Dynamics of Public Service Motivation

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PhD Dissertation

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Acknowledgments

Efficient and high quality public service delivery is a persistent challenge of any welfare state. Scarce finances and increasing demands from the public always direct attention toward how we can get more and better service without increasing the costs. This dissertation focuses on the motivation of individual public service providers in responding to these challenges. All relationships between citizens and the welfare state pass through the personnel who register, regulate, and respond to citizens' claims, be they nurses who care for the sick, teachers who educate our children, or social workers who secure a minimum standard of living. Hence, according to the literature on street-level bureaucrats, individual public service providers are 'the real policy makers' (Lipsky, 1980). Understanding their motivation and what attracts, socializes and keeps them delivering public service is therefore of crucial importance to how we structure and manage public service provision.

Under the headline of New Public Management part of the answer to the challenges of public service provision has been to import management devices such as economic pay incentives and performance contracts from the private sector (Hood 1991; Dunleavy & Hood 1994; Moynihan 2006; OECD 1993, 2005; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011). Based on an assumption of public service providers as being self-interested and primarily motivated by tangible rewards, this management reform has been expected to make employees work harder and more efficiently in tune with political goals and agendas for the services. Moreover, breaking public sector monopoly on public service provision by privatization and contracting out have also been seen as a powerful strategy for attracting high-performing personnel and improving the quality and cost effectiveness of public service provision.

Despite many positive consequences, the wave of New Public Management reforms has also had downsides such as incomplete contracts creating new opportunities for moral hazard and crowding out of employees' intrinsic work motivation with potential negative impacts on performance (Jacobsen, 2012; Moynihan, 2010; Weibel et al., 2010). This dissertation therefore confronts the challenges from another angle and takes its departure point in a growing public administration literature which focuses on the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) to explain the motives and behaviors of public service providing employees. As a reaction to New Public Management, PSM research stresses that public sector organizations may possess a comparative ad-

vantage which may not be used optimally in present political attempts to deal with the challenges of public service provision. Private sector organizations have traditionally been able to offer its employees incentives such as higher salaries and better opportunities for promotion. This speaks to self-interested and extrinsically motivated individuals. In contrast, public sector organizations are expected to have employees who are more public service motivated; that is, their work effort is largely guided by values oriented towards serving the interests of other citizens and society (Lewis & Frank, 2002; Perry & Wise, 1990; Perry & Hondeghem, 2008; Rainey, 1982). Since employee PSM has been shown to have a positive impact on individual and organizational performance (Bright, 2007; Kim, 2005; Naff & Crum, 1999; Vandenabeele, 2009), ethical and pro-social behavior (Andersen & Serritzlew, 2012; Brewer & Selden, 1998; Vandenabeele & Kjeldsen, 2011), organizational commitment (Crewson, 1997; Camilleri, 2006), retention (Bright, 2008; Wright & Christensen, 2010), and job satisfaction (Taylor, 2008; Wright & Pandey, 2008) increased awareness of this difference may constitute a hidden potential in recruiting, keeping and managing employees with the aim of a high-performing and sustainable public service provision.

But which individual-level processes initiate and nurture such differences in motivation between sectors? Can privately employed public service providers be equally public service motivated? Who chooses to be employed where and why? And which job characteristics are considered attractive and supportive in different branches of public service provision? Lipsky (1980: 72) has noted that '[e]ach generation of workers brings to its jobs, in addition to interest in material benefits, dedication to helping people. Those who recruit themselves for public service work are attracted to some degree by the prospect that their lives will gain meaning through helping others'. Public service providers are thus expected to subscribe to a certain service ideal, but as Lipsky also noted this may be a *myth of service altruism* because the assertion is 'usually unexamined and not subject to falsification' (1980: 71). This dissertation takes up the quest and examines the following research question: *How do the dynamics of Public Service Motivation unfold in the provision of public services?* In answering this, the main contribution of the dissertation is to provide more knowledge of individual public service providers' PSM and its dynamic properties with respect to attracting, socializing and keeping individuals in different public service jobs.

