chain perspective	Classical economic view (rational-technical)	Social value view
View on values	Commensurable	Incommensurable
Decision-making approach	Trade-off (either/or)	Paradoxical (both/and)
Attitude	Defensive	Active
Dealing with value conflicts		
Response strategies	Separation	Synthesis
Techniques	Decoupling and Compromising	Encouraging and Balancing
Coping strategies	Firewall, bias, casuistry, cycling, anchoring	Hybridization

4.3 Research approach

4.3.1 Single-case qualitative process study

The research aim of this study can be best described as theory elaboration for which qualitative research procedures seem to offer the most appropriate approach (Bygballe & Jahre, 2009; Edmondson & McManus, 2007). The research draws on a single qualitative case study of the redevelopment of a local city square into a signature municipal park, a project which enabled us to improve our understanding of the multi-level challenge of dealing with complexity in a project network. The case study was process-oriented in nature, real-time and contextual (Pettigrew, 1997), and provides scope for theoretical generalization (Yin, 1994) and unique opportunities for theory development (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). A strong process orientation can help to provide insights into how practitioners are influenced

by organizational and social practices in their decision making and strategy implementation (Bos-de Vos, 2018; Vaara & Whittington, 2012). A practice lens was adopted to provide valuable insights about the practice of embedding values aspired to through this project in terms of process and organization.

Case description

The setting for our study was a redevelopment of a local city square into a neighborhood park in one of the Netherlands' biggest cities, not far from the coast. The municipality wanted to turn a public square with a playground and a children's farm into a municipal park with wide appeal. Their participatory aims incorporate high ambitions for social return, in line with a new municipal policy. The case was a pilot project for this policy containing the innovative participatory approach.

To apply this policy the aim was to adopt a network type of governance, as shown in figure 4.1. The network consists of multiple levels within and across which various actors relate to each other. This redevelopment project is in strong cooperation with private parties: society, residents organized in a resident panel, and industry, local businesses organized in a tender pool. This group of local businesses consisted of a variety of small and medium-sized enterprises, both from the creative sector and from the construction industry. These two groups were represented by two additional project managers operating as intermediaries. Connecting public and private actors in a project network environment, various public and private intergroups and intragroups, systems and actors can be identified. The idea for the redevelopment project originated with one of the city aldermen and internal responsibilities were distributed from the alderman to the urban district director in charge of the redevelopment project as the internal commissioner in chief. One level down, the urban district manager became the project leader and a general project manager was appointed to oversee the project's operational tasks, which were executed in a temporary project team. The project team forms the core of the network. The project team has representatives of both the public line organization; the general project manager, a municipal procurement consultant, a public communication agent, a representative from the urban management department, and the private side; intermediaries, project managers of both the resident panel and the tender pool and the landscape architect, who also represented an affiliated communication partner. Together the three project managers form a core triangle of inter-group relations in the project team. Above the project team the (level of) governmental agency and politics are situated. Between the project team and the municipal agency (embedded in a political context) and inter-system relations exist separating the administrative

system from the system of participation. At this same intersection a distinction can be made between line- and project organization, both representing the 'public'. The political embeddedness of the municipal organization shows an intra-system relation.

To a large degree, the complexity in this case was caused by the ambidexterity of the participatory process between the municipality and the two groups of private parties. The commissioning organization is driven by political interests, and policy for innovative forms of participation and social return are especially relevant in this case. The residents panel is concerned with many different individual interest. Initially they don't express a clear interest for a neighbourhood park, but when residents are asked to express what can be improved they mention thigs like shelter, playgrounds and enlightenment from personal motives. The local businesses are intrinsically motivated to contribute to the neighbourhood, however are also concerned with obtaining work and financial feasibility. Where the local business intermediairy was able to express one shared value system, the residents showed different individual interests, complicating the establishment of a shared values.

We followed the case through various phases of delivering value through the participatory redevelopment project. The life cycle stages of the construction process include activities of value identification, value creation and value capture, however cannot be separated in specifically in these stages. There is some overlap. The overlap of activities necessitated relationships to be formed both within and across project phases. Value identification mostly took place during the planning phase, in which the participatory strategy was set out and the participatory design assignment was specified. However also the following participatory design process entails parts of value identification as wishes of residents were collected and a code of conduct was drawn up in collaboration with the tender pool. Already during the planning phase an architect was commissioned to translate the defined values in a conceptual design, which gets elaborated during the design phase using residents participation. Value creation therefore began as early as the design phase and was continued in the commissioning phase and the execution phase. In the commissioning phase the execution of various subprojects was procured to local businesses and the assignments also entailed several design elements. the main construction part of the project was procured as an integrated Design and Construct contract with specific award criteria related to the social values of social return and participation. In part, therefore, the design, commissioning and execution phases can be said to have run in parallel. Furthermore, an overall management takes place to capture value in various ways. Specifically, an overall process was set out to prepare for the management phase in pursuit of ownership of the new park.
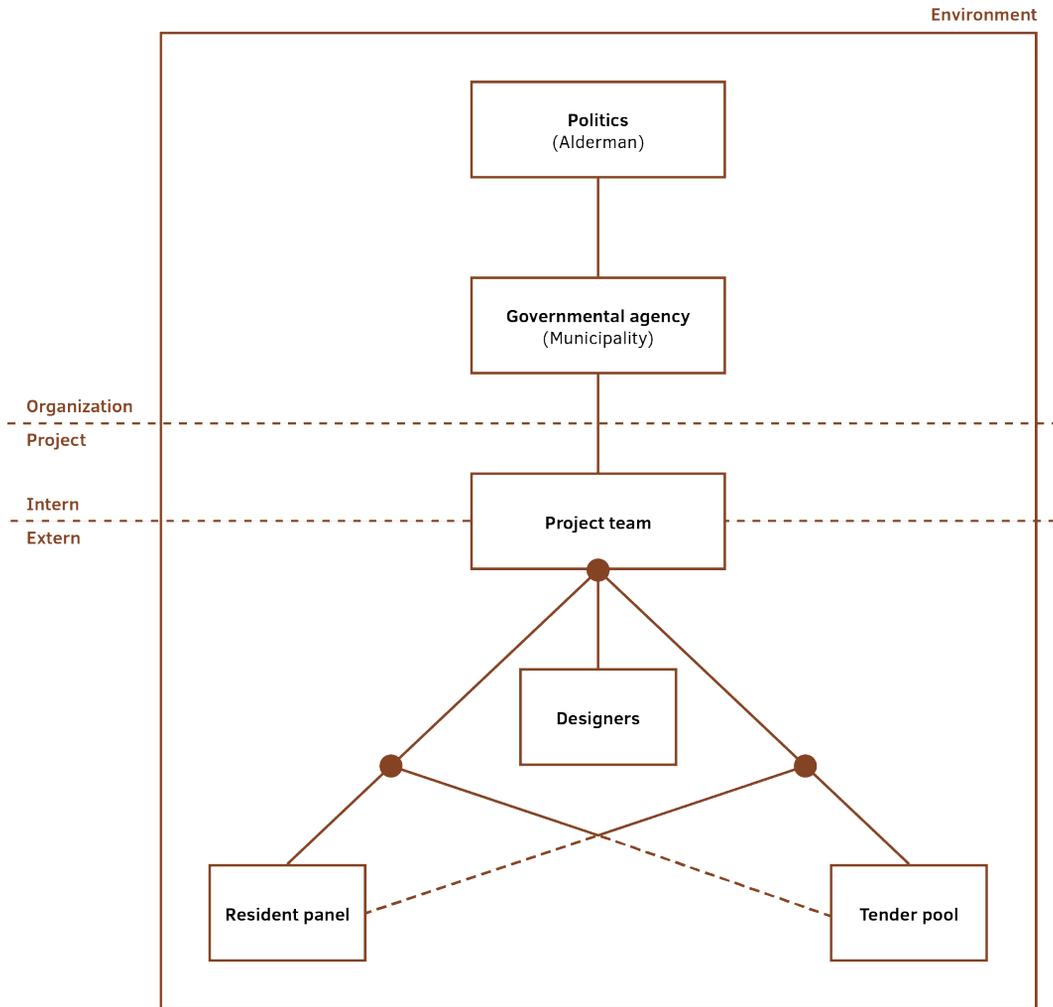
Politics
(Alderman)

Governmental agency
(Municipality)

Organization
Project

Intern
Extern

Project team

Designers

Resident panel

Tender pool

FIG. 4.1 Case network

4.3.3   Data collection

The data was collected between June 2017 and May 2019 by three researchers, including the first and second author with specific expertise in procurement and a third researcher with specific expertise in participatory processes. We collected data from a variety of sources: interviews, documents, and participant and non-participant observations. It is broadly recognized that the use of multiple data sources helps to ensure the quality and credibility of a study (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1994). The data also reflect the multiple network levels and phasing of the case, and overview in table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2 Overview of data

	Interviews	Observations	Documents
Public management perspective	6 semi-structured interviews (I-PM): 1. Alderman 2. Urban district director 3. Urban district manager *Municipal members of project team* 4. General project manager 5. Procurement consultant 6. Representative of the urban management department	4 months of observations, including 4 tender pool board meetings, project evaluation meeting, start meeting of innovation workgroup and multiple monthly project team meetings (over a period of 19 months)	Websites: municipal website, municipal intranet, TenderNet (tenders are published on this website) Commissioning letters (decision-making) Various municipal programs: neighborhood program, citizen participation action plan, innovative participation approach Municipal procurement regulations Various documents related to the project, including the process document
Project perspective	13 semi-structured interviews (I-PR): *Project team members* 1. Landscape Architect 2. Communication consultant 3. Project manager tender pool (start) 4. Project manager tender pool 5. Project manager residents' panel *Other* 6. Residents' organizations 7. Cultural association 8. Housing association 1 9. Housing association 2 10. Educational institution 11. Neighborhood organization 1 12. Neighborhood organization 2 13. Community worker and youth worker	Tender pool gatherings (3x) and residents' panel meetings (3x) over a period of 19 months	Media coverage, folders, project website, neighborhood magazine

A total of 19 semi-structured interviews were held, of which six from a public management perspective with actors from the public client organization and public members of the project management team, and a further 13 with intermediaries and various external public and private institutions representing the project perspective. The interviews were between 30 and 90 minutes in duration and included questions about experiences and perceptions of the way in which the project objective had been chosen, the implementation and outcome of the participation approach, and the role of the public client. Audio recordings were made of the interviews, which were then transcribed verbatim.

The researchers acted as observant participants at the tender pool gatherings and residents' panel meetings (Czerniawska, 2007) and the first author conducted four months of observations at the urban management department of the municipal organization. Throughout this process, d notes were taken to detail all observations and interpretations, and these were then included in our analysis.

The documents were collected from the municipality's intranet [a private information platform within the case organization] and by searching the internet using a purposeful sampling technique in order to sample policies, stakeholder groups, programs and measurement tools, specifically those directly related to the value processes of social return, participation and sustainability. For the data at project level, we also applied a snowballing technique to gather the documents most often mentioned in the interviews and during observations. The dataset was supplemented by e-mail correspondence in relation to the meetings.

4.3.4 Data Analysis

As Langley and Abdallah (2015, p. 106) explain, 'the key challenge of conducting qualitative research on organizational processes lies not so much in collecting the data, but in making sense of them in order to generate a valuable theoretical contribution'. One sense-making mechanism in process research is the visual mapping strategy like value tracing (Langley, 2007) We adopted a three-step iterative process to theory development. The first step involved the inductive coding of all data. We coded the actual timing of critical events and specifically coded the interactions, whether conflicting or not, between the various actors during the various phases of the process. Using public value process mapping based on the foundations of Moore's value chain (Moore, 2000), aiming to connect objectives set for the project at public management level with project management practices, and to trace how public values were translated between public parties and private parties

and embedded in the process and the public client organization. Therefore, we coded key players, processes, procedures, activities and specific goals. In addition, the value process elements were coded as approaches to value conflicts, with a focus on the distinction between either reducing or engaging with complexity. We placed a particular focus on the value process of social return, and aspirational values derived from participatory elements, such as sustainability. The preliminary conclusions and emerging coding were discussed between the first two authors and validated with the third author.

The second step involved a joint comparison and discussion of the code reports and the findings extracted, resulting in a list of shared conflicts, their origin relationship and the accompanied coping strategies marked by their characteristics - reduce or engage. In the third and final step, we theorized across exemplary conflicts and their accompanying coping strategies (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Looking for similarities and differences, we found that two axes in particular play a role in understanding what took place in this dynamic and complex environment: these are (1) the "temporal axis" as represented by the various phases in the construction project life cycle within which various activities of value identification, value creation and value capturing take place , and (2) the "spatial axis," represented in our case study by the network levels between the different actors. This analytical step was important in highlighting the importance of looking within and across both the network levels and the phases. This led to the identification of four distinct conflict arenas driven by the public-private character of project collaborations and their parent organizations. Two within, or at, one of the project network levels: (1) within the political environment of the public domain, (2) within the public client organization. And two across the project network levels: (3) across the network levels of the public and the private actors and (4) across system levels. These varied in dominance per project phase. Our analysis then went on to show the importance of the network level at which coping takes place and the impact of the timing of this coping, both *relative to the point at which* the conflict occurs in the project phases and *relative to* the different levels of the project network. This led to the identification of seven primary coping patterns which determined how to act in the conflict arenas that emerged: three on the temporal axis and four on the spatial axis. These findings will be elaborated in the following sections.

4.4 Findings

4.4.1 Conflict arenas in complex project network environments

4.4.1.1 Conflicts within project network levels

A conflict arena originates from conflicts of interests or perceptions of the values and roles in relationships. In our participatory redevelopment case study, we found two major conflict arenas that occurred within various network levels of the public redevelopment project.

The first conflict arena within the public realm is associated with various issues related to the political environment in which the internal client is embedded. Looking into the motives of the actors in this project, we found that the municipality was driven by political interest, as expressed by the communication agent who worked with the architect:

"The whole reason for this project was that the alderman wanted it. That was the first question I asked at the first meeting: 'Who wants a new park?' It was the alderman."
(I-PR2).

Because the alderman was in his final political term, he wanted to leave something "good" behind, a kind of legacy. Based on our observations and interviews, we can conclude that the local residents generally do regard the new park as a gift from the municipality. However, this does not necessarily mean that they understand where the idea of a park originated from, as expressed by the chairman of one of the cultural associations active in the neighborhood:

"The alderman said 'We're getting a park,' and that was that. […] Of course, I'm very happy with it, but it came out of the blue. I've never heard any of the residents say they wanted a park with appeal." (I-PR7)

The decision to redevelop the square into a park that would add value to the neighborhood as a whole was therefore a hierarchical one, and this proved to be a complicating factor as regards the support to the project decision within the

client organization and within the neighborhood itself. Endangering the level of commitment for participation. A further complication was the fact that projects of this scale are generally initiated by local parts of the municipality representing 'local' values that may conflict with the general interest of the city, a municipal project portfolio hold at a higher level. Hence, to avoid value conflict, it is very important to align the general interest of the citizens, the collective values of the city and the political interests of the project from the start. The municipal procurement consultant stated:

"In principle, Cromvlietpark as an entity is of course a unified whole. And what the alderman is pursuing is a number of goals, namely civic participation and a higher goal within the district that, among other things, will give not only the park but also the district a considerable boost… The entire layout of the park is not an end in itself, but a means of achieving a higher plan for the entire subarea." (I-PM5)

A second conflict arena within the public realm relates to the interface within the public client organization between the permanent municipal organization and the temporary project network. We observed that efforts to produce clarity and order in the project generated complex issues for the line organization. For example, the decision to create a number of subprojects may have been beneficial for the project organization and collaboration with the actors in the tender pool, but this complicated matters for the line organization, especially for the procurement department, which needed to find a way to integrate this approach into its regular tender practices:

"It will become even more complex because the park will not be put on the market as a single tender, but the aim – which is also set out in the strategy – is to divide the park into a number of subprojects. These subprojects must also connect to each other in a logical order and can also have a different volume in monetary value. But they can also differ in terms of procedure." (I-PM5)

4.4.1.2   Conflicts across project network levels

We also found two major conflict arenas between the actors across the project network levels. The first of these involves conflicts in the relationships between public and private entities. This conflict arena represents conflicts that follow from the participatory nature of the project in the case study, as illustrated by the following examples of how the municipality framed the collaboration with private stakeholders in the tender pool and the residents' panel. The aim of a local participatory project calls for a network type of governance in which the public client

organization creates a certain distance in order to enable local partners to reach compromises and agreements with their consultative partners on how to achieve the project's aims. The political interest of the client is expressed as a neighborhood park with "appeal" to be achieved through innovative forms of participation and a high rate of social return. Underlying documents showed that participation can be considered as a general policy goal of the municipality and one that can be translated into local project aims, such as fostering local employment, encouraging a local sustainable economy and generating national recognition for the participation approach. This leads to maximum utilization of the participatory paragraph.

Another issue comes from the municipality not only asking local businesses to participate in the tender process for the subprojects, which represents a significant investment of time and money, but also asking them to contribute to municipal ambitions in terms of social return. While local businesses are intrinsically motivated to contribute to the neighborhood, they are also concerned with obtaining work and safeguarding financial feasibility, concerns that may in some instances run counter to the shared value. Moreover, they appeared to be unfamiliar with the framework of the municipality and its formalized tendering procedures, which meant that their organizational processes did not match the public governance system in which the project was embedded. The general project manager explained:

"That's a difficult point, of course. First of all, we wanted to involve companies that knew nothing at all about the municipal context and its tendering process. So they were at a considerable disadvantage to start with. And on top of that, we were asking them to provide something that, while it might be in line with their intrinsic motivations, they'd had no experience of providing." (I-PM4)

The final example of this conflict arena arising from the participatory nature of the project concerns the residents' panel. From the very start of the project, there was no particular interest among residents in a park and when residents were specifically asked to suggest improvements that they mentioned aspects such as shelter, playgrounds and lighting, based on personal motives. We found that many conflicts with the residents resulted from conflating distinct perceptions of participation as a public value. The collaborative neighborhood partnership whose aim was, acording to the project manager of the residents' panel, to channel the residents' participation sought to *"co-create in the field of knowledge sharing, exchange views on points of difficulty, but also collaborate to ensure that projects are multidisciplinary,"* (I-PR5). However, in the end the participatory process turned into a top-down approach which used the residents' pool as a way of providing legitimacy in relation to the public aim of participation.

