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Strategists in the intersection of logics

A study of job advertisements in the
Swedish municipal administration

Petra Svensson

2015:30



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
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Strategists in the intersection of logics. A study of job advertisements in the Swedish municipal administration

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This report is a study of how public administrators responsible for horizontal perspectives in Swedish local government are handling their role as bureaucrats *and* political promoters. Gender equality, public health, human rights, rights of children, and environmental protection are examples of perspectives which local authorities are obliged to take into consideration when making political decisions. In order to ensure this, certain strategists are appointed who are supposed to work across all sectors promoting the values and goals of their specific perspective. The role of these strategists contains several paradoxes and complexities.

This study is a report from my PhD-project, where the phenomenon of strategist responsible for horizontal perspectives is explored from several angles, starting with the forces created by the collaborative challenges of the horizontal perspectives, followed up by exploring the roles of the strategists as a specific category of public bureaucrats. The overall aim of the project is to explore what happens in the intersection between horizontal and vertical governance.

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Introduction

During the past 30 years we have seen two opposite tendencies in politics. On one hand, the New Public Management era has meant that the view of what should be the task for the public organizations has shifted. On the other hand, the recent decades have also meant an increasing debate about development, public value, and mainstreamed horizontal perspectives within the public organizations. This could be expressed as the state leaving many tasks to the market, but also taking on a new bouquet of other difficult issues. These have been called “the third generation policy areas” (Montin 2010), and are characterized by a holistic perspective on politics, administration and the surrounding society. Many topics fit within this categorization, but there are some that stands out as formally defined cross-sector and value-based perspectives. In this group we find, as examples, gender equality, human rights, environment, sustainability, and children’s rights. In particular, the social perspectives has received more and more focus, due to the rise of the social investment ideas, where social development and economic growth are seen as two sides of the same coin. In this report, the term *paradigm of social development* will be used to address the broad and complex development of social horizontal perspectives.

The emphasized ideal of steering mechanisms for these perspectives is usually governance-oriented, such as networks, partnerships and institutional capacity-building. At the local level, a common solution is to assign a public bureaucrat responsibility of a certain topic. These bureaucrats are expected to work strategically, across the sectors, with promotion and monitoring of the topic at hand. They hold titles such as sustainability strategist, diversity strategist and public health coordinator. In this report, the term *social strategists* will be used when referring to the group of bureaucrats working strategically and horizontally with social perspectives. They constitute a professional hybrid, since their job is to be the experts on the politically complex field of human rights: they are not politicians, because they are employed as bureaucrats with the task of executing political decisions, but they are also not bureaucrats, in the sense that they actually have an explicit lobbyist task. They represent a policy solution of a complex problem, e.g. how to implement the horizontal perspectives, but we do not know that much about what they do and how. They

are a result of the development of the network governance ideal, and we also do not know what happens when they meet other bureaucrats in their organization.

The paradigm of social development represents a certain set of principle values that has become generally accepted. These values are related to the fundamental problem in the organization of state as described by Premfors et al. (2009), namely, the relation between democracy and efficiency, represented by a functioning bureaucracy. The key question is: how can we organize a state in order to maximize both these values? Throughout history, the paradigmatic ideas of how this should be done is oscillating, and the development of a new paradigm can be illustrated by the concept of thesis- anti-thesis- synthesis, since the solution of one paradigm often lay the foundation of the problems that the next paradigm will try to solve. However, stating something a progressive new “paradigm” should be done with caution. (Hood 1995:105) The concept of global paradigm is thus difficult, since it will be defined differently depending on the setting. This is described as “translation” by Czarniawska & Sevón (2005). However, regardless of practices, we can distinguish global vocabularies of paradigms. And by doing so, we can distinguish a global vocabulary of sustainability. The emergence of one paradigm doesn’t however erase the former one and thus, many paradigmatic principles are coexisting. Cox & Béland (2013) present the notion of valence in order to describe why certain ideas gain paradigmatic status, and conclude that it has to do with time, in terms the life cycle of an idea; the timeliness, that is when an idea is presented and if it manages to fit in a policy window; the level of abstraction, the higher the better; and the existence of policy entrepreneurs who detect and manipulate the valence of the idea. All these factors affect the valence of an idea, that is, “the attractiveness or appeal that is widely shared among voters” (Cox & Béland 2013:310). This is true for any paradigm, and when there is a shift, features of the old remains Beck- Jørgensen & Bozeman (2007) made an inventory on research of public value from United Kingdom, Scandinavia and USA, covering the years 1990 to 2003, and from their result, we can conclude that different paradigmatic groups of values are active. The notions they found were: legality, dialogue, user orientation, equity, accountability, moral standards, robustness, productivity, innovation, self-development, balance between advocacy and neutrality; between openness and secrecy; and between competitiveness and cooperativeness, majority rule, user

democracy, protection of minorities, altruism, common good, regime dignity and sustainability. These varying values may be an illustration of what Dahl discussed in 1947: that it's hard to establish a universal set of values for public administration, since the normativity (based on what we can call as paradigms) embedded in the values is impossible to exclude (Dahl 1947). However, the many attempts that have been made tell us that the norms are necessary to upkeep the work in public administration. One example to establish a more general model of virtues for the practice of public administration was conducted by Cooper (1987). The model is based on three obligations for administrative work: obligation to pursue the public interest, obligation to authorizing processes and procedures, and obligation to colleagues, followed by the necessary virtues to fulfill these obligations. Just like the values presented by Beck-Jørgensen & Bozeman, the virtues presented by Cooper can be traced to varying paradigms of administrative work. Neither Cooper, nor Beck-Jørgensen & Bozeman discuss the origin and duration of the values presented. And as Hood (1995) and Cox & Béland (2013) points out, values may be existing, but vary in their valence, e.g. the extent to which the values are perceived as attractive and convincing, based on how they appeal to emotions and norms . Neither Cooper nor Beck- Jørgensen & Bozeman do any analysis on how the values apply to and vary between different bureaucrat groups. The lack of time perspective and differentiation causes trouble when, as is the case here, the purpose of a study is to discuss the characteristics of one specific bureaucrat group. The purpose of this dissertation: to study the crossing point of horizontal steering in the social development work, and the vertical organization, by studying the work of the bureaucrats working strategically with these topics; requires a deeper understanding of which values that are present in the strategists' work and if they differ from other bureaucrats. Varying groups of public bureaucrats have been studied and described, but the group of value strategists has not. We do know that they exist, and there is also some evidence that support a claim that this group has expanded in the Swedish administration. The professional networks and Norell's study of the administrator role in a Swedish municipality stretching over 3 decades are examples of this (Norell 2008). However, we don't really know anything about if and how their normative foundations look any different from that of other groups. Since different paradigmatic public values exist side by side in the administration, it is relevant to investigate which values that constitutes the foundation

of the strategists. The variety of values presented by Cooper and Beck- Jørgensen & Bozeman represent both values and skills, which relate to varying paradigms of administration, and the extent to which values and skills of certain paradigms are present, are likely to vary depending on bureaucrat position.

The previous research on public bureaucrats has been focused both on theoretical types and actual positions. Categories such as managers, street-level bureaucrats, bureaucrats, activists and entrepreneurs are used to grasp ideal types of bureaucrats (see for example Hysing & Olsson 2012). The legitimacy and behavior vary depending on the type. In practice, the positions and behavior of bureaucrat seldom, if ever, fit perfectly in the theoretical model. This can be explained by two factors: firstly, because every bureaucrat position includes aspects of different work modes; and secondly, depending on dominating paradigm on administrative work, certain values may be considered as superior, since they have managed to reach a higher level of ideational institutionalization. This means that it appeals to a wide variety of groups, and thus, the public values that are dominant in a specific time is likely to apply to most public bureaucrat in some way. These paradigmatic shifts don't mean that the varying work modes aren't of any interest. On the contrary, they are necessary as frame of analysis in order to understand the logics which guide the bureaucrat work. Different bureaucrat positions are guided by different work modes based on different paradigms, and their formal positions are created based on these modes. The idea and definition of the formal positions does not necessarily need to match the actual behavior of the bureaucrat holding it, but the idea behind the formal position still reflects which work mode that was expected to guide the work. In order to understand the formal positions of the strategists, it is thus necessary to understand the link between formalized positions and the dominant idea of suitable work mode.

In order to distinguish the dominant work mode of social strategists, we need to clarify 1) which work modes can be expected to the present in their work and how we can measure this, 2) in what way the dominant modes are present in the social strategist positions, and 3) if the dominant modes vary between different groups of bureaucrats. In order to find out the dominant work modes of administrative work, research of public value and administrative ideals will be reviewed, leading to a refined model of dominant work modes

regarding skills and virtues of public bureaucrats. This will be applied to a data material consisting of work advertisements for three different groups: strategists, social workers and public managers. The work advertisements are suitable for the purpose of the study, that is, to grasp the dominant work mode, since they are sanitized and appealing to a formal idea of what the positions should mean. The argument for comparing the strategists with public managers and social workers is that these two groups are clearly defined both in terms of formal positions and in terms of expected dominant work mode. Thus, when profiling a group of nondefined bureaucrats, like the strategists, it is interesting to compare it with groups which already have been profiled, in order to see if and how they differ.

First I will do a review of the research of public administration, in order to differentiate the dominant work modes and distinguish indicators to measure them. Second, the method and data will be described. Third, an analysis will be conducted based on the theoretical model, and fourth, conclusions will be drawn on the expectations visible in the job advertisements, and on implications for the strategists' work in the public administration.