In the remainder of this introduction, I first provide an overview of debates about employee motivation in public administration as well as in relation to the broader field of social sciences and explain where this dissertation is positioned. This narrows down the research field that I am interested in and leads

to a discussion of contemporary PSM research and the dissertation's more specific claims and contributions. Finally, the content and structure of the dissertation – consisting of this monograph and nine articles – is outlined.

1.1 Public administration debates about employee motivation

The enduring and much debated issue in social sciences of which basic assumptions we make about the motivation of employees in general and public service providers in particular is at the core of this dissertation. Early management theories assumed that employees basically dislike work and avoid responsibility; they just work for the security of a stable income. Managers must therefore use close monitoring and sanctioning to make them work (for an overview of this theoretical standpoint see McGregor (1960) and his Theory X). Similar assumptions about employee motivation can be found in public administration classics such as Downs' *Inside Bureaucracy* (1967), Niskanen's *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* (1971), and Dunleavy's *Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Public Choice* (1991). Here, civil servants are portrayed as rational and self-interested individuals whose actions are guided by personal utility gains such as a high salary and large budgets for their agencies, comfortable working hours, interesting tasks and/or job security rather than attempts to pursue the public will (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 7).

When these assumptions are integrated with agency theory's principal-agent models (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miller, 1992, 2005: Moe; 1984), public service providers can be expected to exploit their information advantages to shirk or in other ways bypass the intentions from the principal(s) whenever these are perceived to be incompatible with their (selfish) interests. This is the problem of 'moral hazard' (Moe, 1984: 755). Together with the problem of 'adverse selection' (i.e. the principal not knowing who would be the better agent to hire), this makes management of any organization's contracting and hierarchical relationships – and in particular the governance of public organizations with their multiple principals, oftentimes conflicting goals, lack of measurable outputs, and employment of professionals with their own policy preferences – a persistent challenge (ibid.). Agency theories' answers to these problems have been increased monitoring and designing of effective incentive structures in the provision of public services; that is, answers that are partly identical to the research and reform agenda that New Public Management (with its focus on, for example, performance contracts) departed from (Dixit, 2002; Greve, 2009).

Although these theories and approaches acknowledge that employee motivation can go beyond extrinsic, self-interested incentives, like Downs' notion of public interest motivated 'statesmen' and intrinsically motivated 'zealots' (1967: 88), there is still quite a jump to another large group of public administration researchers who also emphasize broader motives of public service providers (Brehm & Gates, 1997; Etzioni, 1988; Perry & Wise 1990; Wilson, 1989). Most importantly, these contributions differ by viewing the values and motivation of individual public service providers as a means to limit agency problems rather than treat them as a source of these (Dilulio, 1994; Gailmard, 2010; Moynihan, 2010). Wondering why bureaucrats bother working at all rather than shirk at every opportunity, Wilson (1989) thus suggests that it is because they have a desire to do the job which 'may spring entirely out of a sense of duty (…) even when there is no immediate financial advantage in doing so' (p. 156), and that this motivation can be seen as 'a theoretical solution to the problem of shirking' (ibid.). Along the same lines, Brehm & Gates (1997: 196) observe that 'fortunately for the public, the bureaucrats we have seen in our analysis prefer working and serving the public'. Hence, there seems to be more to the story than what is captured by public choice and rational choice scholars. This dissertation therefore argues that what we gain from looking at theories emphasizing employees' pro-social motives in the provision of public services may offer interesting and important insights in the challenges faced.

Characteristic for these scholars is, however, that they do not reject that individual public service providers are also self-interested. Employee motivation leading to a certain action is almost always a mix of motives (Scheuer, 2000), but in this dissertation I focus on PSM defined as the part of employee work motivation which concerns the individual's desire and willingness to do something good for others and society through public service delivery. This means that I only to a limited extent test the relative relevance of the different theoretical standpoints about employee motivation presented here. My aim is first and foremost to provide more knowledge of the prevalence and dynamics of PSM in relation to different public services and public service job choices before its (perhaps hidden) potential can be assessed. This discussion will be continued in Chapter 5.