A second conflict arena relates to conflicts involving relationships across system levels between the administrative system of the parent organization adhering to a traditional value system of accountability and what we call the collaborative system of the project organization, sharing network values such as participation and innovation. On several occasions, we found that the objective of a far-reaching form of participation in a local redevelopment project conflicted with responsibilities in the public system, such as those in the field of public accountability. The innovative participatory process, for example, conflicted with the standards set by advisory bodies, specifically relevant in the procurement phase. These bodies had to be consulted on matters such as traffic, the Public Space Manual and general welfare. From a project management perspective, they were considered obstacles that either needed to be misled or creatively integrated into the project strategies. Another approach was to move away from the system. According to the general project manager, the municipality created its own project network dynamics by mainly hiring external parties for this project, based on the stated aims of *"getting away from system thinking"* (I-PM4) and ensuring the innovative character of the project. One example of a conflict in social value perception was an implicit performance measurement that took the number of stakeholders who participated as an indicator of success. As a communication expert explained:

"People were only focused on the number of people who took part, not on what came out of it. So it wasn't about the results of the design workshop at all – which went well despite the low turnout. Instead, the sole concern was 'how can we reach more residents?'" (I-PR2)

Lastly, in one of the interviews, the architect stated that the focus on numbers in stakeholder participation was not clear from the start, which aroused their indignation as to how the value of participation should be perceived. They felt that the municipality was not clear in what they expected.

4.4.2 Dominance of conflict arenas in project phases

Our findings show the dominance of particular conflict arenas in network relationships at different phases of the project life cycle, relating to the different stages of the public value process.

A first conflict arena within the public realm is about conflicts that follow from the political environment. This conflict arena overshadows all phases of the project. In this instance, a municipal organization had to ensure support for the ambitions of an alderman, as expressed in the following quote from the municipal procurement consultant:

"Of course, political will always plays a role. [...] The more a project is a visible element of the city, the more natural it is for political will to play a more explicit role in the entire process. As an organization, you try to ensure that an alderman is protected, that we don't undertake things here and now that won't be marketable in future." (I-PM5)

However, this appears to be more prominent in the early stages of value definition than in the later stages, when the outcomes of a project become more valuable from an external organizational perspective. In this project, the fact that the alderman was approaching the end of his term of office also played a role.

The second conflict arena discussed within the public realm concerns the conflicts between the temporary project network and the permanent client organization. This was the conflict arena where most of the conflicts in the commissioning phase took place, as it became clear that certain design decisions on subprojects intended to attract the participation of creative design companies conflicted with processes in the line organization that were geared towards the assessment of official tender documents. While the splitting of decisions reduced complexity for the project network, it appeared to make matters even more complex for the line organization.

The first conflict arena across network levels appeared to be mainly dominant in the planning and design phase, due to the participatory nature of the project. When two additional project managers were brought in to manage the interfaces between the public and private entities, the balance shifted more towards private values. The second conflict arena across project network levels, involving the differences between the administrative system and the participatory system, appeared to be dominant in the design and the commissioning phase of the project. The design phase of the participatory system formed the core of the dominant relations, which connected to the central position of the triumvirate of project managers that underpinned the value system. In this phase, we saw various attempts to look for flexibility in rules, exploiting room for maneuver in the regulations set by the municipal administrative system.

In the commissioning phase, we noticed that the administrative systems became more and more dominant. Consciously or unconsciously, the municipal organization reverted to its traditional patterns in the interests of its internal control mechanisms, even though the initial intention in the project had been to clear the way for new ways of working that were born of network collaboration. For example, although a conscious choice was made to select an independent architect, the design was then handed over to the municipality's engineering department to exercise control over the details during the construction phase. In particular, the relatively strict public tendering regulations during the construction phase of the park seemed to require

a high level of creativity of the project team in order to deal with the municipal governance system in ways that delivered on the public value as initially envisioned. All in all, the relationship between the administrative system and the participatory system appeared to be more dominant in the conflict arenas than the public-private intersection.

Coping patterns in complex project network environments

Coping patterns on the temporal axis

Based on our data, we have been able to identify three coping patterns in relation to the temporal dimension of projects. The following three patterns emerged in dealing with conflicts as they arose in the various conflict arenas: (1) Deferral, (2) Prolongation, and (3) Anticipation. These patterns are summarized in Table 4.3 and illustrated in the following sections.

This first coping pattern, Deferral, refers to situations where coping with conflicts in delivering value through the redevelopment project is deferred and takes place at a later time and in another project phase than the one in which the conflict occurs, allowing other value systems to come into play. Deferral across phases enables the decoupling of certain value systems, as the composition of the groups of actors involved develops as the project proceeds. In the construction industry, decoupling is often accomplished by introducing a project, ensuring a case-based approach by way of coping. In our case, this coping pattern made specific use of the various subgroups in the project network. Choosing a project from the engineering domain to achieve societal goals allowed other backgrounds and areas of expertise to provide legitimacy for certain choices in terms of allocating budgets. As the project manager of the tender pool explained:

"The construction client is there for the visible/tangible part [...] We have our contacts: we have an architect, an engineering office, the ACROR (Advisory Committee on Public Space)… That's our focus. But when it comes to the other aspects: I don't know any municipal clients from the social domain. I wouldn't be able to appoint anyone with expertise on participatory processes of that kind, especially if they relate to the physical domain or an object. I just wouldn't know." (I-PR4).

This changed the dominant logic of the redevelopment project from efficiency and accountability to innovation and participation. Other examples include the postponement of design decisions. The initial design was the work of the architect, but certain decisions were made with the participation of residents. One such decision concerned the shape of the routing: should it be straight or curved? There was also scope for design decisions in the preparation of tenders by the local businesses.

The findings indicate that this coping pattern does not necessarily reduce the complexity of the value systems. The postponement of coping brings rewards in terms of the possible "trade-off" options and therefore defers the conflict. Moving the coping further along the timeline relative to the conflict allows for the possibility of a change in the value interests at hand, which is why we understand this pattern as a variation in terms of temporal separation. Instead of choosing to favor a dominant logic at a certain time, this pattern defers the process to count on the value systems of actors that may be involved in a later phase of the value process.

The second coping pattern, Prolongation, refers to situations where the coping takes place multiple times, spread over a longer period after the moment of the conflict, either within or across phases. This enables "new" values to slowly become embedded in the process by diminishing – but not dismissing – the influence of other value systems. Prolonging the time in which certain processes occur enables postponement of certain decisions and allows for engagement with different value systems and increases the chance of finding a value system that matches the goal pursued as part of the project. An example from our case study was the decision to extend the period of participation in the procurement phase, which was unique and enabled dissociation from certain tender procedures. Due to the fact that responsibilities are different in participatory relationships than in traditional client-contractor relationships, participation necessitates greater dependence, a point emphasized by the project manager of the tender pool:

"There's a pilot for participation with residents in the design phase and so on, but there is also local participation with the neighborhood and then you have to do something unique because otherwise you'd fall under the standard procurement policy." (I-PR4)

Looking at examples of this coping pattern within a specific phase of delivering value, dealing with conflict may be more difficult because of the large number of trade-offs that need to take place at the same time. As there is no decoupling, and actors are confronted with multiple value systems in a single phase, and because dominant relations remain consistent in a phase, and only actors may change their value

systems. In a network environment, we see actors with multiple roles switch between value systems all the time; for example, as intermediaries. The project manager of the tender pool is contracted by the municipality, however, and also has the task of representing local businesses and adopting their value system. This is often a process of complex trial and error which can be seen as temporal synthesis.

Lastly, the Anticipation pattern refers to situations in which the coping takes place at the moment of conflict itself. Although the coping process or action applied would normally occur at a later phase, in this approach it is brought forward immediately. A particularly interesting aspect of this pattern is that specific roles or professions - along with their attendant tools and processes - which would normally not become involved until later phases of the project, can make a contribution towards dealing with the conflict because they are free of other obligations. Since they are not yet in a position to account for their professional values, they are therefore relatively free to look for optimal solutions. For example, ACOR, one of the advisory boards required to approve the design, was consulted at a very early phase of the case-study project. This created the potential for pushing boundaries in search of a solution and guided the project manager in the design and construction process of the park. Although the administrative restrictions as assessed by ACOR remained the same, taking this informal approach to qualitative assessment as a coping pattern in an earlier phase of the project allowed the integration of the various value systems. As explained by the urban district manager:

"Hopefully, it also has to do with the fact that we approached and engaged ACOR [advisory board on public space] during the early stages, even before we got started. We asked them to tell us about the general lines that we had to consider." (I-PM3)

Other examples include involving the architect in the value definition phase, during the drafting of the process document when the participatory process was further elaborated, and the early cooperation between the public affairs domain and the urban management department to align goals before internal commissioning.

Anticipation as a coping pattern allows engagement with other value systems by crossing project phases. By involving actors and entities from other phases and bringing them forward across the different project phases, value systems are already integrated in decision-making. Hence, we understand this pattern as advance synthesis.

TABLE 4.3 Coping patterns on the temporal axis

	Deferral	Prolongation	Anticipation
Visualization of patterns (in time) X = conflict O = coping - - - = phase transition	X ⟶ O	X O O O ⤑	X O ⟵ O
Direction in time	Postpone	Postpone	Bringing forward
Within/across phases	Across	Across & within	Across
Approach to complexity	Minimize reduction (postponement of trade-off)	Engage	Engage
Response strategies	Variation in temporal separation	Temporal synthesis	Advance synthesis
Examples	– Achieve social goals by launching a redevelopment project – Posponement of design decisions	– Across: extending the duration of participation in procurement – Within: intermediary project managers	– Early consultations of review bodies – Early collaboration between departments – Involving architect in definition of assignment

4.4.3.2 Coping patterns on the spatial axis

Four coping patterns were found by displacing project coping activities within and across network levels in the "spatial" dimension in order to handle value conflicts that occurred in the project. These were (1) Prevalence, (2) Relegation, (3) Aggravation and (4) Coincidence. These four patterns are summarized in Table 4.4 and illustrated in the following sections.

Prevalence, the first pattern in the spatial network dimension, refers to situations in which the coping takes place at a higher level than the one where the conflict has occurred. This implies a top-down approach in dealing with complexity, crossing the network levels by using existing power relations and positions. For example, politics can act adversely by prioritizing certain values in a given situation. For example, as discussed by the project manager of the tender pool:

"Look, a director has a mandate to counter an ACOR decision. That's a secret weapon." (I-PR3)

Another example, discussed above, is the top-down nature of the participatory process. Especially in situations where final decisions needed to be taken in the participatory design process with residents, and in the transition towards the tender phase, it was often emphasized – in both formal and informal communication – that the final decision lay with the municipality. The public client was also found to have utilized a multitude of other unnecessary minor formalizations in order to remain in control.

The aim of this pattern is to favor certain value systems over other systems, adopting bias as a way of coping. Prevalence utilizes what is usually the relatively large hierarchical distance between conflict and coping. It therefore implies focusing on one dominant logic that emanates from a hierarchical power relationship, dismissing other value systems and imposing particular value trade-offs. Although using power settings is often surrounded by negative associations, this Prevalence does allow the decoupling of decisions.

The second coping pattern, Relegation refers to situations where the coping takes place at a lower level relative to where the conflict occurs. This implies a bottom-up approach in dealing with conflicts across network levels and can take the form of a symbolic or a literal displacement. For example, at one of the project meetings observed, ways of expanding the legal playing field of the tender pool were discussed and documented, including the symbolic act of allowing the project team to work "under the banner" of an existing partnership within the neighborhood.

Another symbolic result of Relegation would be to label the project as a pilot. An example of literal displacement is the municipality's creation of an external network environment in the shape of the project team, allowing public actors to act outside the bureaucratic and political environment. The intersection that is being crossed is intentionally created. And can therefore be understood as a variation on spatial separation, either between parent organization and project organization or between two systems: the administrative system and the system of participation. The focus of the coping is moving away from more formal administrative and accountability value systems, either in real time (e.g. by creating an external network) or symbolically (e.g. by framing units or activities differently).

The third pattern of coping, Aggravation, refers to situations in which the coping occurs at the locus of the conflict while utilizing the value systems of higher network levels. In doing so, it crosses levels but always maintains the distinction between the values of the project network and the administrative value system of the parent organization, which means that it engages with parts of the existing value systems. For example, although the tender process was restricted by public procurement law,

we observed a clear focus on adopting new type of values and relationships in the design of the process. As transparency is considered to be one of the most important values in public procurement, a process document was drawn up to explain the full process of partner selection, including the assessment criteria and decision-making procedures. In itself, this document can be seen as a defensive reaction, but it accounted for some of the more creative interpretations of procurement law, interpretations which potentially reduced the accountability of the tender decision. This led, for example, to the inclusion of the percentage of social return as one of the award criteria, which is normally not permitted. In other words, while the selection process itself fulfilled the criteria of a system-based approach it also provided at least some legal and practical leeway to look for compromises in the decision-making. The municipal procurement consultant explained this as follows:

"But then you are already operating in something of a grey area, because strictly speaking that should not be used as an award criterion. Even so, that's what we did to encourage the market to deliver the highest possible percentage of social return". (I-PM5)

Aggravation, by crossing network levels leads to the integration of different value systems in decisions that cover assessment and monitoring. It embeds decisions through a process of formalization. This pattern can therefore be understood as spatial synthesis.

The fourth coping pattern, Coincidence, refers to the situation in which two groups of network actors work in parallel at the same network level to cope with value conflicts, regardless of where the conflict occurs. It is noticeable that the tender pool and residents' panel were set up alongside each other in the design and the execution phase of the project in order to prevent conflicts of interests between the local entrepreneurs and the residents of the neighborhood. The tender process document contained a comprehensive description of how these panels should function in relation to each other. Yet, despite the good intentions, this resulted in a number of paragraphs so complex that even project managers had to read them several times in order to understand what was being said.

Another example can be found in the parallel design and procurement phase, which allowed the residents' panel to be involved in decision-making with regard to the local business tender. For example, during an information evening for the resident panel organized by a commissioned business from the tender pool in December 2018, residents expressed concerns about the design of benches. None of the benches had backrests. This was then taken into account in the final plan.

The aim of Coincide at a single level of the project network to create a specific relationship between actors which might otherwise operate on different levels of the network. The result is horizontal spatial synthesis.

TABLE 4.4 Coping patterns on the spatial axis

	Prevalence	Relegation	Aggravation	Coincidence
Visualization of patterns (in time) X = conflict O = coping - - - = transition network level	O ↓ X	X ↓ O	O ↑ X O	(horizontal boxes)
Direction in space	Top-down	Bottom-up	Bottom-up	Horizontal
Within/across network levels	Across Hierarchical relationship	Across Project-parent System-to-system	Across Network's administrative system	Within
Response strategy towards value pluralism	Reduce	Engage	Engage	Engage
Coping mechanism	Cognitive bias	Variation in spatial seperation	Spatial synthesis	Horizontal spatial synthesis
Examples	– Political force – Top-down participation – Final decision-maker	– Literal: external network environment – Symbolic: project as pilot and operating "under the banner of…"	Conditions, criteria, fee	– Parallel status of tender pool and residents' panel – Residents' participation in procurement

Figure 4.2 summarizes the combination of applied coping patterns on the temporal and spatial axis.
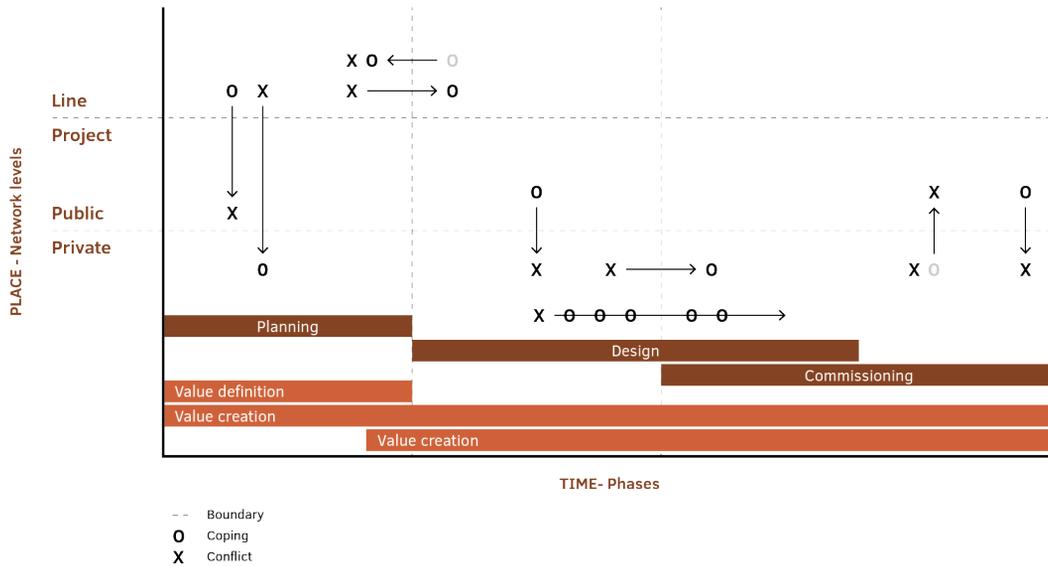
FIG. 4.2 Coping patterns on the temporal and spatial axis

4.5 Discussion

This paper provides a dynamic understanding of the emergence and nature of conflicts and ways of coping in the process of delivering value through projects in a collaborative network environment. Overall, the findings of this study help us to understand how different approaches to complexity - reducing and engaging with complexity - interact, both in the various phases of the construction life cycle (on a temporal axis) and among the various departments, institutions and actors in the project network (on a spatial axis). In doing so, the study also informs an ongoing debate in public project management about how to deal with value pluralism in complex project environments, as well as playing a role in the wider discourse about operating in an increasingly interdependent world and the greater need for conflict management that this entails (Tjosvold, 2008).