Theoretical framework- bureaucrat work modes

The ideas of how the relation between democracy and bureaucracy should be organized vary throughout history. They can be referred to as ideational institutionalization. What is institutionalized are certain sets of appropriateness logics, carried by norms about dominant appropriate values and competences to reach these values. The values represent the idea of what to achieve, and the competences represent the idea of how to achieve it. Values and competences together sets the frame of appropriateness for the work of bureaucrats, and these frames constitute different modes of working. The following section aims at identifying coexisting work modes stemming from idea about how to organize the democratic-bureaucratic organization. This will be used as an analytical tool when comparing the job advertisements for public bureaucrat positions, in order to distinguish which work modes that are present, and in what way the expectations on the social strategists differ from other groups. The review follows a certain chronological order which is described in the previous chapter. This is based on the fact that the theoretical origins of paradigms can be traced to specific moments in time. However, this does not mean that work modes are clearly succeeding one another, but that they may vary in prevalence.

Each section describes the expectations that the different work modes are putting on bureaucrats' education and experience, tasks and personality. This division is purely practical: the review is aimed at constructing a tool for analysis, which could be applied to the data material, consisting of work ads. Since the categories of education and experience, tasks and personality are the most common form for this kind of ads, using these categories in the analytical tool, will make the data processing easier. In each category a number of indicators are presented, which are founded in the literature review and which constitute operationalizations of the work modes.

Focus on legality and process

This is the classical approach to bureaucrat work, where separated roles between bureaucrats and administrators are stressed as the model to upkeep the bureaucratic

efficiency and justice, and at the same time keep the administration as a servant of democracy. The core mission is **administration**. When analysing the roles of public bureaucrats, the starting point, with hardly any exceptions is the presumed dichotomy between bureaucrats and politicians, where politicians make decisions and bureaucrats execute and administer them.. Like Svava writes: "the idea expands and contracts, rises and falls, but never seems to go away" (Svava 2006:121). The classical references to the dichotomy concept are Weber (1948) and Wilson (1887). Both of them proscribed a division, in order to protect the bureaucrats from politicians, and the politicians from the influence of bureaucrats. Weber to a higher extent stresses an organizational demarcation as the best way to fulfil the common good, whereas Wilson is more focused on doing this via thoroughly educated and morally upright bureaucrats (Sager & Rosser 2009:1143) However, both Wilson and Weber considered it important to have a bureaucracy based on meritocracy, so as to make sure that the administration could represent knowledge, expertise and, as a balancing force to politics in terms of stability (Ibid. 2009:1143). In 1939, Robert Merton elaborated on the Weberian bureaucracy as a rising ideal for an efficient organization, and here he pinpoints some important aspects of the bureaucratic personality (Merton 1939). He concludes that

"the bureaucratic structure exerts a constant pressure upon the official to be 'methodological, prudent disciplined.' If the bureaucracy is to operate successfully, it must attain a high degree of conformity with prescribed patterns of action". (Merton 1939:562).

The bureaucratic structure and the bureaucrat's position are based on Weber's definition:

- The bureaucrat positions are placed in a hierarchy with clearly specified functions.
- The bureaucrats are appointed based on a contract and are elected according to professional qualifications.
- Bureaucrats have salary based on the hierarchical position, and provided with financial stability in terms of salary and pension.
- Bureaucrats have their positions primary occupation.
- Bureaucrats have fixed career paths, based on merits, years of service or judgement of superiors.

- Bureaucrats usually have life time positions, but they don't personally own their positions or the resources connected to it, and they follow only the obligations proscribed by their positions
- Bureaucrats are subject to a uniform system of control and discipline (Weber 1948)

These are founding principles in the classic approach to bureaucrat work where focus is legality and process.¹ In terms of potential requirements on a bureaucrat position working mostly according to this mode, we can expect the following when it comes to education, tasks and personality:

Education and experience

The model of separated roles and the task to be the administrator of political decisions, which leads to the work mode of legality and process focus, require public bureaucrats with knowledge of working in this kind of organization. Eg. *experience from a political organization* can be considered to be a part of the necessary qualifications. The political organization may look different, thus, an additional professional qualification is the *experience from working in a public sector*, in order to understand not only what it means to be the democratic executive, but also to have understanding of the hierarchy and sectorization of the public organization. Alternatively, this could also mean having *experience from the overall field* of the public sector, that is, experience from the content of the position, in order to gain understanding of professional norms. According to Weber the bureaucrat should be elected based on professional qualifications, among which these kinds of experiences should be a part. The bureaucrat's work should be characterized by precision, speed, expert control, continuity and discretion (Merton 1939:561). This stressing of professionalism makes it logical to assume that the bureaucrat also should have *specific professional training/education*.

¹ Criticism on the classical bureaucracy is best captured with the New Public Management approach, here reviewed under the result-focused work mode.

Tasks

The tasks performed by bureaucrats with focus on legality and process are based on *processing of general cases* within the professional field. They should *work according to professionally established methods and legislation in effect*. The model of separated roles means that bureaucrats should have their focus on *serving political decisions and administration*. The separated roles might also be stressed in terms of *accomplishing specified missions*, which are specified by the political board and technically clear. This is according to the Weberian ideal and to Merton, who are proscribing a model of replaceable bureaucrats, whose positions make up the core of the administration: who implement political decisions according to law and who upkeep the bureaucratic processes, separated from politicians (Weber 1921, Merton 1939).

Personality

Merton expresses the bureaucratic personality as “trained incapacity” (Merton 1939:565). The impersonality is the nucleate of any bureaucrat and with this come the incapacity to change and adjust. The bureaucrat expected to have focus on legality and process thus will need to *be oriented towards impartiality and justice*. Having *good administrative ability and meticulousness* is also necessary (Ibid. 1939:562). They are first and foremost administrators in a system of separated roles, and the required personal characteristics should reflect this. The separation of roles was a method to make the administration a servant of democracy in terms of the rule of law, by making it stable, efficient, professional and neutral. Svava uses levels of hierarchy and role differentiation to distinguish different models of political-administrative relations, and comes up with four models, stretching from completely separate to completely overlapping roles. Svava doesn't argue against the fear that there might be a democratic dilemma in too overlapping roles, but he puts the question what would happen if the ideal of complete separation was reality. It might lead to complete passivity from bureaucrats, which would be against the bureaucratic efficiency and legality, and political decisions could be expected to be less accurate with politicians who don't have any insight in the administration. Thus, Svava (and Merton) stresses that bureaucrats need to have a *good understanding of the political process*, and that they need to be *professional* in keeping the balance of responsiveness and separated roles, where “neutrality” rather means to distinguish and present the best alternatives to politicians.

If we summarize, the bureaucrat who is expected to have focus on legality and process should keep the balance between responsiveness and separated roles, with focus on legality and procedure, and they should, according to the Weberian ideal, be aware of what specific function their position is based on. The professional identity as bureaucrat matters, regardless of positions, since this is the foundation of the recruitment, according to Weber, and this, in combination with balance of responsiveness and separated roles is what renders the bureaucrat his/her legitimacy. The legality and process work mode is thus guided by the mission of administration. That's what the bureaucrats are expected to be trained for and have experience from, what they are expected to do, and what is guiding the demands of their personal characteristics.

Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship

The work mode of legality and process means focusing on administration and execution of decisions, without any interference of the bureaucrats. The opposite ideal work mode is advocacy and entrepreneurship focus. In this, the bureaucrats aren't neutral administrators; instead they use their expertise and discretion to affect policy-making, both in the decision phase and implementation. The core mission in this work mode is **change**. The classical demarcation between politicians and administrators is based on the idea of protecting one group from the other: letting the managers manage, and strengthening democracy by giving the politicians free space to develop politics. Although, as Svava points out, neutrality doesn't mean passivity, it does mean freedom from political and personal opinions and judgement. The professional bureaucrat is responsible for serving politicians with their expertise, but they should still be clearly aware about the separated roles. Two problems are embedded in this, which have given rise to the work mode of advocacy and entrepreneurship:

First, there is no such thing as a neutral administration. In the middle of the 20th century, there became a rising awareness that efficiency and economy might not apply to all citizens equally, and that the public administration actually played a role in the distribution of good, as being the politics put to practice. This gave rise to a request for a social equity ethics in public administration, carried by the bureaucrats. In 1965, Davidoff argues that the urban

planners not only might, but also should engage in the political process as advocates of groups or parts of the governmental organization, and in order to do so, they need a thorough education and skills to express their social objectives (Davidoff 1965). Fredericksen also argues that the public bureaucrat role should include a social equity perspective, that is, an advocacy role of equity and justice as a third pillar of public administration, alongside efficiency and economy (Fredericksen 1969, 2010). Thus, the public bureaucrats should be both advocates, in the defense of equity values, and sometimes activists, in the active search for opportunities to improve certain values.

Second, passive bureaucrats will create a very static and inflexible administration. And the knowledge that bureaucrats possess is better used if they do their best to work for policy, with responsiveness towards the political will. Kingdon (1984, 2003) created the notion of “policy entrepreneurs”, in order to describe the actors (not necessarily public bureaucrats) who shape policy, by having the capability to distinguish “windows of opportunities”. This is a concept that relates to advocacy. However, the difference between them is that the entrepreneur not necessarily needs a strong personal commitment to the topic. An entrepreneur functions as a change agent and has the capability to bring topics to the agenda by presenting them in a convincing way.