1.2 Interdisciplinary relations of public service motivation

Not only within the public administration and public management literature have debates about employee motivation been of interest. PSM research is

highly interdisciplinary and it has close ties to much broader literatures on concepts such as altruism, other-regarding orientations, pro-social motivation and behavior within the fields of psychology, organizational behavior, sociology and economics (Koehler & Rainey, 2008). Sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists have, for example, focused on how reciprocal altruism and community concerns have been vital in the human survival process. Because humans have the capacity to remember and feel moral obligations, there is a benefit of helping other community members in need if this act might be returned when the situation is reversed (De Waal, 1996; Wilson, 2000). Moreover, groups with more altruistic members have been found more likely to survive than single (selfish) individuals and less altruistic groups (Sober & Wilson, 1998). According to Koehler and Rainey (2008: 35), these processes can be considered low-order motivational foundations for public service providers' pro-social actions.

Similar emphasis on pro-social actions that more or less intentionally benefit oneself is also found among sociologists and social psychologists who study notions of 'impure' vs. 'pure' altruism (Andreoni, 1990; Kolm & Ythier, 2006) and among organizational behavior researchers who study intra-organizational 'citizenship behavior' (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; Organ et al., 2006).[1] Compared with these other social science disciplines, an important thing to note about the altruistic foundation of PSM is whether achievements of benefits for oneself is the main intention or not with the latter being a crucial defining characteristic of PSM. Furthermore, PSM has broader external focus than the organizational behaviorists' emphasis on how individuals can act altruistic inside organizations. Finally, PSM-related topics and concepts have been considered within the field of economics – although mostly as a point of frustration since some scholars view pro-social motivation and behavior as irrational and have a hard time explaining these concepts in economic terms (Koehler & Rainey, 2008: 43-44). Exceptions are economists like Frey (1997), Le Grand (2003) and Francois (2000), who all consider the impact of intrinsic and/or broader pro-social motives in relation to organizational incentive systems and public service provision.

There is thus much PSM-related research in other social science disciplines that offers various and important insights to the dynamics of PSM. But despite these contributions, none of it satisfactorily encompasses the complexity of public service motivation (Koehler & Rainey, 2008: 34). Most importantly, these other research traditions have yet to explain why individuals show varying lev-

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1 The concepts and PSM-related social science research mentioned in this section will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

els of this pro-social motivation to do good for others and society, and how it can be expressed in different public service providing work settings. With potentially broader contributions to these other fields of social sciences, while still drawing heavily on their insights for developing theory on the dynamics of PSM, this is where the present dissertation steps in.

1.3 Contemporary public service motivation research and the contributions of this dissertation

PSM research has flourished over the past two decades – a trend sparked by Perry & Wise (1990) in 'The Motivational Bases of Public Service' where they laid out the theoretical foundations of the concept and proposed a research agenda for its positive prevalence and outcomes in the public sector. Since then, many scholars have concentrated on establishing an empirical measure for employee PSM (e.g., Perry, 1996; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Kim, 2011) and documenting higher levels of this motivation among public sector employees than among their private sector counterparts (e.g., Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000; Lewis and Frank, 2002).

The most commonly presented argument in the literature is that public employees possess high levels of PSM because of an attraction mechanism: Individuals with altruistic values and a high sense of public interest are likely to opt for public sector employment because public sector organizations are expected to constitute a favorable environment – or at least a more favorable environment than private sector organizations – for outliving such desires (Leisink & Steijn, 2008; Perry & Wise, 1990; Wright & Christensen, 2010). In a more generalized version, this assertion can be linked to the theoretical framework of person-environment fit research (for an overview of this literature see Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). But since Perry & Wise (1990) also emphasized PSM 'as a dynamic attribute that changes over time and, therefore, may change an individual's willingness to join and stay with a public organization' (p. 370), others have suggested that sector differences in PSM may also (or rather) be a function of organizational socialization processes after a person has joined a public sector workplace (Brewer, 2008; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008; Wright & Grant, 2010). Hence, there is a two-way causal association between PSM and employment sector. Before we can begin speculating about possible positive consequences of employee PSM, we need to get better hold of how this dynamic relationship unfolds.