There are two key insights on which we would like to reflect further. First, zooming in on the influence of public status on the transition towards network governance, we will reflect on the dominance of interrelationships and intrarelationships in the

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various phases of delivering value and conflicts within and across levels of the organization and the system, and how these form conflict arenas. Value interests are dynamic, in that the transition towards a network environment is driven by external pressures resulting from today's societal challenges and internal adjustments (de Bruijn and Dicke., 2006; Smets et al., 2014). This dynamic of values is present in both a traditional context and a PPP context, but the impact on complexity may be greater in a PPP context, due to increased dependency and a new division of responsibilities in co-creating public values. Such factors are clearly recognizable in the construction sector. We found that, as with conflicting interests, value conflict can also arise from differences in how roles and responsibilities are perceived in the project relationship.

In this context, it is particularly interesting to discuss the role of the project sponsor or construction client more explicitly. Although the client has the ambition to act as a convener, organizational tensions exist in the public domain due to the great importance attached to accountability. In our case study, the public client found itself playing a dual role. Yet, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the public client also used both these roles to indirectly steer the project in a given direction using the dominance of value systems at certain moments in time. On the one hand, the public client ensured that the participatory strategy ran smoothly and that an effort was made to achieve social return and ownership by adopting the role of convener, a facilitating role. On the other hand, the public client also had to ensure that the project adhered to the path of legitimacy, and in doing so adopted a more traditional role in order to remain in control. The project is not only embedded in the permanent line organizations and/or interorganizational networks respectively, but also in wider institutional fields (Lundin et al., 2015; Söderlund and Sydow, 2019; Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016). The influence of these different layers of contextual embeddedness is especially important in understanding the difficulties involved in transitioning towards a network type of public governance. It is our considered opinion that the balance between public responsibility and the different roles in collaborative approaches to facilitate this transition should be the focus of future research.

Second, we would like to discuss how these coping patterns allow greater flexibility in dealing with complexity by applying social conflict theory. In contrast to existing conflict theory, which focuses solely on coping, our findings show the importance of looking at coping relative to the points at which conflicts occur during the various phases of the project and their locus within the network, and in terms of the coping patterns that emerge as a result. While separation theory already encompasses temporal and spatial separation (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989), it does not consider the direction of movement either in project phasing or from one institutional or

organizational level to another. Nor does it consider the possibility of crossing between phases of delivering value through the project or crossing intersections between network levels. The coping patterns outlined in this study allow us to better understand the process of dealing with conflicts in dynamic environments, more specifically as it pertains to complex project environments. In addition, the study shows how actors relied on ways of coping derived from different views of institutional and organizational complexity (reduction and engagement). Interestingly, we observed that some patterns employ a coping strategy from one view (e.g. reduction) but in combination with the position relative to the conflict this can produce an outcome that belongs to the opposite view, e.g. engagement, such as temporal integration in the extension pattern. Combinations of this kind allow for increased flexibility. We recommend that future research examine this phenomenon more closely with a view to further increasing our understanding of how to deal more effectively with the set structures of the public domain to bring about new value systems.

In addition, the ability to combine the different approaches to complexity also allows the role of convener to be combined with transitional roles, with the role adopted at any given time being determined by the governance mechanism adopted by the organization. However, value pluralism often exists within public construction clients due to the differentiation of governance mechanisms between departments, domains and/or levels. The relative dominance in relationships at a certain time in the project therefore influences the mechanisms and the role adopted, creating a situation in which values asserted at the beginning of the project may succumb during later phases, thereby complicating the long-term safeguarding of public values. Further research should therefore explore the impact of the alignment or misalignment of internal governance mechanisms with the adopted roles and accompanying coping strategies in the collaborative value process. Ambidexterity literature could support any such line of inquiry, as different response strategies to organizational complexity could be related to different types of ambidexterity to reflect the degree of compatibility between certain strands of logic and existing organizational practices (Eriksson, 2013; Jarzabkowski, Lê, et al., 2013).

This study helps to fill the void in empirical research with regard to the ways in which organizations deal with conflicting value systems (Bygballe & Jahre, 2009). Our study of processes provides rich data and the detailed explanation of our three-step iterative analytical process ensures transparency, enabling other researchers to judge its relevance (Langley, 1999). Although limited to one specific set of circumstances, our case study provides a useful basis for theoretical generalization and development (Yin, 1994). We believe it would be worthwhile to apply our theoretical insights to similar cases in hybrid project environments, enhancing the shift towards network-based project governance.

4.6 Conclusion

The complex network project environments created in response to today's societal challenges involve both public and private values and therefore increase the need to deal with conflicting value systems. However, there is still an empirical gap between the practices of embedding conflicting values in the process and the ways in which collaborative projects are organized. To address this gap, we carried out an analysis based on conflict theory and focused on complexity in order to understand the emergence of value conflicts and the approaches taken when dealing with conflicting values. Drawing on a study of a participatory redevelopment process for a municipal park in the Netherlands, we explain how project actors are affected by the dominance of relationships in the process of delivering value through projects and the effect this has on coping with value conflicts, by allowing or constraining conflict in the long-term interest of public values. In four conflict arenas, we demonstrated the dominance of various organizational and institutional relationships in the process of delivering value through complex projects. In light of this insight, we proceeded to unravel the link between conflict development and coping, extending conflict management literature by developing the concept of a temporal and a spatial axis in the collaborative project environment. The seven coping patterns we then established to describe the complex and dynamic aspects of projects go beyond the dichotomy between the classical economic view, with its basis in rational-technical thinking, and a paradoxical view that captures and engages with complexity. We therefore conclude that this particularly dynamic way of thinking about values and addressing value conflicts in project environments is a vital instrument, both to arriving at a theoretical understanding of network governance in public client organizations and to developing approaches for practical implementation.

5 Tooling for public value management in the construction sector

Based on the practical implications of this research, I developed a dialogue tool that can be used by public clients in the construction industry who are seeking to add a value to their existing value palette and sustain this value in external and/or internal commissioning. Section 5.1. explains the purpose and underlying motivation of developing a public value tool of this kind, which was informed by both the limitations of the current public value toolbox and the practical implications deriving from the empirical insights discussed in the previous chapters. Section 5.2 explains key considerations and steps in the development of the tool. After which the value dialogue tool 'Speaking of values' is presented in section 5.3, discussing who its principal users would be, as well as when and in what specific situations the tool would be applied. Next, I discuss what precisely the tool consists of and how it would work in practice.

TOC

5.1 Why public construction clients would benefit from a value tool

As demonstrated in previous chapters, the key role of public construction clients – safeguarding public values – is undergoing profound change and is becoming increasingly complex at this historical juncture. Changes in this role and responsibility associated with it have occurred in parallel with the ongoing transition towards New Public Governance (NPG). The advent of this network-based mode of governance has meant that the public construction commissioning role has become increasingly heterogeneous. This affects the scope of the work performed by commissioning agents – especially with respect to their options for safeguarding public values – who, simultaneously, are expected to remain socio-politically responsible for its delivery. The present research has shown that the knowledge level about what is possible within the different phases of procurement is insufficient, especially with regard to new values and alignment with other values. The conclusion of the present research is that it is only by fully recognizing the impact of value complexity that a more realistic and practical integrated approach towards this matter can be developed. In this respect, it is an important precondition for the further implementation of network governance within the domain of public construction clients.

Public commissioning has a key position with respect to safeguarding public values, insofar as commissioning entails both internal and external elements, and, hence, both long-term and short-term interventions. This raises the question of how we can ensure that the right kind of intervention is introduced? This question is especially pertinent when one considers the fact that public commissioning entities do not appear to be aware of:

— Other values 'at play' around a value, which potentially impacts upon the delivery of a newly added value. Consequently, actors are not aware of:
— What contradictions (conflicting values) may be encountered in the implementation of the value, and where these contradictions derive from; and:
— How to deal with relevant contradictions (conflicting values) in the commissioning role and/or as a commissioning organization to the benefit of the value that is being strived for.

The need for a framework through which to help public bodies in triaging competing values, while, simultaneously, honoring the structures of authority and regime values within which they operate, has also been raised by Bao et al. (2013). Therefore, in this chapter I present a practical framework for the public commissioning role in construction. Generally speaking, the aim of current public value tools is both to raise awareness and help public managers to make sense of strategic challenges in public policy and management. That is to say, they do not provide answers, but rather help public managers to engage with fundamental issues in public management and identify action alternatives (De Jong et al., 2017). As will be discussed at length in this chapter, the 'Speaking of values' dialogue tool sets out to enhance public clients' cognizance of the value challenges they will encounter and helps them to act more consciously and effectively when safeguarding public values.

5.1.1   The purpose of the dialogue tool

In response to the aforementioned awareness issues amongst public commissioning entities, the purpose of the tool is to support public construction clients in identifying the main challenges they face when organizing the safeguarding of public values:

1   Identifying value systems in the task environment.
2   Understanding value dilemmas.
3   Understanding how to deal with complexity in value systems.

This, in turn, will help them to transform their commissioning profession, role and organization to the benefit of public value safeguarding.

The tool is aimed to create awareness about the impact of value systems on achieving public goals and inspire on opportunities to engage with complexity in public commissioning that are normally not applied and attempt to bring their value-based actions into alignment. Moreover, it will allow public construction clients to prepare for a more structured and integrative way of safeguarding public values.

In order to both enhance the current level of awareness about the – often conflicting – values at play and enable consideration of alternative ways of safeguarding public values, the tool seeks to assist in the visualization of complex value-dynamics. Visualization enhances humans' processing abilities, by capitalizing on several aspects of human cognition to help people oversee larger connections (Scaife & Rogers, 1996). To determine the 'right' kind of intervention in the public value process, public clients should be able to interact early on in the process in order to create awareness of

potential value conflicts before they occur. In this way, they can be proactive in terms of their preparation for the various value dynamics they will subsequently encounter, so that they can begin to plan for their role in internal and external public service delivery and ensure that their organization is able to support the role(s). To stimulate these precise forms of interaction, the decision was made to develop a dialogue tool.

5.1.2 Extending the existing public value toolbox

To clarify precisely what benefit a public value tool grounded in the empirical insights generated from this research can have, it is first instructive to discuss the practical implications of the research in conjunction with the recognized limitations of current public value tools. The most important contributions of the present research to public value theory derive from the operationalization and application of public value governance and management in network environments emerging in times of NPG. Indeed, almost all of the current public value tools were developed during periods characterized by Traditional Public Management (TPM) and New Public Management (NPM), not in NPG (de Jong et al., 2017). In the interim, value pluralism and newly emerging relations have increased the complexity of public value safeguarding. My research does take NPG into account, particularly how organizations have sought to implement it in conjunction with TPM and NPM. In the following sections, I explain how three of the major practical implications from my research – the fact that the research takes multiple influences, multiple relations and value alignment into account – can help to overcome some of the limitations of the current public value toolbox.

5.1.2.1 Taking multiple influences into account

What is required to adopt NPG? To further develop the public value toolbox, especially in terms of incorporating network management (NPG) as opposed to merely continuing with NPM and TPM, it is important to take multiple influences into account. The NPG framework is based on the recognition that 'the needs and problems now faced by citizens, communities and governments are complex rather than simple, 'wicked' rather than 'tame', and diverse rather than homogeneous' (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 13). There is a need to reframe the questions, by taking external influences into account as opposed to solely financial inputs and operational outputs.

What are the limitations of current tools with respect to multiple influences? Most existing tools do not yet make it possible to consider the complexity of multiple influences, according to Alford and Yates (2014). The strategic triangle of Moore (Moore, 1995) – a first generation tool developed in times of TPM – considers the relation between value proposition, the authorizing environment and the operational resources within public organizations. While the authorizing authority provides a link with the environment, this remains strictly limited to the political sphere. Second generation tools developed during the period of TPM and NPM – the public value chain, public value account, public value scorecard – are based on the concepts of this strategic triangle and, consequently, share its limitations with respect to taking external factors into account (de Jong et al., 2017; Alford and Yates, 2014). The concept of the value chain is an exception in this regard, because it does notify the "activities and processes of production and co-production of public service, and allows for a somewhat wider view focusing on how to add public value at various stages in the process" (Bennington and Moore, 2011, p. 12). In order to account for more influences, Alford and Yates (2014) proposed another framework: Public Value Process Mapping, which emphasizes that solely adopting an organizational focus is insufficient, due to the fact that there are also external contributors to public values, which means 'that it is not only about delivering goods, but also about providing services. In other words, they adopt a process view in conjunction with the organizational focus of other value tools. However, the authors do acknowledge that their tool concentrates on a specific set of relations, which, in turn, limits the contexts in which it can be applied.

What practical implication is added towards taking multiple influences into account? I use Public value process mapping as a source of inspiration to do justice to the complexity represented by NPG. Building on public value process mapping allows for the incorporation of the process element of safeguarding with the organization level governance mechanisms perspective. I chose a different set of influences by combining a set of internal and external influences that especially impact upon the value interests of public construction clients.

5.1.2.2 Taking multiple relations into account

What is required to adopt NPG? When discussing the transition towards network governance, it is of paramount importance to consider multiple relations. Public value thinking as part of network governance and action requires the capacity to analyze and 'understand the interconnections, interdependencies and interactions between complex issues, and across multiple boundaries' (Benington & Moore, 2011, p. 15).

What are the limitations of current tools with respect to multiple relations? Although relations are emphasized in current mapping tools, according to Alford and Yates (2014) these tools are limited by the fact that each mapping instrument takes some relations into account, but none incorporate all of them.

What practical implications are added by managing multiple relations? The present research demonstrates the interdependency of various commissioning stakeholders and their value interests. It also highlighted the increased potential for conflict situations and found that public construction clients need to simultaneously navigate multiple modes of governance. This means that they often need to manage multiple intersections, in which multiple relations play a role. The 'Speaking of values' tool takes these relations into account, allowing for the incorporation of both inter- and intra-relations; internal, external and internal-external relationships; public-private relations; and relations between organizational scale levels.

5.1.2.3 Guidance in thinking about alignment

What is required to adopt NPG? The research demonstrates that discussions are increasingly about how best to balance multiple values by aligning value activities with integrative actions, rather than governing single values. Practitioners have hitherto primarily focused on assessing via the use of rational measurement cycles, in order to bolster transparency and efficiency when assessing a (single) value. However, this is insufficient in situations characterized by highly complex practices (like NPG), for the simple reason that management by measurement culminates in manifold procedures and fear of innovation (Noordegraaf & Abma, 2003). As this research shows, innovation in governance is needed if we are to develop integrative ways of managing value pluralism, which is becoming increasingly important in network environments.

What are the limitations of current tools in relation to value alignment? One of the main critiques of the strategic triangle, and, to a greater or lesser extent, the aforementioned second generation tools that are based on it, is that it is a normative or prescriptive framework (de Jong et al., 2017; Hartley, Alford, Knies, & Douglas, 2017). Although most of the current public value tools do offer additional ways of thinking, besides from management by measurement, they nevertheless remain prescriptive, not to mention that they fail to offer variables, conditions or mechanisms that can lead to alignment and therefore effective management (Hartley et al., 2017; Noordegraaf & Abma, 2003).

What practical implications are added for value alignment? I find the current lack of guidance on alignment alarming. The empirical evidence generated by this research testifies to how the misalignment between external and internal commissioning leads to, among other things, reactive as opposed to proactive responses to value conflicts. In response to this, the present research offers coping patterns that aid the search for an integrative approach to establishing a balance between the multiplicity of values and exploiting value complexity. It clarifies how plural value systems can be used by coping at different internal and external network levels and/or in different phases of public service delivery, while, simultaneously, acknowledging the restrictive and sustaining characteristics of different internal and external boundaries across different scale levels.

5.2 Developing the tool

Multiple sessions between myself, the supervisory team and other colleagues were held at different stages of the tool's development to monitor its progress. To ensure that when applying the tool, the participants could tackle the three aforementioned challenges of public commissioning, I needed to find a way to fully account for the complexity of value dynamics in the process and the organization, in order to properly account for the potential conflict relations (conflict arenas) and align the value activities.

In order to ascertain what should be mapped by the tool, and thus what information should be provided to the participants, it was important to comprehend the challenges that followed from the research. To achieve this, the findings needed to be clustered into manageable categories. An overview of the findings was made using the time, level and scale axes outlined in Chapter 4, for the express purpose of confirming whether all the findings were directly or indirectly reflected in these categories. This overview (see Table 5.1) helped to define the three topics and questions for each challenge, as well as in terms of determining the information that was required to guide the value-based dialogue when answering the questions. This information – translated into typologies, supported by quotes, examples and sub-questions - covers a wide spectre and steers the dialogue in the 'right' direction.

TABLE 5.1 Challenges and key findings

	Challenge: Identifying value systems in the task environment	Challenge: Understanding value dilemmas	Challenge: Dealing with complexity in value systems
Mapping	Map the value-path through the organization	Determine 'critical' path	Adjusting the path
Key findings	Types of values Factors of influence	Types of conflicts	Coping patterns: defensive and active management of intersections
Time	Dominance of value system in phases due to involvement of actors	Inter- and intra-conflicts: between and within phases	Pull forward (anticipation) and postpone (deferral and prolongation)
Levels	Dominance of value system in levels due to involvement of actors	Inter- and intra-conflicts: between and within organizational levels; Origin of the conflict	Top-down (prevalence) and bottom-up (relegation and aggravation)
Scale levels	Internal and external influences on actors. Person, group, system	Conflicts between persons (professions), groups (departments, sections, etc.) or systems (public domain, private domain); Origin of the conflict	Scope of influence in commissioning: executive, administrative, and operational

The process of developing the tool was a collaboration between the researcher and graphic designer, Minke Themans. This was an iterative process that moved back-and-forth between content and design, see figure 5.1.