A dilemma when describing what the advocates and entrepreneurs should do is that their work usually is described from an exploratory angle, eg. what they are actually doing. Being an advocate means promoting values, where social equity is one. The activity of promoting something as a bureaucrat means actively working for policy, that is, not passively implementing decisions made by politicians, and the study of advocacy and the normative stand that is taken when stressing that it might be desired that bureaucrats do exactly this, marks a break from the separated roles ideal, although they keep existing side by side. However, when it comes to actual behavior, entrepreneurship and advocacy are activities which have always been present in the public administration. Thus, there is a difference between the idea of what bureaucrats should do, namely, forming the ideal administration, and what they actually do in their everyday activities and the roles they take. The concept of advocacy describes behavior, but also a normative stand of which values that should be advocated by the bureaucrats. The behavior of the advocates has also been described with

the concept of entrepreneurship, which is less focused on the normative aspects, and more on the actual activities taking place when a bureaucrat (or any actor) gets involved in the process of pushing through a certain agenda. Advocacy and entrepreneurship are thus established work modes². However, in order to distinguish how the bureaucrats working with advocacy and entrepreneur focus *should* work, we can use the research on how they actually work, and see what constitutes a successful advocate/entrepreneur, in terms of education, tasks and personality:

Education and experience

The bureaucrats which work according to the work mode of advocacy and entrepreneurship should have good political connections, according to Kingdon. They also need to find ways to claim their legitimacy. This can be done based on position, experience and expertise, and on the capacity to speak on behalf of others (Kingdon1984, 2003: 180). Professional training is not top priority; first and foremost experience of the field is necessary. However, expertise can serve a source of legitimacy, and *knowledge and experience from the specific topic* at hand can thus be useful. Appropriate knowledge and experience to fulfill this should be *experience from driving work, change work, and projects*, to learn the skill of pushing for a certain topic since working according to advocacy and entrepreneurship mode means focusing on one specific topic as a project with the goal to affect policy accordingly (Ibid: 181). The requirements of formal education for this work mode may vary considerably, however, *education and training in a specific field*, most likely with bearing on the topic at hand, may it not be a specific professional education, might help the legitimacy claiming,

Tasks

Being an advocate or entrepreneur means promoting values or policies. The activity of promoting something as a bureaucrat means actively working for policy, which is clearly differing from passively implementing decisions made by politicians. In Fredericksons

² I use advocates and entrepreneurs side by side to capture the different aspects of a desired work mode: an active public bureaucrat who advocates certain important values, and search for the opportunity to enhance these in the public organization. This is also done because both activists and entrepreneurs come with a dilemma: neither activists nor entrepreneurs may stand up for desired values. The sharpest critique on the concept of social equity is related to the discretion of bureaucrats, and that promotion of the advocacy of social equity as founding base of public bureaucratic work would take away the popular sovereignty from the elected officials if the bureaucrats have the discretion to act on basis of social equity (Thompson 1975).

essay from 1969, the first to elaborate the concept of social equity as a pillar of the New Public Administration, he states that when introducing social equity as the third pillar of public administration, it's also important to see that the public bureaucrats not only aren't, but also shouldn't be neutral. The role and task of them is to be active, to search for inequality and flaws in democratic system, and contribute to diminish it. He analyzes the public administration from an organization theory angle, and distinguishes four processes where advocacy and entrepreneurship can be executed: 1) the distributive process, that concerns the patterns of distribution, and in which the public bureaucrats might be more willing to take risks in bargaining for resources; 2) the integrative process, where the bureaucrats take place as integrators across the hierarchy to secure a cohesive goal-seeking whole; 3) the boundary-exchange process, (the relationship between the public organization and its reference groups and clients) where administrative agencies increasingly will become the political representation of minorities; and 4) the socio-emotional process, which refers to socio-emotional training, which is necessary for administrative change, and is thus likely to be more directed toward project-oriented and decentralized organizational modes instead of strengthening bureaucracy (Fredericksen 1969 2010:11-21). Put it differently, the bureaucrats should 1) be active in taking risks in order to push for their topic eg. *promote, monitor, and conduct external analysis*, to be able to affect the distributive process; 2) they should focus on the whole organization eg. *engage, inspire and support for change*; 3) they should speak for minorities and be a representative and speaker of neglected groups and perspectives in the organization, eg. *be a consultative knowledge carrier and educator*; and 4) they should work for deeper change by using other methods than regular bureaucracy eg. *have visionary and long-term focus*.

Personality

In the proactive role of advocates and entrepreneurs, we can expect to find bureaucrats which have an idea of which direction of policy they prefer, and they are willing to use their resources in order to get there. Qualities of these bureaucrats are: 1) claim to be heard, based on expertise, ability to speak for others, or an authoritative position; 2) negotiating skills; 3) persistency; 4) patience; 5) creativity; and 6) convincing in broking (Kingdon 1984, 2003:180-183). Their motivation may vary; and the foundation of their role taking

can be concern about a specific problem, attempts to render their own bureau budget or credit, their desire to promote certain values, or simply a pleasure to participate (Ibid.:123). Regardless of which, we can conclude that *personal will and interest* are important for this bureaucrat. If we summarize the qualities of the proactive bureaucrat in a few indicators, we can conclude that the bureaucrat has the claim to be heard and to be committed in this, can be expressed as *dedicated, engaged and persistent*. This bureaucrat needs to be *actively observing, driving and initiating*, in order to affect things in the desired way. *Creativity and curiosity* are also useful entrepreneurial skills in finding new ways to advocate a topic.

If we summarize, the existence of bureaucrats working mostly with advocacy and entrepreneurship focus means a desire for bureaucrats to function as agents for change. This determines the demands on education and training, the description of the tasks they are expected to perform, and the requested personality traits which are considered necessary if the bureaucrat is hoped to use his/her discretion as a tool for change.

Focus on results

In the 1980s, New Public Management became a prominent ideal. The public sector was seen as stagnated and inefficient, and the cure for it was the principles of the private sector, by creating competition by privatizing or creating quasi-markets of the public service. The implication for public bureaucrat work is described by Aberbach & Rockman as a move towards more separated roles, after a period of more overlapping ones. The argument for this shifted, shifted, from law, which was the case during the first period of separated roles, to economy. Thus, the argument is very similar to the Weberian demarcation: politicians make decisions and bureaucrats execute them, and they need discretion and an institutionalization of the efficiency ideal in order to figure out the best way of doing this. The bureaucrat work should also be controlled and measured, in order to secure the efficiency (Aberbach & Rockman 2006). The core mission is **management**. It thus means a fundamental value change: from administration as overall principle, to management for cost-effectiveness, and it ultimately means a new regime of motivations, sanctions, rewards and work conditions for the public bureaucrats (Cheung 1997).

NPM and the work mode of focus on results was defended by neo-liberals, with the argument that bureaucratic structure gets inefficient due to technocratic stagnation and little focus on development and improvement. NPM was also defended by neo-marxists, who saw the reforms as a way to dismantle the professional and technocratic power (Belloubet-Frier & Timsit 1993:533). Starting from very different positions, neo-marxists and neo-liberals thus end up with a similar kind of conclusion. NPM-reforms have been implemented across the OECD countries, and although the timing, the methods, the degree of politization and the naming slightly varied, it became a durable narrative (Cheung 1997). NPM has a clear focus on management and managers, and the idea is that managers should have the professional management skills to lead and develop their organizations, as separated units run by purchase-provider contracts from politics (Røvik 2008).³

Hood summarizes the doctrinal components of NPM in the following way:

- Hands-on professional management: “let the managers manage”
- Explicit standards and measures of performance: clear goals and objectives increase accountability and efficiency
- Greater emphasis on out controls: results rather than procedures
- Shift to disaggregation: creating manageable units, separating provision and production, contract arrangements inside and outside the public sector
- Shift to greater competition: rivalry is the key to lower costs and higher quality
- Stress on private-sector styles management practices: use the “proven” tools of management from the private sector
- Stress on greater discipline and parsimony: “do more with less” (Hood 1991:4-5).

The focus is on results, and management to achieve this. New public Management was a normative perspective when it was launched, and thus holds several points on what should be expected from bureaucrats in terms of education, tasks and personality:

³ NPM has received extensive criticism. In the early age of NPM, Hood and Dunleavy & Hood examined the post-bureaucratic reforms of NPM, and concluded that NPM is a consistent agenda, but that it requires openness to criticism and adjustments in order to function properly (Dunleavy & Hood 1994, Hood 1991). The free market and cost-efficiency are key principles in classical liberalism and NPM, and when these principles are dominating and public services are contracted out, the chief value of democracy: equality, may easily be out-weighted (Adams & Balfour 2010). Pierre & Painter (2010) takes a clear stand against the attempts of founding a middle way, and argue that it’s impossible to combine the two principles of efficiency in terms democratic legality and public ethics, and market efficiency.

Education

Based on Hood's doctrines, knowledge from a specific substantial topic is not the main focus when working according to the result-focused work mode, but *knowledge and experience from working towards results and development*. The management focus means that *management experience* is likely to be requested. The management focus means focus on steering and measures to increase efficiency and this is an expertise in itself, "professional management". Finally, one target of the result-focused work mode is to break the professional autonomy that was created in the bureaucratic system and which presumably led to stagnation and too powerful groups, and instead focus on results and efficiency. The stressing of clear explicit standards and measures of performance (Hood 1991:4) is an expression of controlling the professionals via management. This means that specific professional education isn't as desired as before, instead the preference is *general academic education and training*, which provides the bureaucrats with analytical skills and general knowledge about management without turning them into autonomous professionals.

Tasks

The task of government and bureaucrats in the result-focused work mode is first and foremost performance management, which can be generally expressed as *achieving goals and cost-efficiency*. Osborne expresses this in a number of images of what government should be: Government should be catalytic, eg. focus should be on steering rather than rowing, and bureaucrats and managers should be active in this (Osbourne & Gaebler 1992:34). Another efficiency aspect is that government should be competitive (Ibid.:76), and mission-driven (Ibid.:108), in order to boost both pride and morale of bureaucrats, and that focus as far as possible should be on the market (Ibid.:280). Government should also be enterprising which means a focus on earning rather than spending (Ibid:195). This requires a redefinition of what profit really means, and directing the costs towards the people who use the actual service.