The starting point for the more specific contributions of this dissertation is thus the perception of PSM as a dynamic attribute. Employee motivation is nei-

ther a fixed attribute which people are born with nor does its development stop at commencement of employment in a particular job; it is continually affected by the work context and other life experiences and therefore changes individuals' inclination to stay in a job or seek new employment. But since most previous studies within the PSM literature have relied on cross-sectional designs and data with current employees for examining PSM-based sector preferences, job choices, and retention, they only contribute modestly to our understanding of this issue. Several scholars have therefore called for longitudinal analyses aimed at examining how PSM emerges and evolves in different institutional contexts, for example by measuring PSM among the same individuals in both pre- and post-entry employment settings (e.g., Bright, 2005; Leisink & Steijn, 2008; Moynihan, 2010; Perry & Hondeghem, 2008; Wright, 2008; Wright & Grant, 2010). If the proposed higher level of PSM among public service providers is supposed to be a comparative advantage in the delivery of high quality public services, it is necessary to gain knowledge of when and how it is developed alongside knowledge of the extent to which this motivation is stable across time and situations. This is the first major research gap addressed by this dissertation.

Related to this, scholars have started questioning whether PSM is in fact founded in public/private sector distinctions or whether it is rather a matter of the service being delivered (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008); that is, the opportunity to do public work ('I want to help others and society') rather than the opportunity to do this in the public sector ('I want to work in the public sector'). Recent research by Christensen & Wright (2011) has shown that the environment of the work task can be more important for PSM-based attraction effects to public or private sector employment than the sector environment of the organization as such. Steinhaus and Perry (1996) have shown that industry is a better predictor of variations in organizational commitment than employees' public/private sector affiliation, and Andersen & Pedersen (2012) have shown substantial differences in PSM between employees who belong to different professions with different service delivery jobs (e.g., nurses and teachers compared with administrative personnel). These studies thus all point to the possible influence of the service and work task environment over sector, which means that employee PSM might also constitute an advantage of private sector organizations to the extent that they deliver similar services.

This dissertation argues that most previous studies of sector differences in PSM have neglected the character of the services being delivered in the public and private sectors. When individuals choose whether they want to be employed in a publicly or privately owned organization, they often also choose a certain service and work task. Here, two central distinctions can be made. First,

I claim that this concerns a distinction between working with public services vs. non-public services. Public services should here be understood as services ordered and/or (partly) financed by government. This implies that public service delivery can also encompass some services delivered by employees in privately owned organizations; that is, when private organizations are hired and/or financially subsidized by government to provide services of public interest (e.g., by contracting out public transportation and social care or by subsidizing private schools). When we use the theoretical framework of person-environment fit research, PSM is expected to be most relevant for such employment decisions related to public service delivery where performance of the task is in the broader public interest and where it is more likely that individuals can actually do something good for other people and society through their jobs.

Second, I claim that the attraction-selection and socialization dynamics of individuals' PSM will also differ systematically according to distinction between individuals who mainly work with production of public services and those who mainly work with regulation of access to public services. Regulation of public services implies application of rules and legal framework of the service on specific cases, whereas production of services implies physical production of a service to an identified group of recipients/citizens. This means that in service regulation the aim is to process service recipients from one (legal) status to another through decision making and successful implementation of rules, whereas service production aims at changing service recipients (e.g., teaching them something new or treating their illnesses) through successful and often more long-term social interactions. These essential differences in the character of the two types of work imply different conceptions of how to do good for others and society through public service delivery. Hence, they are likely to attract and retain individuals with different PSM profiles. The delivery of adequate and high quality public services requires that both types of work are taken care of and production of many different public services is carried out in both publicly and privately owned organizations. On the other hand, the regulation of public services (at least in many Western welfare state regimes) more often takes place in the public sector only. In addition to the distinction between public services vs. non-public services, this choice of more specific public service work task may therefore be a more important distinction for establishing a match between individuals' PSM and the work environment than the public/private sector distinction.