The design phase involved two main steps: looking for a 'form' and enriching the chosen form. In the process of looking for the form, sketches of structures, design and functioning brainstorms and scenarios were used to develop an initial model. Scenarios of different commissioning actions – policy-making, program management and a project, all of which were related to implementing sustainability – were used to understand the sequential build-up and enrichment of the path via different typologies, and so forth. Various conceptual designs have been run through using a scenario to reflect on the usability and modifications have been made.

The trial phase took place during the Covid-19 pandemic. The tool was designed as a physical tool, because it was precisely the interactions, developing an overview, literal adjustment of the path and the dialogue that formed the cornerstone of the original concept. The platform Miro was used to build a prototype online version. One trial session was held with colleagues. A role play based on a case was used. Another trial session was held with internal commissioners from multiple water boards in a two-day workshop on sustainable commissioning. When observing the two trial

sessions, it was pleasing to see that the conversations that were taking place were precisely the kind that we were aiming for. The feedback on the sessions resulted in four avenues for improvement: 1) to differentiate more clearly between types of connections (directions of influence and character); 2) to distinguish between the types of actors (acting as an individual or as an organization, for example); 3) to streamline certain parts of the dialogue sheets; and 4) to provide some additional support to the participants. The recommendations for improvement coming out of the trials were all subsequently integrated into the first provisional version of the dialogue tool.
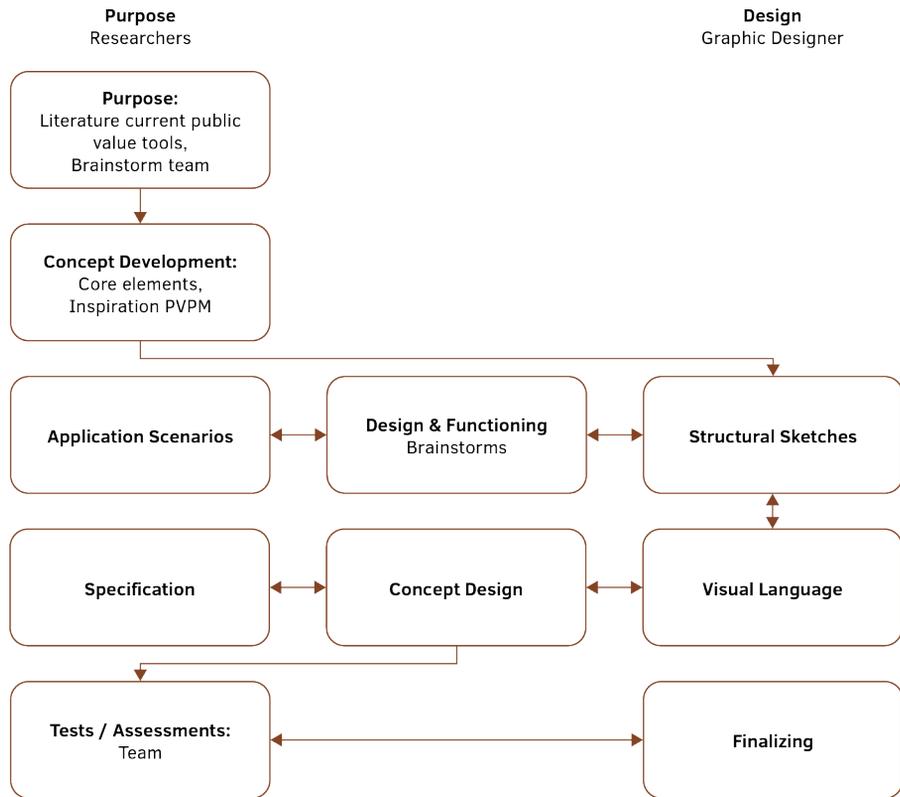

FIG. 5.1 Tool development process

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5.3 The value dialogue tool: 'Speaking of values'

Inspired by analytical mapping tools – particularly public value process mapping – the tool seeks out commissioning links (as opposed to causal links) and influences, both internally and externally, on value activities. By mapping, a path can be created around actors and commissioning actions. This path can be enriched with different elements to create an overview of the value dynamics, which, in turn, allows for the identification of contradictions and subsequently for different ways to deal with these contradictions. To assist the participants in constructing the path, the tool is based on three dialogues – supported by dialogue sheets – via which they could build up the path over the course of several steps, thus creating an overview of the value dynamics and how this could be used.

The tool 'Speaking of values' consists of:

— a ground board;
— three dialogue sheets;
— eight actor cards;
— ten conflict cards;
— eight role cards;
— typology tokens (the amounts differ with respect to each type of token).

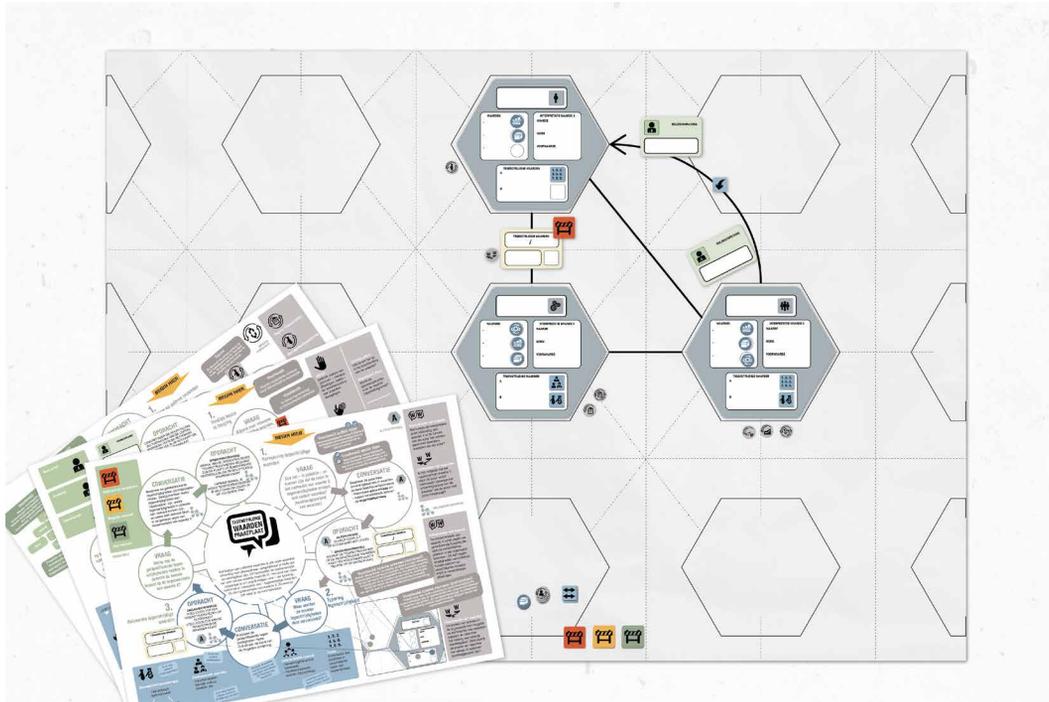Figure 5.2 shows what the ground board and cards look like.

FIG. 5.2 Impression of the tool 'Speaking of values'

5.3.1 When and how can the tool be used?

The 'Speaking of Values' dialogue tool is intended for public clients in the construction industry who want to add (new interpretations of) values to their existing value palette: value X. It is for clients who want to sustain value X in their external and/or internal commissioning, as for example shown in Figure 5.3. The implementation of value X can be achieved through a range of different activities associated with commissioning: policies and frameworks, programs and projects, or a combination of these.

FIG. 5.3 Example of a situation in which the dialogue tool could be applied

The tool is intended to be applied at the beginning – the start-up phase – of the implementation of value X. Even though at the beginning there is often tremendous uncertainty, the impact is potentially at its largest during this phase. To be clear, the tool is not about fixing as much as possible at the outset, but rather is about considering and developing tactics for dealing with the value complexity stemming from the addition of this new value to the existing set of values. In this respect, it can be said to create new value insights that can be applied during the process of implementing value X. The tool could also prove to be useful for validation and learning purposes, by, for example, applying the tool within an evaluation process.

Prior to starting, the value implementation process that is to be analyzed should be determined, such as, for example, 'adding sustainability to the internal commissioning process'. Preferably, the core actors related to this process should be invited to jointly apply the tool. These participants each receive an actor card that they write their names on. After having done this, they should then position the actor cards on the ground board, based on commissioning links: e.g. who steers who, who accounts to who, who advices who? In this way, the initial path of the value implementation is thus created. The ground board serves as a base, the 'playing field' if you will. The grid on the ground board provides a structure upon which to place actor cards and mark lines that represent the commissioning links between the participants illustrated on the actor cards.

The three dialogue sheets provide input designed to enrich the initial path with cards and tokens. Each sheet addresses one of the three challenges outlined in 5.2. The dialogue sheets provide guidance in how to enrich the path on the ground board. Each of the three dialogue sheets contain three topics that must be discussed in a specific order. For each of these topics, a central question, guidance for the discussions and an assignment are all depicted on the dialogue sheet. The dialogue sheets were designed in a clockwise rotation in order to guide the participants. The tables below present, for each dialogue sheet, what the topics are, what the questions are, the information that supports the discussion and the outcome of the assignment.

The first dialogue sheet addresses the following challenge: 'Identifying value systems in the task environment'. Here, the participants take the first step in terms of enriching the actor cards. The opening part of the discussion pertains to identifying the internal and external influences on the daily work of the participants (as illustrated by the actor cards). To this end, the participants are provided with different typologies of factors, which are supported by quotes (see Figure 5.4 for an example). For each actor, two internal and two external factors are added to the actor card in the form of tokens that correspond to the typologies on the dialogue sheet. Inspired by the identified influences, in the following discussion topic the participants are asked to address what this means for the values that an actor holds, in addition to value X. The participants are encouraged to consider different types (procedural, performance, product) of values. For each actor, the three most important values are then written on that particular actor card. These values can be typified with a token.

Quote

If I look at the 'market vision' [sector wide vision on collaboration], it are these three: innovation, cooperation and the sustainability challenge. For me, these are things that should become an integral part of the cooperation with the supply market.

Example Sustainability
Sub-value: environmental dimension sustainability – planet
Standards: protection against flooding by maximum water storage
Conditions: m3 water storage in the polder

FIG. 5.4 Example of informative quote about external factor   FIG. 5.5 Value hierarchy and informative example
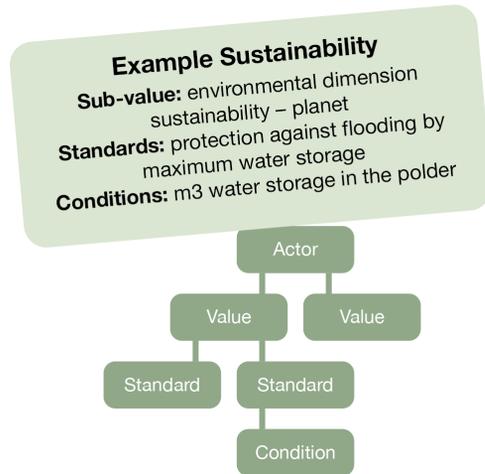
Finally, the participants delve into the different ways in which value X translates into the actors' work. Based on the so-called value hierarchy – see Figure 5.5 – the participants consider for each of the actors whether value X is translated into sub-values, standards and/or preconditions. This is subsequently added to the actor card. Table 5.2 provides further details.
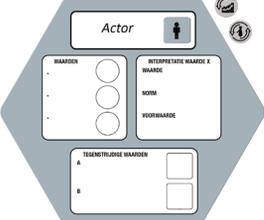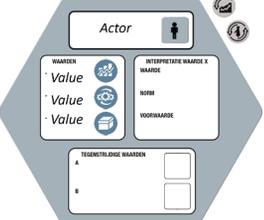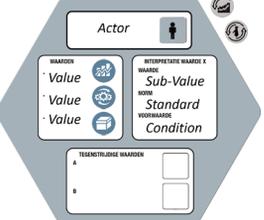
TABLE 5.2 Content dialogue sheet 1

Dialogue sheet 1

Challenge: Identifying value systems in the task environment
Goal: Awareness of the values that are at play
Depending on group size: Discuss (part of) the path in subgroups

Main topics	Internal and external influences on work activities	Values brought in by actors	Interpretation and embedding of value X
Question	What internal and external factors influence the various actors in their day-to-day work?	Which values, in addition to value X and the actors' personal values, are most important to the different actors?	How is value X translated into the functions – and associated work – of the different actors?
Input for discussion	Internal factors (organization): Rules and regulations Management approach Culture Personal aspects External factors (task environment, sector, society) Rules and regulations Market Relation to the environment Societal challenges	Types of values: Procedural values Performance values Product-related values	Value hierarchy: sub-values, norms and conditions
Outcome for board	2 main internal and 2 main external influences: typology tokens positioned alongside actor card	3 values for each actor which are most important in their day-to-day work written on the actor cards + typology tokens on actor cards	Value hierarchy filled out on actor card

The second dialogue sheet addresses the following challenge: 'Understanding value dilemmas'. Now that the participants know what values are at play, they can now begin to use this dialogue sheet to identify potential value conflicts, both at the actor level and in the various relationships at the organizational level. During this step, the actor cards are enriched, and the conflict cards are filled out. The first part of the discussion focuses on recognizing conflicting values, both at the actor level and the organizational level. The participants receive information about how differences in interpretation and dominance of values can lead to value conflicts (see Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7). The values between which the conflicts play a role are written on the actor cards and conflict cards.

Example between levels (vertical)
Whole versus Parts:
The department as a whole is more defensive, risk-averse and non-opportunistic than specific projects. For example, from the perspective of a specific project it may be desirable to focus on innovation and participation, while from the departmental perspective it may be desirable to focus more on efficiency and formalisation.

FIG. 5.6 Informative example of value conflict

Example of conflict between other types of values
Cooperation versus Efficiency:
Under European public procurement law you cannot simply build on a previous successful cooperation

FIG. 5.7 Informative example of value conflict

Is there a different way of working?

Professional values:
Characteristics of the profession: culture, character, etc...

FIG. 5.8 Example of a cause of conflict and informative question

The conflict cards are placed on the relationship in which they play out on the ground board. The participants then proceed to discuss what causes these contradictions (conflicting values). They are given several options, and some questions to help them identify the conflicts (see Figure 5.8 for an example). They can characterize the identified contradictions on the board with the corresponding tokens.

Finally, the participants determine which conflicts are most relevant to address in the pursuit of value X, which is then marked on the ground board. Table 5.3 provides further details.
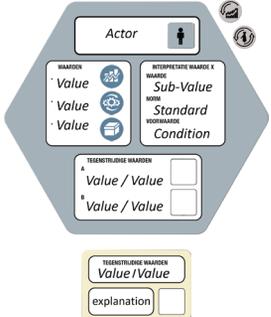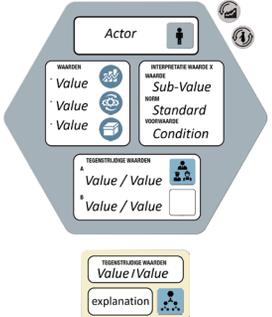
TABLE 5.3 Content dialogue sheet 2

Dialogue sheet 2			
Challenge: Understanding value dilemma's **Goal:** Getting an eye for conflicting values and understanding value dilemmas **Depending on group size:** Discuss (part of) the path in subgroups			
Main topics	Recognition of contradicting values	Characterization of contradictions	Relevance of contradicting values
Question	Could it be – potentially – that the actor who is in in pursuit of value X experiences any contradictions with other values?	What causes these perceived contradictions?	Which of the identified contradictions could have the greatest potential impact on the implementation of value X?
Input for discussion	Actor and organizational perspective W/W Interpretation of values W W Dominance in values	Actor and organizational perspective Management approach Professional values Internal relation between actors 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. Phases	
Outcome for ground board	Contradictions filled out on actor cards and conflict cards. Conflict cards positioned on ground board 	Typology tokens positioned on actor cards and conflict cards 	Marking of the relevance of identified conflicts by tokens
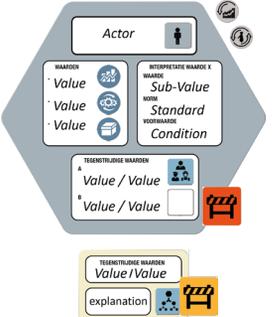
The third dialogue sheet addresses the following challenge: 'Understanding how to deal with complexity in value systems'. With the help of this dialogue sheet, the participants will find out how they can deal with relevant conflicts, in terms of how to intervene, where to intervene in the organization and when to intervene in the implementation process. The first part of the discussion will make the participants aware of what actions are currently taken to deal with value conflicts: are there firm boundaries set or do participants look to integrate values, and if so, how do they do it? This does not translate onto the ground board. In the second part of the discussion, the participants consider relevant conflicts and examine how they can make use of the identified value palette (sheet 1) when dealing with these conflicts. They receive information about what the effect will be on the value perspective if they apply a coping strategy (way of dealing) at a different point in time (see Figure 5.9 for an example of this) or at a different level (see Figure 5.10 for an example). This will enable them to identify opportunities, which they then subsequently translate to the path by drawing arrows and typifying them with the corresponding tokens.

Example
Early consultation with assessment body, such as a licensing authority.