Barzelay names this approach as the "post-bureaucratic" paradigm. In the old bureaucratic paradigm, the bureaucratic managers were expected to plan, organize, direct and coordinate. This role has several deficits, according to Barzelay. The main task of the

managers, which is expected in the post-bureaucratic (NPM) paradigm, is to be flexible and deliberative about their role. They must be open to a varied mode of work, since they should do marketing and customer identification, exercise leadership, coaching and structure incentives and climate for innovation. Most importantly, they should make sure that the whole organization and people working in it, is focused on the result and product, as not to let the procedures become a target in themselves (Barzelay 1992:132-133). *Having an organizational overview* is thus of importance. The founding principle of letting the managers manage means giving the managers discretion enough to continuously improve process (Barzelay 1992:118), eg. to *develop and evaluate* the organisation the reach highest possible efficiency. This marks a clear break with the classical approach, and the administrative ideal. Since the efficiency, development and overview is expected to be inspired by good examples from others (preferably private) organisations (Hood 1991), *looking for quality* (in general) and *best practice* (in particular) can also be considered an important aspect of the tasks of bureaucrats within the result-focused work mode.

Personality

The main desired personal trait of the bureaucrats in the result-focused work mode is thus to be flexible and deliberative about their role. *Flexibility and progress-orientation* is thus a desired feature, as to make sure that the bureaucrats don't get stuck in procedures. They must also have *ability to plan, organize and be a clear leader*. They should make sure that the whole organization and people working in it, is focused on the result and product. *Motivating and delegating* are thus key skills. (Barzelay 1992; Osborne & Gaebler 1992). The personality of the bureaucrats should be directed to fit into a model based on best practice, benchmarking and results in terms of product and customer satisfaction. The ability to motivate people is necessary in the management focused organisation, which is focused on decentralisation and teamwork (Osbourne & Gaebler1992:250). Finally, in a result-focused work mode, the bureaucrats should be *emphasizing customers and service*, since the main orientation is the market principles.

If we summarize the result-focused work mode in terms of education, we see that demands on education are likely to be less specified. When the focus on results is stressed, the tendency to empower bureaucrats is strong, and this means "empowerment" in terms of

depolitization and de-professionalization, in order to steer the focus towards results and not procedures (Pierre & Painter 2010). This doesn't mean, however, that expertise is considered irrelevant. However, focus is above all on management skills. The stressing of "letting the managers manage" highlights this: the public bureaucrats should have discretion enough to perform their work, which is efficient ways to implement decisions, and the role of politicians should be to formulate the overall goals. The principle of separated roles is thus clearly present in the result-focused work mode, just as in the legality and process work mode, but the objectives is different: whereas the bureaucratic paradigm intended to protect the politicians from managers, the result-focused work mode aims as protecting the managers from politicians, in order to let them exercise their managerial knowledge in best possible way (Aucoin 1990). Management towards results is thus the main mission.

Focus on deliberation and communication

Although both Svava (2006) and Aberbach & Rockman (2006) see a withdraw from more overlapping roles to the model of separate roles, the interaction between state and market, and the interconnection with different levels in society grows and multi-level and cross-sector governance is given increased attention. In this network governance, bureaucrats who function as negotiators and sector bridgers by bringing levels and sectors together are likely to become more and more common. Other notions that are used to describe this mode of governance are holistic governance (Perri 6 et al 2002) and joined-up government (Pollitt 2003). This mode has been described as a response to the economic view of pillarization and performance management in New Public Management. Instead, a more holistic strategy was launched (Christensen & Laegreid 2007; Pollitt 2003). The origin is usually said to be the "joined-up-government" launched by the British Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1997. It later developed into the whole-of-government approach. The Anglo-Saxon countries, which were the most radical in implementing NPM, were also the ones where the path dependency and the negative feedback from NPM, were the ones where a counter reaction was most likely to occur (Christensen & Laegreid 2007). What we can conclude is that the core mission of this perspective is **collaboration**, with focus on deliberation and communication. Stoker presents four propositions to define the paradigm of network

governance and PVM, which is one way to describe the deliberation and communication work mode of bureaucrats:

- Public interventions are defined by the search of public value. The role of managers and bureaucrats should thus be to create public value, by addressing the issue whether public policies and interventions are achieving positive outcome.
- There is a need to give more recognition to the legitimacy of a wide range of stakeholders. Making a legitimate decision requires the involvement of all stakeholders, and the role of managers and bureaucrats should thus be to distinguish this and open up for them.
- An open-minded, relationship approach to the procurement of services is framed by a commitment to a public service ethos. There is no ideological dimension in who provides the service, and there should not be a clear division between contractor and client. The public service ethos, based on performance, accountability, universality and professionalism, is vital, and runs through the system regardless of provider.
- An adaptable and learning-based approach to the challenge of public service delivery is required. Focus is on challenge and change, and managers and bureaucrats frequently ask the question whether the activities performed are bringing a net benefit to society. (Stoker 2006:47-49)

The overall role of bureaucrats is to open the system for as many as possible, to give people possibility to participate.⁴ This will be reflected in the demands on education, tasks and personality of the bureaucrats working with deliberation and communication focus.

⁴ While the first scholarly work on network governance mostly pointed out the advantages of networks (e.g. Rhodes 1996, Koppenjan & Klijn 2000), the later pays attention to limitations. McGuire & Agranoff (2011) point out that networks hold resolution barriers in terms of power imbalances, overprocessing, and policy barriers, and in the difficulties in measuring performance of networks with an outcome based approach. They also stress the potential problems of the relationship between bureaucracy and multi-organizational arrangements. Also Stoker highlights a problem related to the bureaucrat work, namely, the dilemma that occurs when managers are expected to manage democracy. This might push citizens and politicians to the margin, since managing full democracy, in terms of full legitimate involvement of stakeholders, is very demanding (Stoker 2006).

Education

The bureaucrats working according to the deliberation and communication work mode will be requested to have *knowledge and experience from collaboration processes*, since focus is on deliberation rather than hierarchy (Williams 2012:37-45). 6 et al mentions that the old notion of “civil service generalist” should get an update. However, they stress training as being of main importance (Perri 6 et al 2002:139). Formal education is thus likely to be of less importance, since this work mode contains skills which are not formalized. They also will be asked to have *experience from network building*, since this requires certain skills, and in some cases, the bureaucrat’s own network is considered a useful asset. Finally, the deliberation and communication work mode is stressing strategic as a useful skill for bureaucrats, because of the many contacts which will be necessary within this work mode. Strategic is not only a skill, it is also a certain kind of work, addressing the task of coordinating the organization into a specific direction, and thus, *experience from strategic work*, can also be expected to be desired if the expectation is that bureaucrats should work according to the work mode of deliberation and communication.

Tasks

6 et al. call the deliberation and communication work mode “holistic governance” and stresses that if it is desired to enhance the network governance via more holistic work, it’s important to recognise it., because engaging in holistic work may come with professional risks: the other sectors might not recognise the work and effort done by a bureaucrat bridging the sectors, and the own organisation might consider it a disadvantage, since the sector bridging bureaucrat engages in other units. Williams uses the notion of boundary spanning to describe the work across the organizational borders, and divide them into dedicated boundary spanners, with an explicit boundary spanning mission, and others, who perform boundary spanning, without having it as a clear role (Williams 2012). He/she is a liaison person and an organizer, who deals more with *collaboration and coordination* than actual content. They *have an extroverted focus*, meaning it is in itself a task to be out-going personalities both inside and outside the organization, and to focus on deliberative methods such as *dialogue and participation*. These bureaucrats are active in *creating and maintaining networks*. They are also to a high extent involved in *representation*, since the

networking model means an increased number of situations of meeting across the boundaries. (Perri & et al. 2002; Williams 2012)

Personality

The dedicated boundary spanners are described as reticulists, interpreter/communicators, coordinators and as entrepreneurs (Williams 2012:142). The entrepreneur role indicates that the advocacy/entrepreneurship work mode and the deliberation and communication work mode are closely connected. Also Perri et al (2002) includes the advocacy/entrepreneur bureaucrat when describing the bureaucrat working in holistic governance. I chose to treat them as two separated work modes, based on core mission. In the advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode, focus is on entrepreneurship for change, in terms of specific values or interests, whereas the deliberation/communication work mode focuses on entrepreneurship in terms of creating coordination and collaboration. He or she need to be *cooperative*, in order to make these processes to function smoothly. The personality of a bureaucrat in the deliberation/communication work mode is focused on cultivating networks, e.g. to be *relationship-oriented and confidence-inspiring* (Williams 2012:38), and *communicative and percipient*, since one task is to handle large amount of information, and the skill to create dialogue and a common understanding (Williams 2012:37-45). This makes them different from bureaucrats in the advocacy/entrepreneurship mode which are not always expected to be smooth, but rather, to break norms in order to create change. He/she needs the ability to frame things in suitable ways, and to appreciate when and whom to speak to, e.g. a *strategic* personality (Ibid: 39). If we consider advocacy and entrepreneurship to be something else than deliberation and communication, we can also see that there is a difference in the expectation of initiatives. The advocacy and entrepreneurship mode sees bureaucrats as initiators, whereas deliberation and communication is focused on coordination of ideas and the bureaucrat as a broker.

Summarizing the work mode of deliberation and communication, we see that awareness of public value and stakeholders is in the center. The bureaucrat's task is to initiate, maintain and coordinate joined-up work and to be representative in networks. The core mission, which is seen as the main task and solution, is collaboration.