Many previous studies have used samples with public sector employees to test the proposition of a PSM-based attraction mechanism. Furthermore, the person-environment fit framework has mainly been used with the private sec-

tor as example (Steijn, 2008: 17) and with a profound lack of studies that consider several domains of fit at the same time (for example, the service/work task environment *and* the organization's sector environment) (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005: 323). Taking the character of the service delivery work task in different sectors into account is therefore the second major research gap concerning dynamics of PSM addressed in this dissertation.

In sum, these shortcomings of contemporary PSM research make me specify the overall research question, 'How do the dynamics of PSM unfold in the provision of public services?' (cf. Section 1.1), to include an examination of the following three sub-questions:

1. How can PSM be defined and conceptualized?
2. How do PSM attraction-selection and socialization effects differ between public and private employment sectors and between different public service tasks?
3. How does PSM relate to individual job satisfaction and possible turnover intention?

In the relationship between these three more specific research questions, the answers I arrive at with respect to the first question are seen as a prerequisite and background for examining and interpreting the answers and results of question 2 and 3. The main contribution of the dissertation thus concerns different dynamics of individual PSM with respect to different public service job choices. This involves an explicit integration of the Person-Environment Fit Theory (Kristof-Brown, 1996) into the expectations of PSM-based attraction-selection, socialization and attrition mechanisms – both with respect to the domains of public service work tasks and sectors, and analyzing this with qualitative as well as quantitative (panel) data.

1.4 Content and structure of the dissertation

This monograph, *Dynamics of Public Service Motivation*, is a summary of the entire dissertation, which investigates how PSM unfolds in the provision of public services. Besides the monograph, the dissertation consists of four single-authored and five co-authored articles. However, the monograph should not only be read as a summary of these individual contributions; it provides an independent overview and discussion of central theoretical arguments and empirical results in the dissertation. Listed according to their main contributions' relations to the three research questions (see Table 1.1 below), the articles in the dissertation are:

A. Andersen, L. B., T. B. Jørgensen, A. M. Kjeldsen, L. H. Pedersen and K. Vrangbæk (forthcoming a). 'Public Value Dimensions: Developing and Testing a Multidimensional Classification'. *International Journal of Public Administration.*

B. Andersen, L. B., T. B. Jørgensen, A. M. Kjeldsen, L. H. Pedersen and K. Vrangbæk (forthcoming b). 'Public Values and Public Service Motivation: Conceptual and Empirical Relationships'. *American Review of Public Administration.*

C. Kjeldsen, A. M. (forthcoming). 'Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation: Disentangling the Socializing Effects of Higher Education'. *International Public Management Journal.*

D. Kjeldsen, A. M. (2012a). 'Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation: A Qualitative Study'. *International Journal of Public Administration,* 35(1): 58-69.

E. Kjeldsen, A. M. (2012b). 'Public service motivation og jobvalg: Service-produktion eller serviceregulering?'. *Politica,* 44(1): 66-86.

F. Kjeldsen, A. M. (2012c). 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation: A Panel Study of Attraction-Selection and Socialization Effects in the Production and Regulation of Danish Social Services'. *Under review.*

G. Kjeldsen, A. M. & C. B. Jacobsen (forthcoming). 'Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector: Attraction or Socialization?'. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory.*

H. Andersen, L. B. & A. M. Kjeldsen (forthcoming). 'Public Service Motivation, User Orientation and Job Satisfaction: A Question of Employment Sector?'. *International Public Management Journal.*

I. Kjeldsen, A. M. & L. B. Andersen (forthcoming). 'How Pro-social Motivation Affects Job Satisfaction: An International Analysis of Countries with Different Welfare-state Regimes'. *Scandinavian Political Studies.*

The structure of the monograph is as follows: Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the dissertation including a more thorough theoretical discussion of the foundations for PSM, how I define a public service job choice, and how PSM and different public service jobs can be combined into three overall propositions regarding the expected attraction-selection, socialization and attrition dynamics of PSM. Chapter 3 presents the methodological considerations

involved in examining the dissertation's research questions. Chapter 4 presents the main results from the dissertation's articles supplemented by additional analyses which add to a thorough examination of the research questions. Table 1.1 provides an overview of how the articles contribute to answering the research questions and where the articles' results are presented in Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes and discusses the overall research question: 'How do the dynamics of PSM unfold in the provision of public services?', and draws a line back to this introduction's placement of the dissertation's contribution within the broader field of public administration and related fields within social sciences.