Bringing forward
Informal use of systems

FIG. 5.9 Informative example of coping pattern on time axis

Example
Symbolically working 'under the banner of' an existing local network

Bottom-up
Pull out of 'system': Creating freedom for experimentation, less accountability
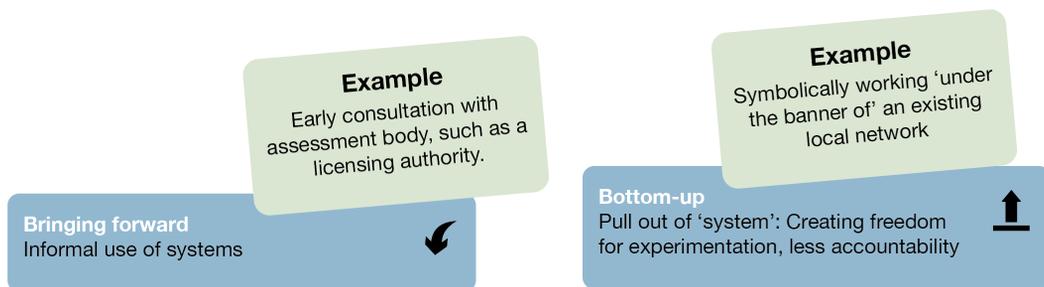
FIG. 5.10 Informative example of coping pattern on time axis

Finally, the participants discuss what the latter means for different commissioning roles in the organization, before the role cards are then filled in and positioned on the ground board. Table 5.4 provides further details.

TABLE 5.4 Content dialogue sheet 3

Dialogue sheet 3			

Challenge: Understanding how to deal with complexity in value systems
Goal: Finding out where and when you put your actions to work in the organization (function + integral) in order to influence the value dynamics
Depending on group size: Discuss different relevant conflicts for each of the subgroups

Main topics	Current choice when safeguarding	Optimization of value dynamics for value X	Professional commissioning for value X
Question	Looking at relevant contradictory values, what do you do now to safeguard these values and what is the result of this?	Looking at relevant conflicting values: Where on the path of implementation can the pursuit of other values strengthen value X?	What can you do at an executive, administrative or operational level to apply the coping patterns in order to optimize value X?
Input for discussion	Or/or boundaries – Formal or informal – Favorable impact or restrictive effect both/and – integration – Formal or informal – Favorable impact or restrictive effect	Coping patterns on time and level axes ⬇ Top-down ⬆ Bottom-up ⬌ Parallel ↙ Bring forward ⏩ Postpone and/or extend	– Executive commissioning – Administrative commissioning – Operational commissioning
Outcome for ground board		Tokens positioned at arrows drawn on the ground board 	Making commissioning roles more concrete by filling in and positioning role cards
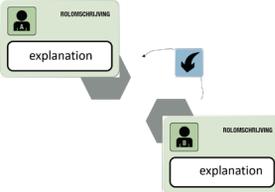
Practical implications for the use of the tool

Based on both participant feedback in the trial sessions and my own observations of these sessions, I produced several practical guidelines for the use of the dialogue tool:

— **Restrict the number of participants**
It appears that restricting the number of players improves the quality of using the dialogue tool. It is thus recommended to restrict the number of participants to only the core players and organizational units, directly on the path, no sub-processes. Overall, the dialogue should preferably be limited to only five participants, although others may be involved in additional sessions. It is also recommended to keep the group together during the dialogues related to the first dialogue sheet. With respect to the dialogues for the second and third dialogue sheets, the group can also be split up in order to divide the work of identifying the conflicts and current safeguarding mechanisms and to try out the coping patterns. The last conversational topic of the third dialogue sheet should preferably be carried out once more in a plenary session.

— **Awareness comes before completeness**
The goal is not to be complete and extensive, but rather to create awareness. Hence, it is important that the participants do not feel afraid to give incomplete answers. To avoid this, it is recommended to work with the initial answers provided by the participants, and then during the dialogue the path can be supplemented with relevant additional points.

— **Take your time**
To allow participants to go beyond what is typical and commonly understood, it is important to give them time. Hence, take at least four hours for a session and remember it is not necessary to cram the complete tool into a single session. Indeed, the tool can easily be split up over the course of several sessions, such as dedicating one session for each dialogue sheet. Participants will gladly invest additional time when the first session proves to be fruitful.

— **When involving a moderator, choose wisely**
The aim of the tool is to get participants thinking differently. Therefore, a moderator will only prove expedient when he or she is able to keep an open mind and explore new ways of thinking and acting, as well as encouraging participants to do the same, in turn, enabling them to surprise each other as well as the moderator. 'In this respect, the role should be akin to that of a referee in a children's football match: do not blow your whistle too much, just let them do their thing, 'or the game (and the fun) will be ruined.

— **Be alert, notice what is surprising, new and different**
  Thinking in a different way strongly resembles a creative process. Hence, it is important to notice and encourage new and different ideas and suggestions. To ensure that a suitable environment is fostered, participants could be asked to adhere to a kind of 'dialogue etiquette', based upon a few basic principles. A useful one might be: begin your response towards others' statements with 'yes, and' rather than with 'yes, but'. This is a simple technique for showing respect towards other people's ideas and contributions.

6 Discussion and conclusions

The aim of the research was to generate insights that added to extant understanding of safeguarding of public values by public construction clients while delivering public services in the built environment. This chapter comprises reflection and concluding remarks on the dissertation as a whole. In Section 6.1, the main research question is answered, based on a summary of the key findings. In Section 6.2, I take a step back and reflect on the combined findings in relation to the alignment of external and internal commissioning roles and responsibilities. In Section 6.3, I delineate the limitations of the adopted research approach. Finally, Section 6.4 examines the contributions of the research and provides avenues for further research.

6.1 Conclusion: summary of key findings

The research set out to answer the following research question:

How can public construction clients safeguard public values in public service delivery within the built environment?

A public construction client is an organization in the public sector that shapes and executes its interaction with the market, both internally and externally, due to its responsibilities in the built environment. Based on three qualitative studies, I have investigated the dynamics of sector-specific value interests of public construction clients (see Chapter 2) and the occurrence of value conflicts in commissioning (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4). In light of safeguarding the changing value interests and managing the value conflicts, the research also considered the coping patterns that are applied in external commissioning to deal with external hybridity in a collaborative project-based setting (Chapter 4), and what this means in terms of implementation challenges for unestablished values in internal commissioning (see Chapter 3).

6.1.1 Dynamic and conflicting public value interests in public construction commissioning

In answering the research question of how public construction clients safeguard public values in public service delivery, I found that the range of values that require safeguarding by public organizations is growing as a consequence of value dynamics, which serve to expand the pluralistic character of the public value system rather than replacing the pre-existing values, resulting in an increase in conflict situation that impacts upon the value interests of public construction clients. In this section, I elaborate further on these results. I do so, firstly, with respect to the value dynamics that engender changed value interests for public construction clients (see 6.1.1.1), and secondly, with regard to the value conflicts that these changing value interests cause within different parts of the commissioning role (see 6.1.1.2).

Dynamics in value interests

Chapter 2 focused on the types and dynamics of value interests. Based on a review of extant literature and semi-structured qualitative interviews with seventeen public client organizations, a framework of 25 public values that constitute the common value palette of Dutch construction client organizations was developed (Table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1 Public value framework for construction clients

Procedural values	Product/Performance values
Lawfulness: defensible, rightfully, legal, legitimate, righteous	**Efficiency**: results-driven, expedient, time/money – result
Accountability: responsibility, liability, duty, justification, task, ownership	**Effectiveness:** purposiveness, useful effect, contribution
Collaboration: cooperation, commonality, partnering, contributing, unity	**Quality:** requirements/specifications /standards, validity, quality of service, value, level, build quality
Participation: involvement, engagement, consultation, partaking, contacts with citizens	**Functionalit**y: usability, efficacy, practicability, applicability, practical, utility
Transparency: openness, testable, insightful, controllable, clarity, clearness	**Innovative:** innovative, development, change, creativity, improvement product/process
Integrity: correct, carefully, incorruptible, discreet, respectable, rectitude, uphold norms and values	**Ecological Sustainability**: environmentally friendly, natural balance, biodiversity, energy efficiency, durability, sustainable use of raw materials
Safety: social control, protected, (sense of) security, no risk, assurance, protective measures	**Economical Sustainability**: competition, progress, employment opportunities, continuity, mobility, affordability
Reliability: credible, understandable, sound, thoroughly, solid, coherent	**Social-economical Sustainability:** consistency, cultural heritage, room for diversity, authenticity
Equality: impartiality, equivalent, non-discrimination, balanced, proportionally	**Context:** stakeholders, situation, circumstances, perspectives, relationships, configuration, surroundings, atmosphere
Honesty: accessibility, justice, equitable, equivalence	**Character:** appearance, signature, symbolizing, distinctive, characteristic
Collegiality: loyalty, coherence, solidarity, harmoniousness, faithfully, helpful, fraternally	**Beauty**: exterior, splendor, fine, aesthetics, attractive
Wisdom: uncluttered, understanding, knowledge, insight, information	**Integrality:** complete, total, full, mixed-use
Health: vitality, mobility, welfare, social contacts, comfort, healthy living environment	

It was found that clients' value interests were influenced by various contexts: a) the context of the construction industry, b) the construction project context, and c) the administrative context of the client. Three overarching internal factors appeared to influence the value interests of public construction clients: (1) developments within the organization; (2) the public character of the organization and (3) the view on the position in the client- contractor relationship. Alongside this, four external factors of influence relating to the sector, the system and the industry were also found: (1) construction sector-related laws and policies; (2) developments within the construction supply market; (3) the administrative system (political sphere and accountability) and (4) societal challenges.

Irrespective of the internal and external influences, all of the client-professionals agreed on the importance of a set of procedural values strongly related to the lawfulness and responsibilities of public client bodies, grounded in the values of integrity, transparency and reliability. However, the dominance of these procedural type of values was found to be subject to change. In particular, the current collaborative practices of public service delivery impact upon how these values are perceived: the procedural values of integrity, lawfulness, reliability and equality are increasingly considered to be contextual. The complex networks that construction project environments create in response to 'contemporary societal challenges, also consist of both public and private values. Together, this affects the value management of public construction clients and the purpose of steering becomes directed towards other values. Hence, the research discerned an ongoing shift in focus away from procedural values related to lawfulness and the performance values of effectiveness and efficiency, towards product-related values of innovation, sustainability and quality of service provided. This shift can be understood as a response to ongoing NPG reforms, which can be recognized internationally in the construction industry and across other sectors in society.

Based on these findings, I conclude that the value palette of public construction clients consists of a group of procedural-, performance- and product-related values, as shown in Table 6.1. The value interests of public construction clients were found to be dynamic, with an ongoing shift in focus towards the dominance of product-related values. Moreover, the findings indicate that the impetus for this shift in focus towards product-related values originates from the aim to improve public service delivery in an evolving context. In addition to performing their legal task as a contracting authority, added value can also increasingly be achieved by pursuing product-related values such as innovation and sustainability.

Conflicting value interests

The shift in focus towards product-related values does not mean that other – existing – value palettes are disappearing. Rather, the dynamics in value interests are resulting in a growing set of public values that must be considered by public construction clients. What is even more interesting in the context of what public values should be safeguarded by public construction clients, is the conflicting nature of these public values. As a consequence of value dynamics, the mutual dominance of value interests is changing and there is a need for greater attention to be paid to safeguarding specific values.

What emerged from this research is that value conflicts appear to be the main issue when striving for and trying to embed 'new' public values in commissioning. The organizational and institutional complexity arising from the sum of internal and external dynamic value interests, in turn, creates a construction context in which public client organizations are confronted with value clashes and incompatible goals. In their commissioning role, public construction bodies are especially confronted with a broad array of conflicting public value interests. Both externally in the interactions between the public construction client, contractors and other societal partners (see Chapters 2 and 4) and internally within the public client's own organization (see Chapters 2 and 3), these new challenges need to be overcome by implementing network governance approaches.

In Chapter 4, I identified three axes in particular that play a pivotal role in terms of understanding what transpires within this dynamic and complex environment, as well as how situations characterized by conflicting values emerge in commissioning. The 'temporal axis' represents the various phases in the construction project life cycle within which various activities, such as value identification, value creation and value capturing, take place. The 'spatial axis' represents the network levels between the different actors. Moreover, the research also highlighted the importance of looking within and across both the phases and the network levels to identify conflict arenas. From this, a third dimension followed: the 'scale level'. This pertains to the fact that value systems can belong to people who represent different occupations, groups or systems. Whether these (scale) levels are more dominant or less dominant differs with respect to each phase. These temporal, spatial and scale axes offer a solid explanation for both the existence and dynamics of conflict arenas in the changing context of construction commissioning professionals. These three axes are depicted in Figure 6.1. This figure also shows the dynamics of the dominance in value conflicts.
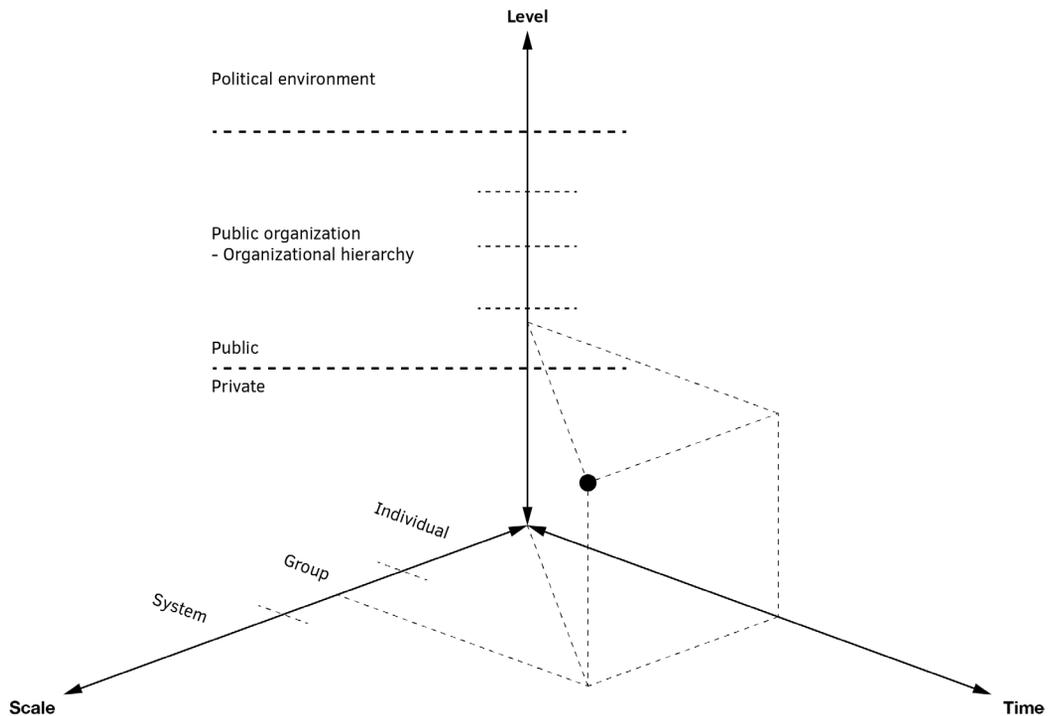
FIG. 6.1 Axes and intersections

Regarding the process of external commissioning, in Chapter 4 I identified four conflict arenas that occur due to the dominance of organizational and institutional relationships in the process of delivering value through complex projects. Based on an in-depth case study of a participatory value delivery process for the Cromvlietpark, it was found that two major conflict arenas occurred within various network levels of this particular public redevelopment project: (1) within the political environment of the public domain; (2) within the public client organization itself. Furthermore, two major conflict arenas between actors involved across the project network levels were also identified: (a) across the network levels of the public and private actors; and (b) across system levels.

This testifies to the dominance of particular conflict arenas in network relationships across different phases of the project life cycle, which are related to different stages of the public value process. More specifically, the relationship between the administrative system and the participatory system appeared to be more dominant in the conflict arenas than the public-private intersection. Close inspection of the application of elements of distinct modes of governance across different

organizational levels in Chapter 3 produced a deeper understanding of the ways in which internal hybridity can lead to implementation challenges. There, I discovered that the ongoing implementation of NPG in municipal organizations caused a heterogeneous picture of coexisting modes of governance within the organization, allied with different translations of the accompanying value systems in the governance systems, management approaches, motivations and roles of municipal civil servants.

Several implementation challenges were identified. From both a vertical perspective in the organization and with respect to differences in the degree of adopting NPG, it can be concluded that the value translations into new modes of governance was rather top-down. Specifically, implementation challenges derived from dilemmas between formalization and flexibility, misalignment between both top-down and bottom-up governance and between different scale levels, the organization as a whole and the part. From a horizontal perspective, pillars, professions and value interpretations were also found to constitute challenges to the implementation of NPG. The results indicated that the pillarization of organizations led to new NPG values, such as sustainability, falling between pillars. Furthermore, the traditional bureaucratic accounting systems restricted opportunities for the implementation of intra-organizational border crossing. Next, it was found that differences in implementation rates between professions were causing conflicts in the context of striving for integration in a network approach. Generally speaking, civil servants were mostly confronted with a tension between doing it right – implementing TPM and NPM values such as transparency, legitimacy and effectiveness – or doing the right thing, which involved implementing NPG values such as sustainability, innovation or citizen participation.