Analysing dominant bureaucrat work modes

Model for analysis

The presented work modes represent ideals of public administrative work. This dominant ideal is what is interesting, since the starting point of this dissertation is the formalization of social development work, represented by the Swedish municipal social strategists. Job ads are not describing the actual work of the bureaucrats, but the idea of what their positions should include. When going through the work modes and how they are expressed in terms of expectations on education, tasks and personality we see that they stress different aspects of bureaucrat work. That is, the definition of the core mission varies, and this determines what the bureaucrats are expected to have experience from, what they are expected to do, and what their personality are expected to benefit. The legality and process work mode has *administration* as its core value; the advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode has *change*; the result mode holds the core mission *management*; and the deliberation and communication mode has *collaboration*. These core missions are thus the foundation of the indicators described in the review. The indicators are indicators of work modes, not of substantial content. E.g. the content of each position can be described from any of the four work modes, depending on how the ads are formulated in terms of dominant focus.

The following table summarizes work modes and indicators, which will be used as an analytical tool:

Table 1. Operationalization of dominant work modes

Dominant work mode	Categories		
	Education and experience	Tasks	Personality
	Indicators	Indicators	Indicators
Focus on legality and process <i>Core mission: Administration</i>	Knowledge/ experience from the field and/or public sector work Experience from political organization Specific professional education/training	Process general cases (Investigation/trial/action/case follow-up/documentation) Work according to established methods/legislation in effect Have focus on and serve political decisions/administration Accomplish specific missions	Oriented towards impartiality/legality Have administrative ability/meticulousness Understanding of the political process Professional
Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship <i>Core mission: Change</i>	Knowledge /experience from a specific topic Experience from driving work/change work and projects Education/training in a specific field	Promote/monitor/conduct external analysis Engage/ inspire/support for change Be a consultative knowledge carrier/educator Have visionary/long-term focus	Personal will/interest Dedicated/engaged/persistent Actively observing/driving/initiating Creative/curious
Focus on results <i>Core mission: Management</i>	Knowledge/experience from working towards results and development Management experience General education/training	Achieve goals /cost-efficiency Have organizational overview/management focus/comprehensive perspective Develop/evaluate Look for quality/best practice	Flexible/progress-oriented Ability to plan/organize/be a clear leader Motivating/delegating Emphasizing customers/service
Focus on deliberation and communication <i>Core mission: Collaboration</i>	Knowledge/experience of collaboration processes Experience from network building Experience from strategic work	Collaboration/coordination Have an extroverted focus on dialogue/participation Create/maintain networks Representation	Cooperative Relationship-oriented/confidence-inspiring Communicative/percipient Strategic

This model will be applied to the work advertisements with the main purpose of distinguishing to what extent the work modes are present in the different ads and thus to distinguish how the positions are composed.

Sample

The work modes will be used as frame for analysis, and will be applied to job advertisements for bureaucrat positions. The data material consists of work advertisement for three groups of bureaucrats: strategists, public managers for education, culture, leisure or social service, and social workers. The reason for choosing these groups is that they all have a focus on social topics, but from different angles: the strategists' task is to work strategically with social horizontal perspectives; the managers are responsible for the management of sectors with a social mission; and the social workers are operative staff responsible for the execution of this mission. For the strategist groups, the social value perspectives constitute the substance of their work. For the managers and social workers, the social is obviously present, but as something additional to their hierarchically placed position. The purpose of this study is to distinguish how the expectations of the social work is expressed in practice, via the work advertisements, for the three groups, in order to create a solid foundation on further studies of the social strategist role.

The following table summarizes the data material:

Table 2. Data overview

	Advertisements for strategists positions	Advertisements for public managers positions	Advertisements for social worker positions
Published	2009-2013	2013	2013
Search terms	Public health strategist (15) Sustainability strategist (1) Gender equality strategist (3) Diversity strategist (1) Development strategist (3) Children strategist+ Youth strategist (4) Security strategist + Safety coordinator (5)	Manager of social service (11) Manager of education (11) Manager of culture and leisure (10)	Social secretary (32)
Governmental level	Local	Local	Local
Organisational level	Strategic level/sometimes placed in specific sectors	Specific sectors	Specific sectors
Number of ads	32	32	32

The advertisements were collected by using the web page www.vakanser.se. This is a free search tool, where job advertisements from all sectors are gathered. The Swedish Employment Agency doesn't have a system of saving advertisements more than two months, which means that it's not possible to find ads via this agency, and the commonly used web service www.offentligajobb.se (Public Jobs) is owned by a private company, which doesn't have any formal obligation to give free access to their data. This means that www.vakanser.se became the most useful way to gain access to old work ads. It doesn't cover all ads published, but it gathers many of them, and can thus be argued to give a reasonably systemized overview.

The strategist group consists of a variety of public bureaucrats who are expected to work with different aspects of sustainability. The ads for positions as social strategists have been found using the titles commonly used for this group of administrators. The group called "development strategists" (utvecklingsstrateg) are somewhat problematic, since their positions aren't specified by their titles and under the titles a wide variety of tasks are hidden. For this specific group, the ads have been selected based on a scanning of their tasks: if they have tasks covering the social aspects in some way, and on a more general level (not directed towards a specific sector), they are included. By doing so, the ads asking for development strategists working in a specific sector got excluded based on these criteria. By using the search terms, a number of ads have been presented via the search tool. This result is wide, meaning many ads which have some kind of bearing of the terms are also presented. This study focuses on the municipal level, and the ads presenting titles matching the search terms and with a placement on the municipal level have been selected. Most of the positions are placed on a strategic level in the municipalities; however some have their organizational placement in a specific sector. If this is the case, the ads have been scanned to secure that the position still includes a general municipal focus. This purposive selection is necessary based on the purpose of the study: to distinguish how the group of social strategists can be described, in terms of education, tasks and skills. The time period covered for the strategist ads is 2009-2013. The reason for including a time period of 5 years is the desire to increase the variety of ads, since these positions aren't advertised very often. Sometimes a municipality has published advertisements for the same position two

times during the time period, and in these cases, the most present ad has been included in the analysis.

The advertisements for public manager positions have been selected by using the search term “manager of social service” (socialchef), “manager of education” (utbildningschef) and “manager of culture and leisure” (kultur- och fritidschef). This renders an extensive search result. The first 11 ads for managers of social service, the first 11 ads for managers of education, and the first 10 ads for managers of culture and leisure have been included in the analysis. The criterion for the selected ads has been that it should be municipal managers directly answering to the political board of the sector. All ads in this group are from 2013.

The social workers have been selected by using the search term “social secretary”. This generated a big number of ads, mostly with the explicit title “social secretary” (socialsekreterare). The first 32 of these positions have been selected. A few ads were excluded, if they had another title than the explicit “social secretary”. All ads in this group are from 2013.

Limitations

The purpose of this study is to distinguish work modes for bureaucrats working with different social aspects, in order to see how they distinguish themselves from the other bureaucrats. The ads do not tell us anything about what the bureaucrats really do, or about they perceive their work. However, based on the purpose of distinguishing dominant work modes in the formal expectations of the bureaucrat groups, the data corresponds well with the object of the study, which makes the study useful as long as inferences are drawn accordingly.

Another type of limitation is the sampling. Most likely, the number of positions for the different bureaucrat positions is larger than the number of ads published in the online tool www.vakanser.se. The sample could have included ads from professional magazines, from the municipalities' own archive or from the private company which are focused on public jobs. This would have increased the N, however, it is unlikely that it would significantly change the actual result.

A third type of challenge is the methodological consideration. The key unit for coding is notions. Some clearly distinguish themselves according to the indicators. Others are more difficult to place according to the indicators. Usually this difficulty is manifested grammatically, by one phrase using one indicator word as verb, another as object and a third as adjective. In this case, the phrase has been coded word by word, based on the word stem, and these words have been counted as separate units, in order to create a systematic analysis. This is further elaborated below.

Coding and presentation

The coding is done based on the work focus indicators. To each indicator, the words or section of words that has bearing on it are coded, providing a foundation for classical content analysis, since the types have been strictly used as frame. The main challenge with the coding has occurred when the formulations in the ads uses the notions on which the indicators are based as both personality feature and task (ex. “to plan”, “ability to plan”; “work strategically”, “be strategic”; “create networks”, “be a networking person”). On such occasions, the stem of the words have been strictly used as far as possible, with the argument, that the person who is requested perform a certain task, most likely also is expected to hold matching features and skills, and vice versa, if a feature or skill is requested, it’s likely that the tasks which this person will be performing will hold traits of these skills and features. Another occurring problem of similar character is when a notion is used as adjective or adverb, to describe a task or skill (ex. *Your task is to drive strategic development*). On these occasions, each word has been coded according to its stem form: “drive” has been coded as *Actively observing, driving and initiating*, “strategic” has been coded as *strategic*, and “development” has been coded as *develop/evaluate*. The aim of the analytical frame has been to cover the notions used in the ads as far as possible, at least in the stem form. However, in certain cases, a more open interpretation has been necessary, when the formulations used are not exactly corresponding with the framework, but still pointing on a task or skill which is mentioned.

The presentation of the result is done in two steps:

First, percentage data, showing how the phrases for each of category *education & experience, tasks* and *personality* are distributed according to the four work modes. The number of phrases sorted under one category, are treated as the full data, and the percentage shows the relative distribution of phrases according to work modes. By doing so, we can distinguish to what extent the different work modes are present.

Second,, indicator data, showing the number of times the indicator phrases are used in each group of ads, e.g. strategists, managers and social workers. The indicator data is presented according to the categories of analysis, *education & experience, tasks* and *personality*.