Table 1.1: Contributions of the articles in the dissertation

Article	Short title[a]	Main contribution	Contribution related to research question	Results presented in section
A	Public Value Dimensions	Conceptualizes and tests a multidimensional classification of public values in the Danish public sector	1	4.1
B	Public Values and Public Service Motivation	Discusses and explores the conceptual and empirical relationships between Danish public managers' public values and public service motivation	1	4.1
C	Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation	Investigates the effects of pre-entry socialization processes on public service motivation in public service vs. non-public service educations	1-2	4.1
D	Sector and Occupational Differences	Identifies differences in public service motivation between public and private sector employees belonging to occupational groups with different degrees of professionalism	1-3	4.1-4.4
E	Public Service Motivation and Job Choice[b]	Investigates attraction effects to work with service production or service regulation based on pre-entry levels of public service motivation	2	4.2
F	Dynamics of Public Service Motivation	Investigates public service motivation attraction-selection and socialization effects related to service production or service regulation work tasks (panel study)	2	4.2-4.3
G	Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector	Investigates public service motivation attraction-selection and socialization effects related to public or private sector employment (panel study)	2	4.2-4.3
H	Employment Sector and Job Satisfaction	Shows differences in the relationships between public service motivation, user orientation and job satisfaction between employees from different employment sectors and occupational groups	3	4.4
I	International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction	Shows the differences in the pro-social motivation/job satisfaction relationships between employees from different employment sectors in different welfare state regimes	3	4.4

a. These are the short forms of the articles' titles used throughout the dissertation.
b. The title has been translated into English.

Chapter 2
Theoretical framework

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the central concepts of public service motivation and public service job choice which in combination form the dynamic effects of public service motivation. As already touched upon in the introduction, PSM builds on theory from sociology, psychology, economy and public administration, and in this chapter I discuss and use different insights from these social science disciplines to outline a coherent framework centered on Person-Environment Fit Theory for studying dynamics of PSM. The chapter thus contributes across the individual articles in the dissertation by providing a thorough literature review and further insights into the theoretical work that lies behind the more narrow points of these contributions. The chapter can therefore be read independently of the articles, and it is structured according to the three research questions of the dissertation.

2.1 Conceptualization of Public Service Motivation

The literature on public service motivation (PSM) suggests many definitions and understandings of the concept. Initiating research in PSM two decades ago, Perry and Wise (1990) defined the concept as: 'An individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations' (p. 368). Quoting Elmer B. Staats (1988), a former Comptroller General of the United States, who through his career observed that a certain *public ethos* seemed to distinguish public sector employees from their private sector counterparts, Perry and Wise thus linked PSM with the institutional affiliation of being a public sector employee (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 5-6). Furthermore, this interpretation of PSM can be traced back to a study by Hal Rainey (1982), who found that public managers value 'Engaging in meaningful public service' and 'Doing work that is helpful to other people' significantly higher than private managers.

The institutional foundation of PSM as tied to public sector employment has, however, been downplayed by later contributions since scholars have increasingly recognized that PSM is likely to flourish in private and non-profit enterprises as well (Steen, 2008). Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) have therefore come up with a much more global definition of PSM: 'A general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humanity' (p. 23) – a definition that is akin to Brewer and Selden's definition of

PSM as 'The motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful … public, community, and social service' (1998: 417). As a consequence, Perry and Hondeghem (in the most recent international scholarly attempt to define PSM) put emphasis on the concept as a matter of service rather than sector. By defining PSM as 'An individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society' (2008: vii) they not only depart from the narrow public sector foundation of the concept, they also include the possibility of public service motives being tied to specific reciepients of the services ('others') as well as to society in general. Finally, Vandenabeele (2007) in a similar vein defines PSM outside public sector or-ganizations, but differs by including the concept of values in the definition: 'The belief, values, and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational in-terest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivates individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate' (p. 549). This listing of various definitions of PSM and the cumulative development in their contents show that PSM continuously has a common focus on individual motives and actions in the public sphere that are intended to enhance the well-being of others and society (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 3).