In conclusion, the set of values that should be safeguarded by public client organizations in the built environment is growing. Hence, a balance must be sought between procedural-, performance- and product-related values. Moreover, this increases the necessity for dealing with conflicting value systems. The dynamics in value interests have induced a shift in the mutual dominance between these values. This leads to the conclusion that, with respect to both external commissioning and internal commissioning, the sector-specific dynamic value palette of public construction clients influences the challenges that these public construction clients face in creating public values through public service delivery. Yet, the construction industry in general, and common contractual governance mechanisms in particular, lack the flexibility to act upon the anticipated changes in value needs and safeguard 'new' product-related values. Although professionals in public construction client organizations appear to be cognizant of the aforementioned shift in values, the consequences of this shift are not yet fully assumed and embedded within the sector. Insights into conflict situations shed light on the boundaries of the prevailing state

of governance, not to mention how its respective value systems are slowing down the required changes within the practice of commissioning. If the public character remains leading, then it becomes evident that 'the system' is inflexible, whereas 'space' is needed to pursue the product-related values. Fortunately, there appears to be an increased understanding of the restrictions that certain values bring along in pursuing the desired client–contractor relationship, as well as evidence that client organizations are actively learning how to deal with this.

6.1.2 Safeguarding public values is a balancing act

The dynamic and conflicting value palette of public construction clients also influences the safeguarding task. While safeguarding used to be done by choosing a mode of governance and subsequently steering toward the implementation and maintenance of that paradigm's constituent values, safeguarding today is about balancing value pluralism and, hence, dealing with value conflicts. This requires a greater degree of flexibility because of the value dynamics that come into play. However, this also creates opportunities to deal with this value complexity. Given that both have an external and internal element, the public construction clients can thus manage a multitude of potential conflict situations at the interface of the public-private sphere, the project organization and parent organization, and the administrative system, civil service system and operational commissioning context.

Based on a review of extant literature on conflict management theories, it was established that how one looks at value pluralism to a large extent determines how one deals with value conflicts in safeguarding public values. In Chapter 4, two perspectives for dealing with complexity in the delivery of values were elucidated: (1) reducing complexity and (2) engaging with complexity. These views differentiate on how decision-makers view commensurability of values and how they deal with value conflicts. From the perspective of reducing complexity, one supports a process whereby a single value system becomes dominant in an 'either/or' approach, which is only possible when one believes that values can be commensurable with one another. From this perspective, then, it is about separating values systems in a defensive approach. Chapter 2 also showed that public construction clients tend to address values much more broadly, viewing them as incommensurable and both tangible (product-related) and intangible (process-related). Adopting an incommensurable perspective on value pluralism means that one actively embraces conflict, accepting the coexistence of competing extremes by means of confrontation, transcendence, as well as adopting a 'both/and' approach to the use of coping patterns as opposed to an 'either/or' approach.

The in-depth case study presented in Chapter 4 demonstrates that the perspectives of reducing and engaging with complexity are not mutually exclusive and can in fact be combined in construction project environments. The time, level and scale axes in Figure 6.1 also help to illustrate how to deal with the complexity caused by value pluralism in both external and internal commissioning. The patterns of various coping strategies applied within the public construction client organization indicated that these patterns belonged to different approaches towards institutional and organizational complexity: reduction or engagement. Depending on where a conflict arose in the phase of a construction project or the level of the project network, this led to the identification of seven coping patterns: three of which were on the temporal axis – (1) Deferral, (2) Prolongation, and (3) Anticipation – and four on the spatial axis – (1) Prevalence, (2) Relegation, (3) Aggravation and (4) Coincidence.

Some of these patterns employ a coping strategy from one perspective, e.g. reduction, but in combination with the position relative to the conflict this can also produce an outcome that is consistent with the opposite perspective, e.g. engagement as a form of temporal integration in the extension pattern. Combinations of these kinds of patterns allow for increased flexibility in approaching value pluralism. This involves integration through the active spanning of intersections on the various axes via the utilization of coping patterns and by combining governance mechanisms. Although coping patterns were primarily studied from the external commissioning perspective, they also occurred in combination with internal commissioning. The coexistence of modes of governance and their respective constituent components also allowed clients to compensate for the weak aspects of one principle with stronger aspects from the other mode of governance.

Based on these findings, I concluded that, in the same way that public construction clients need internal and external partners to deliver public value, the safeguarding of public values is also something that is performed collectively. Public construction clients can safeguard public values by using coping patterns to deal with value conflicts in a flexible manner. This provides an integrative way of finding a fitting value balancebetween values, which makes use of the various values at play, both in the different phases of the process of public service delivery and in the relative dominance of governance mechanisms within the client organization. Chapter 3 showed how in their attempt to find a balance between their procedural obligations as a public agent, and the increasing need to steer on sustainability, innovation and quality, civil servants currently rely on the established governance mechanisms (TPM and NPM) to implement the new values associated with NPG.

From Chapters 2, 3, and 4, it can be concluded that adding values such as innovation and sustainability is today primarily achieved through what we can understand as the traditional public values of the building sector, such as functionality, build quality and impact, as well as the more basic project-based values of time, money and quality. As a result, the balance is currently tilting towards the established side of procedural and performance values. That is to say, the 'old' is currently outweighing the 'new' in terms of the conflict between values, as a direct result of the various implementation challenges that are standing in the way of 'new' values. Hence, in the search for a new internal balance of governance balance dominated by network elements, the challenge facing client organizations is to lean into NPG, without falling over. It is only then that a public client organization can remain a legitimate public agent that adequately integrates old and new values. Therefore, I conclude that it is only by fully recognizing the impact of value complexity that public construction clients can begin to adopt a more realistic and practical integrated approach to safeguarding public values, which, in turn, will allow them to implement the network governance that is required for them to operate as a professional client.

6.2 Taking a step back: alignment of internal and external commissioning roles and responsibilities

Thus far in this dissertation, I have primarily focused on distinct elements of safeguarding: coexisting governance mechanisms and coping patterns. However, I also want to argue that in order for public construction clients to facilitate the shift in dominance away from traditional to network value interests, then it is of paramount importance to find the 'right' alignment between governance mechanisms at an organizational level with public clients' coping strategies in the process, and vice versa. In the ever-changing context of public construction, clients must redefine their roles and responsibilities and ensure that their public parent organization is ready to support these roles and responsibilities. Hence, good network governance presupposes a strong degree of alignment between internal and external commissioning activities of the public organization during the entire process of public service delivery, in order to function as a professional client.

The present research also lends additional weight to this point by providing insights on how best to align the integration of multiple modes of governance and coping strategies. Although conducted from the perspective of external commissioning, the findings of Study 3 described in Chapter 4 also cast light on what coping means for internal commissioning. Chapter 3 delineated insights about what is precisely meant by mixing governance mechanisms within internal commissioning, based on the empirical findings from Study 2. The findings of Study 2 also underscore the meaning of implementation choices in relation to the external commissioning role. Moreover, the findings of Study 1 described in Chapter 2 lend further support to these relations, insofar as they illustrate the link between internal and external factors of influence to changes in value interests and the ensuing value conflicts, both with respect to the internal and external commissioning role.

Above all, this research implies that the challenge of aligning internal and external activities centers on the management of competing values, which occurs within and between different intersections. Ultimately, then, the challenge is how to manage these intersections (Keast et al., 2006; van Broekhoven, Boons, van Buuren, & Teisman, 2015). On the one hand, integration suggests that boundaries need to be crossed for the purposes of bringing skills and resources together. On the other hand, however, the complexity reducing function of boundaries is emphasized in the bureaucratic order (van Broekhoven et al., 2015). It is for this precise reason that I wanted to more closely examine the alignment lessons stemming from this research, with specific regard to new insights on commissioning alignment and what it means for construction clients' future roles and responsibilities.

Based on an additional analysis of the entire dataset of this PhD research, the understanding of the public clients role in the public service delivery process in construction was refined by looking at the reciprocity between the way the external commissioning role supports the internal commissioning role and vice versa. The management of value conflict at three intersections on which a public commissioner acts appeared to be especially important in this regard. These intersections are: 1) between the project and the parent organization; 2) directly between the internal and external commissioning roles; and 3) between internal intersections in the organization. Subsequently, three focal points for the construction client of the future derive from this:

1   Increased focus on embedding new value systems and reduced focus on changing existing value systems
2   Increased focus on paradox thinking in a convener role and reduced focus on trade-offs in a steering role
3   Increased focus on informal accountability in the value chain and reduced focus on formal accountability in the project chain

These focal points are discussed in turn in the following sections. I draw upon the work of other scholars in order to provide a clearer understanding and explanation of how and why I reason that the transition towards the dominance of network values will either succeed or fail in conjunction with the role that commissioning will play in the future. Data from interviews and observations from the three studies are used to illustrate the potential alignment between practices.

6.2.1 Increased focus on embedding new value systems and reduced focus on changing existing value systems

The traditional approach of maintaining a clear line of demarcation between client and contractor responsibilities, or in other words, the idea that "you pay and you will get the required product" is no longer sufficient in the changing construction industry. Today, joint competences are required for adequate service delivery. Indeed, there is invariably a certain interdependency between client and contractor, a need to cooperate to come to the best solution. This is illustrated by the following extract:

"Sometimes, we do have the tendency to see the market as the other side of the spectrum. I think it is important that you actually search together for solutions in the middle. We have to draw upon our knowledge and skills, but we also have to trust that others are not solely keen on the least effort for the largest part of the money." (Interview with general manager, interview series Study 1).

I also found that to facilitate the adequate use of competencies, it is especially important to recognize and accept the interest of the potential contractors:

"By equality, I mean that you have to recognize each other's qualities and each other's worlds and also that you have to accept that one has a different focus than the other." (Interview with a director of new development, interview series Study 1).

The above extract stresses the importance of accepting value pluralism in the new collaborations, as well as underscoring the particular value of equality. The importance of equality as a long-term process value of a public commissioning organization has also been recognized in good governance public administration literature (de Graaf & Paanakker, 2014), and emphasizes how critical it is to acknowledge the often short-term value systems of the contractor.

However, equality typically constitutes a challenge for internal commissioning. Based on organizational learning literature on project management (Eriksson, 2013; March, 1991), we know that in a project-based environment, construction clients are especially challenged by continually recurring value conflicts related to the exploration-exploitation paradox. That is to say, the short-term focus on efficiency, based on the exploitation of existing knowledge and technologies, conflicts with the long-term focus on innovation and strategic development, which is based on the exploration of new knowledge and technologies (Eriksson, 2013). The tension from these short-term and long-term foci is emphasized in the political environment of public construction clients, namely concerning the implementation problem facing public administration of how to make a long-term strategy attractive to politicians who need to see short-term gains, as discussed in Study 2 (Hupe, 2014; Jensen et al., 2018; Keast et al., 2006).

The case of Study 3 presented in Chapter 4 provides a compelling example of this phenomenon. It demonstrated how politically motivated time pressures to deliver something tangible - the park - can ultimately endanger higher social goals, such as creating ownership and social returns. In this respect, implementing more long-term policy goals has proven to be relatively difficult, not only because of such political pressure, but also due to competition between other types of societal issues that are deemed to be more exigent by third parties. Indeed, in this particular neighborhood park project, for example, tensions existed over issues with housing conditions and unemployment. These findings show how both political and societal institutions can stand in the way of achieving 'new' value systems, while, as discussed in Chapter 2, the value shift testifies to the interest in these 'new' values by public organizations and society at large. Hence, I conclude that public construction clients themselves can at times stand in the way of implementing network value systems, which is to say that the misalignment of internal and external value systems can be both caused and solved by public construction clients. This is in accordance with similar studies that have examined climate adaption strategies which show that coupling adaptation measures to other policy ambitions allows for the mobilization of resources for implementation, but these couplings also contribute to controversies. In particular, the difficulty of achieving the necessary governance capacity for legitimacy (van Buuren, Driessen, Teisman, & van Rijswick, 2014).In discussing this implementation problem, it appears that the only way out for client organizations at times is to embed adaptation strategies in broader programs and seek to connect them to other issues and values.

The process of embedding 'new' value systems within 'old' value management tools was discussed by an interviewee in Study 1, as discussed in Chapter 2. For example, the basic project values of time, money and quality still significantly influenced how public actors act in the construction industry:

"Money is very much a driving force. That affects the functionality, which influences innovation, which affects quality." (Interview with a director of asset management, interview series Study 1)

Specifically, aligning the desired new approach towards the market and pre-existing organizational structures, mechanisms and tools, proved to be a significant challenge in the typically bureaucratic, traditional, slow to adapt public organizations. In several instances, I found that existing contractual governance mechanisms did not necessarily support 'contemporary public construction service delivery in all its complexity, insofar as they lacked the requisite flexibility through which to actually act upon anticipated changes, as evidenced in the following extract:

"If you manage something contractually, then there are often many exclusions as well. But when you aim for improvements, you often want more flexibility, and then a new innovation or something happens in the city that I have to respond to."
(Interview with director of asset management, interview series Study 1)

Another issue with contractual arrangements is that the desired collaborative partner-based relationship turns out to be hard to capture within a contract. Partnering is about encouraging clients and contractors to overcome the conflicting interests that lie at the heart of their exchange relationship, by appealing to common interests centered around specific project goals and/or more strategic long-term relationships. However, this presumes a level of mutual interest that is arguably unrealistic in many contracting situations, especially in the short-term (Bresnen & Marshall, 2000; Kuitert et al., 2018b).

These examples thus indicate that the changes in value systems in internal commissioning are lagging behind the changes in value systems in external commissioning, more than it being the other way around. By focusing on the management of the intersection between the project organization and the parent organization, the present research has shown that there is an increased awareness of the fact that a public organization in a public-private project also must internally deal with third party value systems that influence and complicate considerations of values. The new added values – public and private – do not necessarily fit into the current organizational governance mechanisms. In an attempt to adopt these values, the change in existing value systems slows down the transition process from within

the organization. For the time being, building on an existing value management tools appears to be more effective. This leads to the focal point that client organizations should put increased focus on embedding new value systems and reduced focus on changing existing value systems.

6.2.2 Increased focus on paradox thinking in a convener role and reduced focus on trade-offs in a steering role

Over the course of the research, it became evident that 'contemporary external commissioning is still relatively directive. However, there is also a desire to change this, as evidenced in the following extract:

"The words here are a bit conservative, while I would like to be a bit more progressive and I am, but I also believe that we need to be reliable." (Interview with a director of new development, interview series Study 1)

Considering the changing relationship between public clients and contractors, I found that the public client aims to adopt a more facilitating and framework-setting role. For example, there is more attention being paid to the collaborative nature of the relationship and the resulting implications of this approach, both with respect to the market and in terms of interactions with contractors (Kuitert et al., 2018b). This is recognized in ''hands on'' meta-governance, which is a term developed by governance researchers to describe the ways in which governments and other central, capable and legitimate actors can govern governance networks without overly resorting to traditional forms of command and control (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Conversely, 'hands off' meta-governance can be exercised at a distance from the network and can involve the utilization of administrative or bureaucratic tools, while using 'hands on' meta-governance can bring the commissioner into closer contact with network participants and can include strategies to resolve conflicts, build trust or generate understanding (Ayres, 2019, p. 289).

The significance of informal ways of working has been recognized in both meta-governance and public values literature (Ayres, 2019). However, our understanding of how and why this is the case remains limited (Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). In this research, various examples were identified of how public client organizations are often confronted with their dual-role – internal versus external – when delivering value, and, hence, confronted with managing conflict situations between the more internal traditional-related roles and the more external network-related roles.

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More specifically, the findings show that public clients adopt facilitating network-related roles, which is also understood as a convener role in public value governance literature (Bryson et al., 2014) in order to indirectly steer on the dominance of value systems at specific moments of time in their external relationships with contractors and private entities. At the same time, clients also must adopt more traditional roles in order to remain in control of their public responsibilities. For example, in the participation case in Study 3 (see Chapter 4), the public client was concerned with facilitating the interaction between local businesses and residents who ought to be involved in the decision-making process about the actual design of a neighborhood park. They did so by, for example, inviting neighborhood welfare organizations to gatherings of the local businesses, and providing them with the opportunity to discuss ways to collaborate on social returns in their tender proposals. In another event, it became clear that the collaboration between the businesses in the tender pool was limited. This was then discussed in the project team in order to ascertain what the precise role of the municipality was and how they could better stimulate collaboration. The result of these deliberations was that, in addition to informing, like the welfare organizations wanted them to do, the municipality was also informally operating as a *"lubricating oil"* or a *"boost in the back"*, in order to facilitate the actual realization of the social aims stated at the beginning of the project. Using informal roles to stimulate formal goals appeared to be successful in this instance.

That same case study also led to the conclusion that when dealing with recurring conflicts, the role of a facilitating convener in a network environment also called for paradox thinking as opposed to 'old- fashioned' trade-off thinking, if proper justice was to be done to genuine value co-creation. This can be explained by different perspectives on creating and capturing value in complex environments, as discussed in Chapter4.

However, acting as a convener and adopting paradox thinking when viewing complexity also proved to be difficult in the public domain, where accountability is of special importance. In this case, for example, protecting the ambitions of the alderman also appeared to be critically important. The focus on administrative value systems and the performance of public services was, for example, observed in several sessions of the internal municipal Tender board studied in Chapter 3. In the Tender Board, upcoming assignments are discussed and judged before they are officially announced as tenders. The findings of the present research showed that risks and prices remained important decision criteria, while public value-related ambitions were also pursued. Interestingly, this did not lead to conflicts within this committee, but it nevertheless did cause friction in the operational units, including the project teams that needed to execute the assignments. The interviewees in

Chapter 2 discussed that due to the pressure of projects in the public and political domain, they often reverted to old habits, once again adopting the directive role, as the following extract shows:

"If it gets tense, we directly turn back to our old habits, we become the directive client again, which puts pressure on the collaboration." (Interview with a general manager, interview series Study 1).

The coping patterns delineated in Chapter 4 provide a way through which to combine either/or approaches in the 'traditional' roles that sustain existing value systems and both/and approaches in facilitating network roles that offer more room for embedding network value systems. The dynamics across time and space of the coping related to the conflict offer possibilities to use rational-technical approaches which lead to paradox outcomes, such as temporal integration in the extension pattern as discussed in chapter 4. With respect to dealing with conflict directly at the intersection between internal and external commissioning, it follows that public commissioning is about embedding different management approaches that correspond to governance mechanisms within the various roles that make up external commissioning. In particular, the ways in which value conflicts are dealt with by adopting either a single or multiple roles in a situation, also determines the value outcome. To support the ongoing transition from government to governance, public clients should increase attention to paradox thinking in a convener role, and reduce focus on trade-off thinking in a steering role. This applies to both internal and external commissioning situations, as well as to any situations in which there are multiple value systems.