Result of analysis of job advertisements

Percentage data

The next section shows how the extent work modes come to expression in the ads per bureaucrat group, by showing how the categories *Education & experience, Tasks* and *Personality* are divided according to the work modes in each group:

The first table shows the result for the strategist ads:

Table 3. Percentage data Strategists ads

N=32	Focus on legality and process	Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship	Focus on results	Focus on deliberation and communication	Total, %
Education & experience	36	63	21	12	132
%	27,3	47,7	15,9	9,1	100
Tasks	74	176	97	109	456
%	16,2	38,6	21,3	23,9	100
Personality	6	75	39	81	201
%	3,0	37,3	19,4	40,3	100

Based on this table, we can see that the strategists to a large extent are expected to work according to the advocacy and entrepreneurship ideal, and also that their personality is

expected to fulfill an advocate and entrepreneurial role. But even more prominent is the expectation that their personality features should be deliberative and communicative. This could be interpreted as if the networking is considered the most appropriate tool for the task of advocating the values which the strategists are responsible for. To a very little extent, the strategists are expected to follow the legality and process ideal in terms of personality. The demands on education and experience also match the advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode, based on the demands on experience from this kind of work. Remarkably often, however, the demands on education & experience fit within the legality and process work mode.

The second table shows the result for the public manager ads:

Table 4. Percentage data Public managers ads

N=32	Focus on legality and process	Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship	Focus on results	Focus on deliberation and communication	Total, %
Education & experience	64	16	77	4	161
%	39,8	9,9	47,8	2,5	100
Tasks	61	52	254	66	433
%	14,1	12,0	58,7	15,2	100
Personality	21	93	110	92	316
%	6,7	29,4	34,8	29,1	100

Based on this table, we can see that the dominating expectation on managers work mode is focus on results, both in education & experience, tasks and personality. When it comes to education & experience, the requests are sometimes within the legality and process mode. The tasks are clearly expressed in one work mode, with strains from the other three. This could be interpreted as the tasks being clearly dominated by the result work mode, but the experience and personality traits considered necessary to fulfill them come from both the result work mode, and from advocacy and entrepreneurship, and deliberation and communication mode.

The third table shows the result for the street-level bureaucrat ads:

Table 5. Percentage data Social workers ads

N=32	Focus on legality and process	Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship	Focus on results	Focus on deliberation and communication	Total, %
Education & experience	96	37	2	1	136
%	70,6	27,2	1,5	0,7	100
Tasks	200	22	39	35	296
%	67,6	7,4	13,2	11,8	100
Personality	11	42	38	63	154
%	7,1	27,2	24,7	41,0	100

Based on this table, we can see that the education & experience and tasks categories are clearly dominated by the legality and process work mode, based on the demands on specific professional education and training, and the tasks which first and foremost consist of processing general cases and working according to established methods and legislation in effect. To a certain extent, the demands on education also come from the advocacy and entrepreneurship mode. The requested personality features however, are to a very little extent described by the legality and process work mode. The dominating work mode when it comes to personality is the deliberation and communication focus, with clear demands also on advocacy and entrepreneurship, and results focus. This could be interpreted as a request for classical bureaucrats in terms of education & experience and tasks, but that they are expected to be most capable to fulfill them if they have the personality features of less classical work mode.

In the next section, the result will be presented as frequencies on indicator level to show how many times the indicators are present in each group of ads.

Indicator data

Education & experience. The following table shows indicator data for *Education & experience*. What we can see is that the demand are mixed, all work modes are present in all groups of ads, but also that there is one work mode which dominates more in each group:

advocacy and entrepreneurship for the strategist ads, results for the manager ads and legality and process for the social worker ads.

Table 6. Indicator data *Education & experience*

Dominant work mode	Number of phrases		
	Strategists	Public managers	Social workers
Focus on legality and process			
Knowledge/ experience from the field and/or public sector work	13	34	25
Experience from political organization	8	24	-
Specific professional education/training	15	6	71
Total number of legality and process phrases	36	64	96
Focus on advocating general values			
Knowledge /experience from a specific topic	28	1	25
Experience from driving work/change work and projects	19	8	-
Education/training in a specific field	16	7	12
Total number of advocating general values phrases	63	16	37
Focus on results			
Knowledge/experience from working towards results and development	3	16	-
Management experience	2	38	-
General education/training	16	23	2
Total number of results phrases	21	77	2
Focus on deliberation and communication			
Knowledge/experience of collaboration processes	9	3	1
Experience from network building	2	1	-
Experience from strategic work	1	-	-
Total number of deliberation and communication phrases	12	4	1
Total number of Education & experience phrases	132	161	136

The demands for strategist positions mostly come from the advocacy and entrepreneurship- focused work mode, but also from the result-focused and legality and process-focused work modes.

You have relevant university college degree, preferably with social science orientation plus experience from working in a politically steered organization with great understanding of the political process.
(Development strategist)

Swedish original:

Du har relevant högskoleexamen, gärna med samhällsvetenskaplig inriktning samt erfarenhet från att arbeta i en politiskt styrd organisation med stor förståelse för den demokratiska processen
(Utvecklingsstrateg)

The dominant request is knowledge/experience from a specific topic, usually the one for which they will be working strategically⁵.

Your formal competence may look in different ways, but experience from working with young people is of course a merit. You have to have a strong personal interest for societal issues, and be very well oriented in municipal organization.
(Youth strategist)

Swedish original:

Din formella kompetens kan se ut på olika sätt, men erfarenhet av arbete med unga är självklart meriterande. Du måste ha ett starkt personligt intresse för samhällsfrågor, och vara mycket väl orienterad i kommunal organisation.
(Ungdomsstrateg)

The request for education for public managers mostly comes from the result-focused work mode, but also from the legality and process-focused work mode. The requests for management experience stands out, so does the request for knowledge/experience from the field and/or public sector work. Experience from political organization and general education/training are also prominent.

We are looking for you with academic education oriented towards social services, care or other social science field. You have experience from qualified leadership in the social sector and good knowledge about legislation in effect plus good knowledge in economy and a economical mind.
(Social manager)

Swedish original:

Vi söker dig med akademisk utbildning med inriktning socialtjänst, vård och omsorg eller annat samhällsvetenskapligt område. Du har erfarenhet av kvalificerat ledarskap inom den sociala sektorn och goda kunskaper om aktuell lagstiftning samt goda kunskaper i ekonomi och med ett ekonomiskt sinne
(Socialchef)

⁵ The division-line between knowledge/experience from the field and/or public sector work, and knowledge/experience from a specific topic is drawn between "field" and "topic". "Field" is considered to be a wider concept with assigned sectors, such as knowledge/experience from social work, education etc. whereas "topic" is more specific, such as knowledge/experience from working with drug abuse, gender equality issues or the convention of the rights of the child.

The social workers have first and foremost demands from the legality and process mode, but also from the advocacy and entrepreneurship-focused work mode. This is mostly due to the demands on a specific professional education/training, in their case degree in social work (socionomexamen).

Degree in social work or other education which is considered equivalent. Great importance is given to personal suitability. Experience from processing social service cases or exercise of authority within public administration is meritorious.
(Social secretary)

Swedish original:
Socionomutbildning eller annan utbildning som bedöms vara likvärdig. Stor vikt fästs vid personlig lämplighet. Erfarenhet av handläggning av socialtjänstären eller myndighetsutövning inom offentlig förvaltning är meriterande.
(Socialsekreterare)

They also face requests on knowledge/experience from the field or public sector work, and knowledge/experience from a specific topic, which is usually the specific group with which they will be working. Thus there sometimes are requests of them being more generally educated or trained in their field, and to hold more specific knowledge about certain topics, but they are not expected to have experience from driving work, change work or projects.

We look for you who is educated social worker and have experience from exercise of authority within social service. We also want you to have good knowledge about SoL (The social services act), LVU (The care of young persons act) and LVM (The care of abusers act). If you have knowledge in BBIC and MI (motivational interviewing) it is an advantage. If you also have work experience of abuse we consider it a merit.
(Social secretary)

Swedish original:
Vi söker dig som är utbildad socionom och har erfarenhet av myndighetsutövning inom socialtjänsten. Vi vill även att du har goda kunskaper inom SoL, LVU och LVM. Om du har kunskaper inom BBIC och MI är det en fördel. Har du dessutom arbetslivserfarenhet av missbruk ser vi det som meriterande.
(Socialsekreterare)

Once conclusion which can be drawn from the indicator data for *Education & experience* is that the mix of expectations to a certain extent is caused by the demands on experience from the field and/or public sector work, and experience from political organization. The most plausible explanation for it is the fact that all three ad groups are ads for public bureaucrats. Thus, the experience and knowledge about this specific kind of organization will be useful in all groups, regardless of whether their tasks and personality are expected to come from this work mode.

Another conclusion is that the ads for strategist positions express the strongest variety of expectations, followed by the manager ads and the social worker ads. This can be explained by the fact this group is the least defined.

Tasks. The next table shows indicator data for *Tasks*. It shows a clear pattern, where the three groups of bureaucrat ads are connected to different work modes. There are clearly dominating work modes for the different bureaucrat ads: advocacy and entrepreneurship for strategist ads, results for manager ads and legality and process for social worker ads. At the same time, there are certain tasks which are stressed in all three groups of ads, although it's higher for some: develop/evaluate and collaboration/coordination.

Table 7. Indicator data *Tasks*

Dominant work mode	Number of phrases		
	Strategists	Public managers	Social workers
Focus on legality and process			
Process general cases (Investigation/trial/action/case follow-up/documentation)	-	-	137
Work according to established methods/legislation in effect	2	9	55
Have focus on and serve political decisions/administration	33	38	2
Accomplish specific missions	39	14	6
Total number of legality and process phrases	74	61	200
Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship			
Promote/monitor/conduct external analysis	101	13	10
Engage/ inspire/support for change	34	20	11
Be a consultative knowledge carrier/educator	30	2	1
Have visionary/long-term focus	11	17	-
Total number of advocacy and entrepreneurship phrases	176	52	22
Focus on results			
Achieve goals/cost-efficiency	8	55	3
Have organizational overview/management focus/comprehensive perspective	20	112	6
Develop/evaluate	62	72	27
Look for quality/best practice	7	15	3
Total number of results phrases	97	254	39
Focus on deliberation and communication			
Collaboration/coordination	73	40	30
Have an extroverted focus on dialogue/participation	20	18	4
Create/maintain networks	9	5	1
Representation	7	3	-
Total number of deliberation and communication phrases	109	66	35
Total number of <i>Tasks</i> phrases	456	433	296

The strategists's tasks are dominated by the advocacy and entrepreneurship focus. However, they are expected to perform tasks within all four modes. Develop/evaluate is one important task within the result-focused work mode, and collaboration/coordination within the deliberation and communication-focused mode.

It is about implementation and realization (application) of the convention of the rights of the child in the activities of the municipality, the production of municipality's child closure, education of the municipality's employees and spreading of knowledge, plus contributing to strengthen the regional cooperation.
(Children strategist)

Swedish original:
Detta handlar om implementering och genomförande (tillämpning) av barnkonventionen i kommunens verksamheter, framtagande av kommunens barnbokslut, utbildning av kommunens anställda och kunskaps-spridning samt att medverka till att det regionala samarbetet förstärks.
(Barnstrateg)

As gender equality strategist, you will coordinate, support and drive the municipality's development work connected to the strategy gender mainstreaming.
(Gender equality strategist)

Swedish original:
Som Jämställdhetsstrateg ska du samordna, stödja och driva kommunens utvecklingsarbete kopplat till strategin jämställdhetsintegrering.
(Jämställdhetsstrateg)

The numbers of tasks within the legality and process focused work mode are also significant, both having focus on and serve political decisions, and accomplish specific missions stand out.

The public managers' tasks are dominated by the result-focused mode, with strains from the other three. In particular, collaboration/coordination within the deliberation and communication work mode, and have focus on and serve political decisions/administration within the legality and process work mode are prominent.

Your assignment is to lead and organize plus coordinating the agency's activities to reach the long term goals prescribed by the trustee politicians. To do this, re-thinking, energy to act and an ability to find new approaches are demanded. One prerequisite is also a good view of the external world and active external analysis, plus a comprehensive thinking.
(Manager of education)

Swedish original:
Ditt uppdrag är att leda och organisera samt samordna förvaltningens verksamhet för att uppnå de långsiktiga målen som är fastställda av de förtroendevalda politikerna. För detta krävs ett nytänkande, handlingskraft och en förmåga att hitta nya angreppssätt. En förutsättning är också en god omvärldsbild och aktiv omvärldsbevakning samt ett helhetstänk.
(Utbildningschef)

You have the overall responsibility for the social service administration's activities. You are responsible for the development-and change work,

Swedish original text:
Du har det övergripande ansvaret för Socialförvaltningens verksamheter. Du ansvarar för

plus external analysis and collaboration both internally and externally.
(Social manager)

utvecklings- och förändringsarbetet samt omvärldsbevakning och samverkan både internt och externt.
(Socialchef)

The social workers' tasks are dominated by the legality and process mode, based on the stressing of processing general cases and working according to established methods and legislation in effect. The tasks also have strains from the other work modes, just like the strategist ads, develop/evaluate is considered an important task within the result-focused work mode, and collaboration/coordination within the deliberation and communication-focused mode.

The tasks include processing of economic assistance. The position includes client meetings, examining needs, documentation plus the establishment of action plans. An important part of the work is cooperating with different actors, both within the agency and other external such as the Employment service, the Social Insurance Office and health care etc. As social secretary we assume that you work from a comprehensive perspective regarding both people and agency. comprehensive perspective regarding both people and agency.
(Social secretary)

Swedish original:
Arbetsuppgifterna omfattar handläggning av ekonomiskt bistånd. I anställningen ingår klientmöten, utreda behov, dokumenterar samt upprätta handlingsplaner. En viktig del i arbetet är att samarbeta med olika aktörer, både inom förvaltningen och andra externa såsom Arbetsförmedlingen, Försäkringskassan och sjukvården etc. Som socialsekreterare förutsätter vi att du arbetar utifrån en helhetssyn avseende både människor och verksamhet.
(Socialsekreterare)

One conclusion we can draw from the *Tasks* indicator data is that the tasks which are prominent for all groups (develop/evaluate and collaboration/communication), can be interpreted as having strong valence, meaning they hold a strong legitimacy and thus needs to be stressed for all groups, regardless of whether the original tasks are close or far from them. Another conclusion which can be drawn from this is that the strategists have the most mixed tasks. The advocacy and entrepreneurship mode is dominating, but the numbers are high also for the other work modes.

Personality. The next table shows indicator data for *Personality*. Here the result generally is a bit more mixed than for *Tasks*. The requested personality matches the dominating work modes in *Tasks* for the strategists and the public managers, but not for the social workers. The requested personality in the social worker ads are dominated by the deliberation and communication work mode.

Table 8. Indicator data *Personality*

Dominant work mode	Number of phrases		
	Strategists	Public managers	Social workers
Focus on legality and process			
Oriented towards impartiality/legality	1	-	-
Have administrative ability/meticulousness	4	1	8
Understanding of the political process	1	17	-
Professional	-	3	3
Total number of legality and process phrases	6	21	11
Focus on advocacy and entrepreneurship			
Personal will/interest	16	25	22
Dedicated/engaged/persistent	9	26	4
Actively observing/driving/initiating	43	32	8
Creative/curious	7	10	8
Total number of advocacy and entrepreneurship phrases	75	93	42
Focus on results			
Flexible/progress-oriented	7	22	13
Ability to plan/ organize/be a clear leader	28	49	12
Motivating/delegating	4	35	5
Emphasizing customers/service	-	4	8
Total number of results phrases	39	110	38
Focus on deliberation and communication			
Cooperative	19	16	26
Relationship-oriented/confidence-inspiring	9	14	14
Communicative/percipient	34	40	23
Strategic	19	22	-
Total number of deliberation and communication phrases	81	92	63
Total number of Personality phrases	201	316	154

The requests for strategists' personality features show a rather equal number of personality features within the deliberation and communication work mode as in the advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode. In particular, the strategist ads express requests for actively driving/observing/initiating people, who also are communicative/percipient. The score for personality in the result-focused work mode is also not insignificant.

As a person, we want you to find it easy to cooperate with varying actors and to create engagement. You are used to work independently, have a structured way of working and are driving. You are development minded and have the ability to see the comprehensive picture in the public health work. (Public health strategist)

Swedish original:

Som person vill vi att du har lätt för att samverka med olika aktörer och skapa engagemang. Du är van att arbeta självständigt, har ett strukturerat arbetssätt och är drivande. Du är utvecklingsinriktad och har förmågan att se helheten i folkhälsoarbetet. (Folkhälsostrateg)

As a person, you are inspiring and have a good ability to motivate others. You are extroverted and thrive by developing relations and networks. You are also good at starting, leading and following up activities and have good analytical ability. (Gender equality strategist)

Swedish original:

Som person är du inspirerande och du har god förmåga att motivera andra. Du är utåtriktad och trivs med att utveckla relationer och nätverk. Du är också bra på att starta upp, leda och följa upp aktiviteter och har god analytisk förmåga. (Jämställdhetsstrateg)

The requested personality of strategists is obviously a person who is dedicated and engaged in his/her work and to the topic he/she represent, and on the networking skills.

The requests for public managers' personality are also mixed, dominated by the result-focused work mode, but high also within the deliberation and communication and in the advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode. The main request is people with ability to plan/organize/be a good leader, who like the strategists also are communicative/percipient, and are expected to be dedicated, engaged and persistent.

You shall be a clear leader for the agency and work for steering the organization via vision, goals and follow-up/evaluation. With good understanding of the processes in a politically governed organization you shall work for a constructive dialogue and a good collaborative climate. (Manager of children and education)

Swedish original

Du ska vara en tydlig ledare för förvaltningen och verka för att organisationen styrs genom vision, mål och uppföljning/utvärdering. Med god förståelse för processerna i en politiskt styrd organisation ska du verka för en konstruktiv dialog och ett gott samarbetsklimat. (Barn- och utbildningschef)

As leader and person you have the ability to enthuse your personnel. You are strategic, communicative, and oriented towards development. You can go from

Swedish original:

Som ledare och person har du förmåga att entusiasmera din personal. Du är strategisk,

words to action, make and follow up decisions. Furthermore, you have good initiative and collaborative skills and are driven by developing and improving the efficiency and processes of the agency. (Social manager)

kommunikativ och utvecklingsorienterad. Du kan gå från ord till handling, fatta och följa upp beslut. Vidare har du god initiativ- och samarbetsförmåga och drivs av att utveckla och förbättra verksamhetens effektivitet och processer. (Socialchef)

The mix of requested features is valid also for the social workers. The dominant requested features can be found within the deliberation and communication work mode, but the scores for result-focused work mode and advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode are also high. The main request is that they should be cooperative and communicative/perceptive people with a personal will/interest.