6.2.3 Increased focus on informal accountability in the value chain and reduced focus on formal accountability in the project chain

Due to the expansion in the use of networks by interdependent public and private parties in public service delivery, discussions around accountability and reliability have taken on increased prominence (Kuitert et al., 2016; Michels & Meijer, 2008). One of the key dilemmas faced by public meta-governors is how to ensure a high level of democratic legitimacy in networked policies (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Increasingly, public administrators are being judged in terms of the ability of government to establish a type of authority that operates successfully within horizontally dispersed power settings that one sees in network type of approaches, such as PPP (Bao et al., 2013). The traditional, vertical, hierarchical mechanism of

accountability no longer adequately fits contemporary societal and administrative developments (van Wart, 1996). Furthermore, more horizontal, informal mechanisms of accountability should also be deployed (Kuitert et al., 2016). The difficulty is as such: horizontal forms of accountability, just like vertical forms of accountability, must meet the requirements of traditional value systems (Michels & Meijer, 2008).

Over the course of this research into the construction sector, I identified that integrated contract models require dialogue about the division of responsibility between a client and a contractor, as well as an understanding of how public and private entities differentially perceive accountability. Indeed, public actors already appear to have a strong sense of responsibility, thus implying that the formalization of accountability is often not necessary for 'good' public action, as stated by one of the CPO's during an interview about his values.

"Intrinsically, people working at governmental bodies feel that they are there to serve the general interest, not the interest of the organization." (Interview with a chief procurement officer, interview series Study 1)

Public construction clients appear to adopt combinations of modes of governance, each of which has a central value system as a means of mediating between organizations and society, which, in turn, reflects the interdependency of different public and private parties (Coule & Patmore, 2013; Smets et al., 2014). In other words, they have various accountholders, both in the horizontal collaborative value chain, as well as in the vertical traditional project chain from client to first tier suppliers using principal contracts (Willems & Van Dooren, 2011; Winch, 2001). When dealing with conflicting value systems in a construction process, the combination of roles is supported by adopting the NPG model within public client organizations, which previously have been dominated by TPM in combination with market mechanisms.

During Study 2 (Chapter 3), it became evident that municipal managers differentiated in their governance approaches between different layers and departments within the organization, which led to many internal intersections having to be managed to deal with internal governance conflicts. In conjunction with the ensuing internal governance conflicts, mixing modes of governance (and their components) also allowed them to compensate for weak aspects of one mode of governance with components from another mode of governance. The ability to cross internal boundaries in order to work in an integrative manner is key for innovation in NPG. Conversely, sustaining existing boundaries is needed to defend traditional public values. In order to lean in without falling over while attempting to establish a new governance balance dominated by network elements, innovation

through integration must be counterbalanced by sustaining and defending the separation of value systems. An example of this is the use of dual-roles. Or the use of an integral program at an organizational level to implement specific values, while, simultaneously, translating these values into program-frames at the departmental level. This complicates the transition of public construction clients towards becoming a network-based collaborator.

Hence, looking at the internal alignment of the construction client, I conclude that working with different governance models in the process of value creation requires the simultaneous or consecutive crossing of internal boundaries to enable integrity. However, this also entails overcoming the conflicting accountability relations that endanger value creation. To counterbalance this, some boundary sustaining actions are necessary to sustain confidence in internal accountability. Hence, the focal point for client organizations should be to lean into intrinsic motivation and act as a responsible client, by an increased focus on informal accountability in the value chain and reduced focus on formal accountability in the project chain.

6.2.4 Final thoughts on aligning internal and external commissioning

In response to the recent call for critical debate in the field of construction management research to broaden our research impact, rather than attempting to offer concrete solutions (Sherratt, Sherratt, & Ivory, 2020; Volker, 2019), I drew upon (public) value research insights from public administration and organizational science to provide a contextualized understanding of safeguarding public values in a changing construction industry. This goes beyond the project focus to instead focusing on the alignment of external and internal public commissioning. The concerns over complex societal transition issues, as well as the challenges they raise for contemporary governance and management – which in this research is approached from a public value perspective – are connected, in part, to ongoing debates on the proper role and scope of government in the field of public management (Head & Alford, 2015).

Public sector professionals have a crucial role to play in terms of providing effective public services, but under neoliberalism their actions are invariably contested while their autonomy is weakened (Noordegraaf, Van Der Steen, & Van Twist, 2014). As discussed in this section, in an effort to improve the process of ensuring public value through collaborative public service delivery, public bodies work on transforming their organization (organizational structure, governance, etc.) (Boyne, 2003) to fit

the changing role in public service delivery. On the other hand, it is still important to preserve public responsibility. One must therefore maintain advantages of parent organisation, defending the old traditional governance model in which public responsibility is central (Haveri, 2006). In this context, the likelihood of achieving collaborative innovation via governance networks depends largely on whether or not steering and management adjust their processes and results without reverting too much to traditional forms of command and control (Koppenjan, Koppenjan, & Klijn, 2004; Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). There appears to be a need for integration of new value systems in both internal and external commissioning, in order to deal with 'contemporary challenges in the construction industry. This involves aligning the organizational level with the project-based organizational level, as well as the network environment of the project itself. Achieving effective integration, however, also raises new governance and management challenges, insofar as network value systems come into contact with market mechanisms and traditional systems. In this sense, the focal points show that the management of the various intersections are part of the bigger challenge for public commissioners concerning the development of new balance between dependency and responsibility in the safeguarding of public values, which is referred to here as a 'meta-governance' challenge, as displayed in Figure 6.2.

**'meta-governance' challenge
in public commissioning:**

*Shifting
in role*

Responsibility vs. Dependency
when safeguarding public values

*Balancing
public values*

Between traditional value systems (process values) in the
administrative/public context and new value systems
(product values) that emerge in the collaborative context

*Safeguarding in
commissioning*

**Internal
commissioning**

**External
commissioning**

Organizational
level

Project in
network environment

GOVERNANCE   COPING

FIG. 6.2 The meta-governance challenge in the safeguarding of public values

Finding the balance between dependency and responsibility by aligning external and internal commissioning proved to be rather delicate. To ensure the 'right' kind of interference in the value process to safeguard public values in the built environment, the way that public clients cope with the process of public service delivery needs to correspond with the internal governance arrangements, and vice versa. This led to my final thought that a public party as a network collaborator must learn to 'lean in' to the values of the network, without completely 'tilting' and losing their connection to the traditional public administrative system, while, simultaneously, engaging with both market-based and societal partners. Therefore I would argue that the present governance-coping alignment does not yet sufficiently facilitate the shift towards the dominance of network value systems, which accompanies the changing relationships between public and private parties. However, some preliminary steps have been taken to allow for its subsequent integration.

6.3 Limitations

All choices made regarding the research approach led to limitations, I would like to address in regard to what this means for validity, generalizability and applicability of the findings. First in the context of the multi-disciplinary value perspective of this work. Then in respect to some specific methodological choices.

6.3.1 Limitations of the multi-disciplinary value perspective

This research has been built on insights from the fields of public administration and organizational science, adopting a public value perspective to understand construction management processes. This has proven to be expedient in terms of achieving the overall aim of the study, which was to provide insight into public construction clients' safeguarding of public values, with a specific focus on the transition towards network governance. However, there were also limitations deriving from the decision to take recourse to these extant bodies of knowledge, namely in relation to the validity and generalizability of the findings.

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First, it is important to acknowledge that drawing upon insights from social research raises difficulties pertaining to the validity of the research. Above all, this concerns the fact that social research cannot be value-free (Bryman, 2015). Values reflect either the personal beliefs or feelings of a researcher. These can intervene at multiple stages of the research process, including the choice of the research field, the research question, the choice of method and the interpretation of the data (Bryman, 2015). With respect to my rationale for choosing this research field and specific research questions, I believe that this has not been an issue. Inspired by multiple potential research avenues based on a review of extant literature on public values, I chose to examine the subject that I was most intellectually curious about. I think it is important that researchers operate based on their values, and therefore this topic resonated with me.

However, this value issue did require specific attention when it came to collecting and analyzing the data. Given that I was interviewing professionals about the role of values in their own work, it was particularly important for me to engage in a process of self-reflection and exhibit reflexivity about the role of values in my own work. One of the methodological techniques I employed to limit the risk of personal interpretations was to repeatedly ask the interviewees about their specific understanding of values. Moreover, allowing the interviewees to use synonyms was also done to control for this issue.

Secondly, value research in and of itself also produces some limitations. Most of the strategies employed to cope with the dilemmas from conducting value research were already discussed in Section 1.5.3. of the introduction (Steenhuisen, 2009; Steenhuisen, 2010). What I would add to that discussion is that the subjective nature of values means that it was especially important to rigorously evaluate the credibility of the research findings. The qualitative nature of the research, and the aim to come to a saturation rate, was an expedient method through which to at least partially mitigate the effects of this issue (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In conjunction with this, triangulating different research methods to research public values from a variety of distinct perspectives and coming to similar or identical conclusions, also served to add credibility to my findings Yin, 1994). A further method used to enhance the credibility of the findings was to analyze the data via qualitative data software, which allowed me to structure and compare the data on a higher level and thus move away from personal value issues.

Thirdly, adopting a cross-academic approach to a specific sector also raises questions over the applicability of theories from other research fields into the field of construction management. As discussed in Section 1.5.4, I carefully selected studies on the basis of their content, as well as whether their level of analysis

and research context corresponded to the transition in the specific sector I was examining (Fellows & Liu, 2020). While this strategy was mostly successful, I did encounter some difficulties when shaping the analysis. This stemmed from the fact that, as a researcher, I had limited guidance about what precisely to look at. For example, although in Chapter 3 using insights from inter-organizational perspectives on mixing governance mechanisms did guide me in terms of studying vertical issues, it did not provide any guidance with respect to the horizontal dimension. Using an inductive coding technique (Locke et al., 2020), engaging with data first before subsequently looking for patterns, allowed me to capture this information. In this respect, the contributions of this research must therefore be considered as a preliminary categorization, rather than constituting a final comprehensive overview.

<div style="text-align:right">6.3.2</div>

Limitations of the methodological approach

The qualitative nature of the research and the associated methodological choices also suffered from some limitations. Here, it is instructive to focus on only the two most prominent limitationsfor this dissertation.

The first limitation pertained to the sampling. In Chapter 2, a wide range of public client organizations were included, while in Chapters 3 and 4 the focus was on municipalities, which raises questions over the generalizability of the findings (Bryman, 2015; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Chapter 2 presented minimal differences in the value interests of the public clients examined, with varying degrees of publicness, experiences thus were recognized in general. So while Chapters 3 and 4 deepened our understanding of value conflicts and how complexity was dealt with within municipalities, the mechanisms that were found appeared to be mainly related to more general issues and contextual factors in the public construction industry.

Therefore, the findings most likely apply to public construction clients in general, but only with some criteria regarding complexity of the tasks (see also the second limitation). The constructive discussions I had at various academic conferences lend additional support to this claim. Another sampling technique that potentially led to bias pertains to the single-case study (Chapter 4) and the comparative case study that was limited to only two municipalities (Chapter 3). There are varying opinions on the applicability and external validity of case study findings to other cases (Mariotto, Zanni, & Moraes, 2014; Yin, 1994). In order to address this potential bias, case studies must ensure to provide rich data and a detailed explanation of the analytical processes in order to ensure transparency, as well as allow other researchers to judge its relevance (Langley, 1999). Although case studies are limited to specific sets

of circumstances, scholars have argued that all studies provide a useful basis for theoretical generalization and development (Yin, 1994). With respect to the present research, I set out to generalize to theory rather than to populations outside the construction industry (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), and, as such, the sampling was appropriate for this goal.

Second, the research investigated the construction sector, specifically in the Dutch context. While the research was designed to be meaningful for public client organizations who are involved with construction activities, the way it was set up also introduced some limitations pertaining to the validity of the findings. In particular, there are limitations concerning the external validity of the research findings (Bryman, 2015). Utilizing a realist assessment in this research provided illumination instead of generalizability of truths and contextual fine-tuning instead of standardization (Pawson et al., 2005). It therefore does not provide 'best practices', which are often understood as being limited in their applicability to other environments (Charles et al., 2007), but rather provides mechanisms that allow for flexibility in approaches towards complexity in value systems.

Due to the issues with generalizability and validity, one can conclude that the findings are most applicable in situations of high complexity (transition towards network governance). This research answers the call for more operationalization in public value research, in addition to increasing extant understanding of the role of values in the daily lives of public actors (Charles et al., 2007; de Graaf et al., 2013). The sector-specific empirical research is thus expedient in the sense that it helps to address the lacunae in extant empirical research with regard to the ways in which organizations deal with conflicting value systems by expanding conflict management theory (Bygballe & Jahre, 2009). Particularly in the construction industry, with its project-oriented and thus network-based practice, this is increasingly important. It is also vital to stress that the 'status' of governance reform is not only inherent to the Dutch context, and to some extent inherent to the sector, but also to the historical juncture in which we live. The dynamics of values are everlasting, however. It is therefore essential that the approaches presented for dealing with value complexity are flexible, provide adaptability for construction clients and thus have the potential to be extended with new mechanisms in the future. I believe this research meets these conditions.

6.4 Contributions and suggestions for further research

This research has implications for how researchers can study the safeguarding of public values in construction, but also for other research investigating how actors deal with value multiplicity in other types of network-based construction environments. Below, I delineate the specific theoretical and practical contributions that the present research makes to the field of public value research and with respect to research on how actors deal with value multiplicity. I close these discussions with providing avenues for future research in these fields.

6.4.1 Theoretical contributions and implications

The contributions of this study help to fill gaps in the existing literature, as discussed in section 1.4. The research on public values lacks a construction industry- and client-specific understanding of public values and value conflicts and a combined organizational and process perspective on safeguarding public values. And in the research on value pluralism and hybridity, knowledge is lacking on how principals in public construction can deal with multiple logics, interests and values within their increasingly collaborative daily practice of the public service delivery. And about the internal support for values pluralism in public administration. The theoretical contributions to filling these gaps in research are detailed below.

6.4.1.1 Contributions to public value research

This research has sought to shed light on the input of construction clients to partnering in such a way that deviates from the prevailing discourse within the industry; from a public value perspective, the research utilizes insights from public administration and organizational science to understand the complexity of public commissioning. While previous construction management research points towards some degree of sharing across research domains with other fields of academia, this remains rather limited (Narbaev, De Marco, & Orazalin, 2020; Volker, 2019). This is also the case with value research, which similarly has little cross-over between academic fields. Taking recourse to public value insights from public administration

and organizational science in order to understand the complexity of public commissioning provides a contemporary theoretical perspective from which to study the safeguarding of public values. Doing so leads to two key contributions to extant research on public value by:

A taking a practical perspective to allow for the operationalization of values, and
B considering the transition towards network type of value governance.

First, while public value research has been conducted in various sectors, typically the conclusions that such research draws are often abstract and generalized. Consequently, practical insights are invariably lacking in extant value research. Answering the call for greater operationalization by examining more closely specific sectors in public value research (Charles et al., 2007; de Graaf et al., 2013), this research contributes to public value theory by providing insight into the construction sector-specific value debates. The focus on values in research has grown enormously in recent years. An important foundation was laid by among others Moore, Bennington, van der Wal and de Graaf (see Chapter 2), their work is still mostly built upon by authors. Steps are also being taken in operationalizing values and managing specific objectives in construction management research, such as studies into stimulating social value, sustainability and innovation in contracting and procurement (e.g. Raiden and Loosmore., 2018; Lindblad and Guerrero., 2020). However, the focus is mostly on a single value instead of balance between values, which has been the focus of this dissertation. Furthermore, my work broadens the analytical focus of construction management research. Construction management research has hitherto been limited to the micro- level project perspective, with little consideration of the wider context that projects are situated in (Narbaev et al., 2020; Sherratt et al., 2020). Given that most studies follow directly from practical issues, the focus in this field is predominantly on stakeholder relations, contracts and governance, project performance, critical success factors and risk allocation (Narbaev et al., 2020; Sherratt et al., 2020). It is for this reason that construction management researchers often do not critically examine the broader system, for the purposes of unravelling the social, economic and political forces that shape the implementation of projects (Sherratt et al., 2020).

The practical perspective in construction management research that draws on insights from academic fields that tend to have a contextual focus, such as governance research, contributes to our understanding of the public-private (and societal) collaboration via adopting an extended contextual perspective. In this respect, the present research shed slight on multiple internal and external contextual factors that influence the values that need to be taken into account by 'collaborating construction clients at this historical juncture. Building on this, the research

identified the full spectrum of public-private values from a public client perspective that come into play when delivering public services in the increasingly collaborative construction industry.

As a result of its operationalization within the construction industry, the research thus informs public value theory (Charles et al., 2007; de Graaf et al., 2013). In contradistinction to most literature on good governance, this research shows that all three types of procedural-, performance and product-related values have a role in commissioning public services in the built environment. Hence, the research complements pre-existing public value concepts with concrete sector-specific product-related public values, such as the quality of public space and well-functioning infrastructure. It also explicates the procecedural and performance values that are related to the construction industry, specifically via the development of the client value framework (see Table 6.1) which contains 25 values that are divided into different types that are of relevance to the construction sector.