You express yourself well in speech and writing. You are meticulous and structured and have a good ability to plan and organize your work. You are flexible and used to work independently. As a person, you are stable, development minded and have a good ability of analysis and reflection. You find it easy to cooperate with others. (Social secretary)

Swedish original:
Du uttrycker dig väl i tal och i skrift. Du är noggrann och strukturerad och har god förmåga att planera och organisera ditt arbete. Du är flexibel och är van vid att arbeta självständigt. Som person är du stabil, utvecklingsinriktad och har god förmåga till analys och reflektion. Du har lätt att samarbeta med andra. (Socialsekreterare)

One conclusion we can draw is that the personality which is considered suitable to perform certain tasks doesn't always match the work mode of these tasks, as is the case with the expectations expressed in social worker ads in which the request on *Personality* is dominated by the deliberation and communication work mode, and the *Tasks* by the legality and process work mode. This can be interpreted as if the deliberation and communication work mode is considered to be more suitable personality traits to perform the legality and process tasks. For the strategists, the advocacy and entrepreneurship personality is considered suitable to perform the advocacy and entrepreneurship tasks and the same goes for the managers, with the result-focused personality and tasks.

Another conclusion we can draw is even though there are certain dominant work modes, there is a clear mix of demands. The more mixed requests of personality features might indicate a desire to find personnel who are "Jacks of all trades", to keep the organization flexible. However, the mixed requests only cover three categories. The requests on legality and process-focused personality are generally low (although slightly higher for the public managers), and this indicates a low valence for these features. One illustrating example is that orientation towards impartiality/legality only is mentioned once in all the ads.

Conclusion

Now it's time for the final step: using the results from the analysis to discuss implications for the bureaucrat work in general and for the strategists in particular.

Dominant work modes and balance between them

The analysis of ads shows us that the strategists above all are expected to work with according to the advocacy and entrepreneurship focused work mode. This could be expected, since their formal positions constitute an attempt to formalize a behavior that we know from previous research to exist among public bureaucrats. However, the other work modes are also clearly present. The strategists are required to be aware about the separate roles between administration and politics, which is expressed by the demands that they should have focus on and serve political decisions and administration and accomplish specific missions. They are required to work with focus on results, which is expressed by the demand that they should work with development/evaluation. It could of course be argued that working with development/evaluation is a suitable tool for the advocacy/entrepreneurship work mode, and thus, the high numbers for this indicator does not support an argument that they should have result focus. Yet I argue that it does, since other tools regarding other modes are present in the analytical table, yet this stands out. Even stronger is the expression of both tasks and personality within the deliberation and communication focused work mode.

Thus, the strategists have certain executive and administrative tasks that fit within a bureaucratic model. The legality and process focused work mode is present in that the strategists aren't required to have a specific education. This is an expression of "let the managers manage", or in this case "let the strategists figure out what's strategic". In most cases, they don't need a clear professional legitimation, as long as they hold a higher education of some kind which provides them with the task of solving the strategist mission. But when it comes to personality, the work mode is clear as a day: strategists should be active advocates and entrepreneurs, who know how to communicate and form networks. They are expected to cross the boundaries, both organizational and normative, and question them.

When comparing the strategists with the other groups, we see that certain things are similar. Also the street-level bureaucrats and managers are expected to be communicative and work with collaboration. The ads for street-level bureaucrats express clear demands on specific professional education, which supports the bureaucratic ideal, whereas the managers are required to have appropriate education, but this may include many things. When it comes to tasks, the street-level bureaucrat ads are much specified: they should process cases within their department and profession. The managers' job descriptions are much vaguer, but one thing stands out: they are supposed to have the main responsibility for efficient management of their sector, and as persons, they are expected to have the ability to plan and organize in order to create the best result. This is not so clearly present neither in the strategist or the street-level bureaucrat ads. The conclusions, when comparing the dominant work modes for the three groups, are 1) all groups are faced with all work modes. The work modes are coexisting, and how and when they are expressed will in practice be up to the situation and the personal bureaucrat's judgment. 2) The three groups of bureaucrats, although they all hold aspects of all work modes, emphasize them differently:

The street-level bureaucrat's dominant work mode is focus on legality and process, combined with some aspects of deliberation and communication. They are not expected to be active advocates, they are not expected to create and maintain networks, and they are not expected to be focused on organizational efficiency. The main guiding principles are their professional knowledge, the law, and their ability to communicate and collaborate.

The public managers' dominant work mode is focus on results. They are expected to have a holistic view, and to work with the good of the organization for their eyes. Bureaucratic principles are not that that important. Networks, advocacy and entrepreneurship are strong sources of legitimacy, also since the managers are expected to work with developing and improving their organizations. But this legitimacy stems from an organizational efficiency perspective: they should perform entrepreneurship, advocacy and networking in the name of efficiency of the organization. This supports the claim by McGuire & Agranoff, that "agencies themselves are becoming more interactive, leading to much more collaborative and conductive activity within their own boundaries" (McGuire & Agranoff 2011:280).

The strategists on a first glimpse look similar to the managers in many ways: they should also be networking, entrepreneurial and perform advocacy. However, their focus is different. When the managers render their legitimacy via the efficiency of their organization, the strategists render theirs via their capacity to create overall impact of their specific topic. Their advocacy and entrepreneurial skills are expected to be used in the name of the topic itself. Thus, their dominant work mode is the advocacy-entrepreneurship focus, combined with the deliberation and communication focus. The main requested characteristics of the strategists are that they should be actively driving their topic, and hold networking and communicative skills to give it stronger impact. This corresponds with Williams' analytical framework of boundary spanning work, and is not a surprising result. However, since the analysis of work modes in the job ads shows both how different indicators are more stressed than others, and how the work modes are related to each other in the ads, and does so for three different kinds of bureaucrats, it offers a foundation to discuss implications for the strategists as bureaucrats, both in themselves and in an context populated with other bureaucrats.

Implications for strategist work

The expectations on work modes and tasks for the strategist positions and the balance between them are likely to create a complex work situation. Whether this is really the case, and how it's expressed and handled, can't be answered with this study. But hypotheses about these complexities, based on the idea of strategists positions presented in the advertisements, can serve as a useful starting point for a further study.

The hypotheses derived from this analysis of expectations expressed in job ads are thus:

1. The strategist position is likely to contain *political complexity*. Their main task is to monitor and promote topics, and this is contradictive to the classical bureaucratic tasks. The topics of their positions are also to a high extent are undefined and politicized, based the different social concepts of sustainability, CSR, social investment and human rights (and potentially others as well). Thus, the question of how these values should be framed and handled can be disputed. We also know that the job of the strategists is guided by multi-level steering, in terms of local, national and international regulation.

Since we know from the study that the strategists are expected to be actively observing/driving and initiating, they are to a large extent requested to be proactive. Even though they also to some extent are expected to have focus on and serve political decisions and administration, and accomplish specific missions, the combination of requested proactivity and low level of specificity, is likely to create a discretionary space of political complexity which the strategist must deal with.

2. The strategist position is likely to be incused by *institutional complexity*. Their dominant task, of promoting/monitoring and conducting external analysis and the requested personality traits of being actively observing/driving and initiating, not only creates space for political complexity. In the domination of deliberation and communication work mode regarding personality traits, we can distinguish a potential acknowledgement of the difficulties of working for change, namely making others act and think in certain ways. Apart from being an actively observing/driving and initiating person, the main tools for doing this is the skills within the deliberation and communication work mode: cooperative, communicative and strategic. Plus one skill, which we find in the result-focused work mode, namely the ability to plan, organize and be a clear leader. Change means going outside the frames, and that is clearly the main idea describing the strategists' positions, but they are expected to work for this in an organization populated with other actors, with other dominating work modes. The public managers' are dominated by the result-focused work mode, in which they first and foremost are expected to hold the frames together and develop the organisation with focus on efficiency. The social workers are dominated by the legality and process work mode when it comes to tasks, which tells us that they work within the framed with processing general cases. The strategists, with the tasks of being proactive and promoting of their topics, will be faced with the other groups' work modes and their core values, and the institutional complexity occurs in the breaking point of the logic between these values and advocacy and entrepreneurship core value which guides the strategists.

3. The strategist position is likely to hold *identity complexity*. From the percentage data, we know that they face an extensive mix of demands, dominated mostly by the advocacy and entrepreneurship mode. The advocacy and entrepreneurship mode's core value is change, and this is something that distinguishes it from the other work modes. The other three have differing core values, they all operate within existing frames. The domination of the advocacy and entrepreneurship work mode in combination with the fact that the strategists also face strong demands from the other three has the potential to create identity complexity, since the normative ideal of the bureaucrat look different in each work mode and they aren't always compatible. One additional factor, which should be added, is that the legality and process work mode is not very prominent in the personality traits for either strategists, public managers or social workers. However, from other studies (de Graaf 2010), presented in the previous chapter, we know that the characteristics of the legality and process work mode constitute an important foundation of the professional identity of bureaucrats. Whether this is the case also for strategists is not possible to say based on this study, but if it is an important professional value also for them, it is likely to contribute further to the identity complexity, and more so than for other groups, since it stands in direct contrast to the advocacy and entrepreneurship mode which is dominating requests of the strategist positions.

The main conclusion we can draw is that the strategists have formal positions to perform a kind of work which previously was not formalized. We know from previous studies that bureaucrats often *act* as advocates, but what distinguishes the strategists from the public managers and the social workers is that they have a *formal* position to do so.

This is the first step in understanding who the strategists are as public bureaucrats. The result constitutes a map of logics illustrating the ideas on which the strategists' positions are constructed. The map shows breaking points of logics in which complexity is likely to occur. That is as far as this study takes us. Whether or not these complexities actually are present in the strategist work, and what the coping strategies of them are, must be investigated with other methods. In the dissertation, this will be done with an interview study, starting from the hypothetical complexities derived from this study.

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