Second, combining the three empirical studies allowed for both a process and organizational view, which is required for understanding the role and responsibilities of public actors in the changed nature of public service delivery. Cases were selected with regard to the increasingly collaborative network-based character of the contemporary social-political environment. Extant literature on safeguarding public values has focused on a singular governance mechanism, albeit some authors have reviewed how hybrid organizations incorporate incompatible logics (Pache & Santos, 2010). In contrast to public value theory, which focuses on the formal arrangement of the value proposition (Meynhardt, 2009), the findings of my work underscore the importance of relational elements on top of this. Combining insights on public values from the fields of public administration and organizational science and applying them to the construction management context, offers a multi-level perspective which is highly relevant for studying internal and external network environments. Hence, whereas multiple fields of academic research focus for the most part on specific (scale) levels, this research answers the call for multi-level approaches to studying public administration (Roberts, 2019), governance logics (Lynn Jr et al., 2000) and hybridization (Kurunmäki & Miller, 2006). In particular, the network conflict arenas and internal governance misalignment issues identified in this research provide crucial insight into the value trade-offs that must be made on different network levels.

6.4.1.2   Further research on the safeguarding of public values in the
construction industry

The contemporary theoretical perspective through which to study the safeguarding
of public values developed in this dissertation is by no means complete. Therefore,
based on the present research, here I want to provide some avenues for future
research to apply and build on this contemporary perspective to study the
safeguarding of public values.

First, notwithstanding the fact that this research allowed for the operationalizing
and study of the effect of the transition towards network governance in public
value research, the research is also limited by the amount of hybridity concerning
the cases of public construction clients included in this research. As Hartley et.
al (2017) purport, understanding the range of applicability of empirical findings
among different types of public services and policy domains will become even
more important as public value research develops. Following this, I believe that
it would be worthwhile to apply this research approach to other cases in hybrid
project-based environments, in order to differentiate between internal and external
hybridity and to enhance the shift towards network-based project governance.
The publicness and internal hybridity of client organizations may be of influence on
the occurrence of value conflicts, which has been studied in more detail only with
respect to municipalities. Resultantly, applying the findings to other public client
organizations, with different degrees of publicness and semi-public character, would
be of relevance. With respect to the organizational level, one possible way to examine
this would be to apply theories concerning the compatibility and centrality of logics
(Besharov & Smith, 2014). Next, although I included a large variation in terms of
the types of public construction, the clients did not display considerable differences
in their value interests. However, the value palette in other public service delivery
practices, or even in different segments of the industry, might differ (Charles et al.,
2007; de Graaf & van der Wal; 2008), a matter that I think is interesting to explore
in further research. Overall, I argue that we need more comparative studies to
assess the generalizability and potential differences between the findings of present
research and other concrete contexts.

A further avenue for future research, especially with regard to extending current
perspectives on studying safeguarding to include social and informal network
elements, would be to hone in on social procurement (Troje & Gluch, 2020). This
is especially relevant in light of the fact that the present research found that the
dominance of contractual arrangements within the construction industry presented
difficulties in implementing the value systems of NPG. Procurement has also been
shown to be a key driver for innovation in construction, but also an obstacle to its

development (Eriksson & Kadefors, 2015; Kadefors, Björlingson, & Karlsson, 2007). Although new objectives to establish greater economic, environmental and social sustainability in the industry often require more flexible and innovation-friendly models, the focus on lowest price in traditional procurement is still the most common form of procurement. In this context, I believe it is interesting to follow the work of the Formas-funded project ProcSIBE (Procurement for Sustainable Innovation in the Built Environment) that is establishing a strong multidisciplinary research and development platform for procurement in the field of construction, both in relation to public and private projects (e.g. Eriksson et al., 2019; Hedborg, Eriksson, & Gustavsson, 2020; Wedin Hansson & Johansson, 2017).

6.4.1.3 Contributions related to value multiplicity research

Alongside the wider contribution to value research stemming from the development of a contemporary perspective through which to study the safeguarding of values, this research also makes more specific contributions to research on dealing with value multiplicity. By offering ways to add more flexibility to deal with complexity, it contributes to conflict management research, and by deepening extant understanding of how hybrid constellations operate from an internal perspective, it contributes to the field of hybrid governance research. This is elucidated in greater detail below.

First, by adopting a practice lens through which to examine the participatory process of delivering a new municipal park, this research helps to fill the void in empirical research with regard to the ways in which organizations deal with conflicting value systems, which expands conflict management theory (Bygballe & Jahre, 2009). This practice process study is an approach that is relatively new within management literature (Della Corte & Del Gaudio, 2014; Gehman et al., 2013). It allows for a more dynamic view of dealing with conflicting values that is increasingly important in project management in network environments. In contrast to existing conflict theory research, which focuses solely on coping, the findings of this research also underscore the importance of looking at coping relative to the points at which conflicts occur during the various phases of the project, as well as their position within the network, which leads to coping patterns. While separation theory already encompasses both temporal and spatial separation (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989), it does not consider the direction of the movement, either in project phasing or from one institutional or organizational level to another. Neither does it consider the possibility of crossing between phases of delivering value through the project or crossing the intersections between the network levels.

Unravelling the link between conflict development and coping across time and at the network-level not only provides a valuable extension of the seven coping patterns in the field of conflict management literature, it also expands upon traditional project management by virtue of offering greater flexibility to deal with complexity in practice. From a theoretical perspective, it offers value by describing the complex and dynamic aspects of projects in such a way that goes beyond the dichotomy between the classical economic view with its basis in rational-technical thinking, towards a paradoxical view that captures and engages with complexity. In this respect, my research can thus be said to contribute to ongoing debates in public project management about how to deal with value pluralism in complex project-based environments, as well as informing wider discourses centered on operating in an increasingly interdependent world and the greater need for conflict management that this entails (Tjosvold, 2008).

Second, as well as adding to extant literature on dealing with value multiplicity from a process view the research also adopted an intra-organizational perspective, in accordance with Mair et al.'s (2015) argument that it is vital to understand more about mixing modes of governance at the micro-level to improve our understanding on how hybrids operate. In contradistinction to literature that focuses on duality in logic, this research answers the call to analyze organizations that simultaneously embody more than two logics – e.g. logics in traditional, market and network governance (Besharov & Smith, 2014). By integrating a governance mechanisms-based approach with a value conflict approach, this research contributes to our understanding of internal hybridity and the implementation of NPG in a traditional and market-oriented context such as construction. Hereby, the research advances extant understanding into the functioning of hybrid organizations, by addressing vertical and horizontal organizational dimensions as implementation challenges, and, as a result of this bridge the intra-organizational level of analysis (Roberts, 2019).

6.4.1.4 Further research on (dealing with) value multiplicity in network environments

This research has shown that the notion of adding flexibility to deal with the dynamics of value conflicts presents particular challenges when dealing with pre-existing structures. However, as aforementioned, the understanding of what this means for different network situations remains limited to municipalities. Therefore, I recommend that future research examines the phenomenon of value multiplicity more closely within other hybrid environments, specifically to increase our understanding of how to deal more effectively with the set structures of the public

domain to bring about new value systems. In this regard, it may be expedient to use literature on relational and contractual governance to enable closer examination of the flexibility of relationships in relation to the interdependence in contractual relations (Cao & Lumineau, 2015; Roehrich, Selviaridis, Kalra, Van der Valk, & Fang, 2020). Indeed, Zheng et al. (2008), for example, found that in long-term public-private supply arrangements in particular, complicated value trade-offs often take place at different levels of the client organization. With this in mind, it may also be interesting to investigate more closely how and to what extent the different roles public construction clients adopt are confronted with and restricted by value conflicts, and, moreover, how their capabilities can be used to achieve environmental ambidexterity for the long-term safeguarding of public values (Raisch et al., 2009). Different response strategies to organizational complexity can be related to different types of ambidexterity, which thus reflects the degree of compatibility between certain strands of logic and pre-existing organizational practices (Eriksson, 2013; Jarzabkowski, Smets, et al., 2013).

Alongside understanding more about internal hybridity, the research did not particularly focus on coping patterns for managing internal implementation problems. Consequently, in order to learn more about the key elements of managing intersections from an internal organizational perspective, I would recommend that future research apply the concepts of boundary work within this field of inquiry (Balogun et al., 2005; van Broekhoven & van Buuren, 2020). Such research could focus on how balancing innovating boundary spanning actions can help to facilitate integration, for the express purpose of embedding new values and sustaining boundary actions to defend traditional public values. While boundary spanning has hitherto primarily been conceived as an activity that is performed to relate an organization to its environment, as well as to other organizations, in fact, boundary spanning also occurs within organizations that are labelled as 'boundary shaking' (Balogun et al., 2005; Smink, Negro, Niesten, & Hekkert, 2015).

Furthermore, my work specifically adds the horizontal dimension to the more traditional vertical level perspective to extant research on governance mechanisms. This also underscores the importance of studies that delve deeper into multiple directions of integration. In this respect, I believe that the newly emerging research into ecosystems is one interesting avenue for future research. As such, Volker (2019) prefers to keep a somewhat wider frame on integration in the construction industry than the view that directly relates to the integration of different phases in a construction project; one that strongly relates to the co-creation of value as a society. The concept of ecosystem thinking also allows for a redefining of the relationships in the construction industry in a network-based manner, rather than seeing them in terms of one-to-one dyads. In so doing, it generally avoids the

need to enter into customized contractual agreements with every partner (Pulkka, Ristimäki, Rajakallio, & Junnila, 2016), and, hence, from a public commissioning perspective, also represents a potentially interesting avenue for future research.

6.4.2 Practical contributions and future developments

The research presented in this dissertation is part of the research program of the Chair of Public Commissioning at the Department of Management in the Built Environment, at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment of Delft University of Technology in the Netherlands. The objective of the chair is to perform research into professionalism with regard to commissioning. As we have seen, commissioning in the construction industry is a field undergoing rapid development. Under pressure from the encroaching societal, economic and political tide, many public organisations are reconsidering their tasks. This raises the issue of how clients deal with change.

The empirical findings of this research, which have been translated into three focal points for the construction client of the future as well as the dialogue tool, contribute to the general understanding of what it means to be a professional public construction client in a changing construction industry. This research, which reveals the dynamics of public values in the public construction industry and increases the understanding of external and internal hybridity, especially what this means in the context of managing and safeguarding public values, has important practical implementations for both internal and external commissioning as well as for the alignment between both.

The dialogue tool developed in this research is a draft version. Conceptual in the sense that the tool has not yet been applied extensively and could benefit from further refinement after additional testing. This does not alter the fact that this initial and tentative version already makes many things discussable from a value perspective, as we saw in the tests. Undoubtedly, creating an online version will be essential in a world which is becoming ever more digitized and characterized by remote working, especially in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic. Moreover, there are also some possibilities for extension that are interesting to consider, such as applying the tool within public-private inter-organizational settings, in which not only the directly operationally involved actors from the private side will take part, but also other more strategic public actors will participate. It could also be utilized in situations of advanced participation, such as co-creation, which is becoming especially important in the context of the upcoming Environmental Law, or,

alternatively, it could be further specified towards specific values in highly relevant transitions, such as those towards a circular economy or energy-based transitions. Above all, what is most important is that values are to be discussed in order to safeguard the public values that are integral to our built environment.

To conclude, next to the engagement and interest of het Opdrachtgeversforum in de Bouw and the many participants in the three studies, the world today shows the relevance of The Balancing Act, also in the interrelationships between different industries. The pandemic exposes the great differences in a harsh way. But it also shows what we can achieve when we work together, take each other's interests into account and help each other when an unforeseen trade-off makes for difficult situations. However even without a crisis, when tensions are less evident, safeguarding public values remains an important topic to sustain society now and for future generations. Over the last four years the topic has become my own and will always permeate my future research. With this dissertation, I hope to have inspired others to explore this topic, both in practice and in science.

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Curriculum Vitae

Lizet Kuitert is particularly interested in developing theoretical insights into the effect of and tensions within today's complex societal transition issues on various relations, how safeguarding of values by public client organisations takes place in these complex environments and how various public, private and societal stakeholders deal with emerging value conflicts. She conducts this work with the aim to discover how stakeholders (inter)act within these transitions and to design effective interventions adding real value.

She holds a Master of Science of the master programme in Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences, specialised in the field of Real Estate & Housing, from Delft University of Technology. In March 2015 she graduated with an honourable mention. Her master's thesis dealt with the interplay between public and societal stakeholders in situations of self-organisation in urban renewal projects within the transition from government to governance for the purpose of the participatory society.

During and after getting her degree she worked at an urban (re)development consultancy and was involved in a variety of projects in spatial design and development and support for strategy formation, at various scale levels and for different public and private clients.

In November 2015 she joined the Chair of Public Commissioning at the Department of Management in the Built Environment, at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment of Delft University of Technology (the Netherlands) and combined her research with her industry job for a few months. Next to being involved in the elaboration of the research programme of the chair she was also involved in a research project commissioned by a large municipality, about the learning capacity of their urban development department. In November 2016 she started her PhD research at the same chair.

During her PhD life she was a member of the faculty PhD council from July 2018 until December 2019. And for a year - from May 2019 - of the activities committee of the Dutch Society of Real Estate Researchers (VOGON) which stimulates the broadening and deepening of knowledge of economic, sociological, managerial, legal and technical aspects of real estate by promoting the exchange of information and research results and interaction between researchers. Lizet has also participated

in teaching and supervising graduate students. Her work is published in the Journal of *Construction Management and Economics* and the International Journal of Project Management and was featured in several peer-reviewed conference proceedings. Lizet presented her multi-disciplinary work at international conferences on construction management, project management and organization, public management and process studies.

Currently Lizet is post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Her research is part of the Interreg North Sea Region BEGIN project about delivering Blue Green Infrastructure through Social Innovation and GOVLAB010, a collaboration between the Erasmus University and the City of Rotterdam to make the city more sustainable, healthy and equal.

Awards

— **2018** Best Paper award of the Research Track on Mega Project, EURAM conference for the paper 'When project autonomy turns into isolation: Understanding the influence of project isolation on project-based learning', at EURAM conference 2018 in Reykjavik, Iceland

— **2017** 'David Langford Commemorative Award' for the best paper contribution in the area of social impact/significance, received for the paper 'Public Commissioning in a New Era: Public Value Interests of Construction Clients', at the 33rd Annual ARCOM Conference in Cambridge, the UK.

List of publications

Journal papers

Willems, T., van Marrewijk, A., Kuitert, L., Volker, L., & Hermans, M. (2020). Practices of isolation: The shaping of project autonomy in innovation projects. *International journal of project management*, 38(4), 215-228.

Kuitert, L., Volker, L., & Hermans, M. H. (2019). Taking on a wider view: public value interests of construction clients in a changing construction industry. *Construction Management and Economics,* 37(5), 257-277.

Kuitert, L., Volker, L., & Hermans, M. H. (under review) *Definitely not a walk in the park – coping with public-private value conflicts in participative project environments*

Kuitert, L., Grandia, J. Volker, L. (for review) *Doing it right or doing the right thing? Internal hybridity and value tensions in implementing New Public Governance in municipal organizations*

Conference papers

Kuitert, L., Volker, L., & Hermans, M. H. (2020). *The public construction client of the future: Network-based collaborator in a traditional public administrative system.* In L. Scott, & C. J. Neilson (Eds.), Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference 2020. 7-8 September 2020, Online, Vol 1, 65-274.

Volker, L., Kuitert, L. (2020) V*alue conflict arenas in participative project environments.* Paper presented at 36th Annual Conference 2020. 7-8 September 2020 Online

Kuitert, L., Volker, L., Hermans, M.H. (2019) *Organizational tensions in managing public service delivery.* Paper presented at 4th International Conference on Public Policy (ICPP), Montreal, Canada, 26th-28th June 2019

Kuitert, L., Volker, L., Hermans, M.H. (2019) *Mapping safeguarding processes of conflicting institutional value systems in delivering public services.* Presented at 11th International Process Symposium, 19-22 June 2019, Chania, Crete

Kuitert, L., Volker, L., Hermans, M.H. (2019) *Navigating value systems in urban PPP projects.* Presented at Project Management Conference, 11-12 April Delft, The Netherlands

Kuitert, L, Volker, L and Hermans, M (2018) *The Impact of Shifting Values on the Role and Responsibilities of the Construction Client in Delivering Public Goods* In: Gorse, C and Neilson, C J (Eds) Proceeding of the 34th Annual ARCOM Conference, 3-5 September 2018, Belfast, UK, 455-464.

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Kuitert, L., Willems, T., Volker, L., Hermans, M.H., van Marrewijk, A. (2018) *Contradictions in project based learning: a qualitative study of three city development projects.* In: Franz, B. Kovacic, I. (Eds.) Proceedings of EPOC2018, Brijuni, Croatia, 2018, 626 -651

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The balancing act

How public construction clients safeguard public values
in a changing construction industry

Lizet Kuitert

Public bodies acting in the construction industry have to deal with major transitional issues, such as globalization and urbanization, population ageing, climate change and digitalization. Moreover, the public domain, private parties and society are becoming increasingly interdependent. As a result, safeguarding public values in the built environment has become ever more complex.

Public bodies face the challenge to adhere to collective public values while confronted with private and societal values of external partners. This means that they have to deal with value pluralism and value-conflicts. In research, scarce attention has been paid to providing guidance to practitioners for dealing with multi-value trade-offs in operational processes. Hence, this research provides a construction-sector specific operationalization and a network perspective to the field of public value research.

This research highlights the important role to be played by public commissioning in terms of safeguarding public values. It consists of three qualitative studies that utilize a range of different methods, including interviews, observations and document analysis. By this the research provides a contemporary perspective through which to study and execute the safeguarding of public values by public clients in the transition towards network governance in the construction industry. The dynamics of the sector-specific value interests of public construction clients, the occurrence of value conflicts in commissioning, and the safeguarding processes within both internal and external commissioning are studied.

The practical implications derived from the research were translated into a value dialogue tool that can be used by public construction clients to professionalize safeguarding in their daily practice.

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