Nevertheless, striking differences seem inevitable and call for further clarifi-cation – not only in the context of this dissertation but also within the PSM litera-ture in general. First, this concerns the understanding of the motivation con-cept. How does PSM theory relate to other theories of work motivation, and how should the altruistic content of the concept be understood? Second, it concerns how PSM can be distinguished from related concepts such as public values. Can public values be conceived as a part of PSM (or the other way around) or should the two concepts be kept separate conceptually as well as empirically? Third, I discuss whether PSM should by definition be connected to public sector employment or not. Fourth, I consider the scope and boundaries of the pro-social content in PSM: Who are the recipients of this motivation? (as reflected by Perry and Hondeghem's emphasis on 'doing good for *others*' in contrast with for example Rainey and Steinbauer's emphasis on a 'community of people, a state, a nation or humanity'?). Finally, I discuss the different ways individuals can theoretically be expected to express PSM in a work context – also known as the various dimensions or types of PSM. The section ends with a summary of the definition and understanding of PSM as it is used in this disser-tation.

2.1.1 PSM as a distinct type of pro-social work motivation

A starting point for understanding PSM is to take a closer look at the motivation concept in itself. A common feature across various definitions of motivation is that it refers to psychological processes that 'energize, direct, and sustain' individual behavior. Moreover, it is often mentioned that this process is based on freedom of choice (Atkinson, 1964; Lawler, 1973; Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 2; Perry & Porter, 1982: 89; Steers & Shapiro, 2004). Thus, motivation concerns the energy that an individual is voluntarily willing to put into achieving a given object. Talking about PSM in a work context, this object has to do with ensuring the well-being of other people and society through one's job.

The first fundamental question to be discussed is what creates the willingness to perform a public service work task that benefits others and society. We can identify a fundamental difference between 1) doing something because we are forced/persuaded to or because we want to avoid punishment/obtain a reward and 2) doing something because we enjoy the activity and simply feel like doing it. This means that individual motivation is typically viewed as linked to either extrinsic or intrinsic motivators according to the character of the objective that one seeks to obtain (Herzberg, 1966; Porter & Lawler, 1968). Many scholars within the PSM literature (but typically the early contributors) have theoretically viewed PSM as a kind of intrinsic motivation and empirically measured it as employees' valuation of intrinsic rewards (Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000; Wittmer, 1991; Rainey, 1982). However, this characterization of PSM seems much too simple. Following the outlined definitions of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation in points 1 and 2, respectively, PSM cannot be regarded as 'pure' intrinsic motivation since it has a pro-social purpose (because effort is based on a desire to benefit others), whereas intrinsic motivation is by definition self-centered. In this sense, PSM is more outcome oriented whereas intrinsic motivation is more process and task oriented, i.e. an intrinsically motivated individual would perform an act simply because it is inherently enjoyable regardless of the outcome it produces (Grant, 2008a: 49). On the other hand, PSM is still far from 'pure' extrinsic motivation as the character of the reward obtained by helping other people is typically more intrinsic (e.g., a feeling of accomplishment by having done something good).

Hence, I follow some of the more recent contributions in the PSM literature and argue that PSM is neither purely intrinsic nor purely extrinsic (Koehler & Rainey, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2007). Drawing on the Self-Determination Theory developed by psychologists Ryan and Deci (2000) (see also Deci, 1971; Gagné & Deci, 2005), who view extrinsic and intrinsic motivations as two poles

on a continuum,[2] service-oriented motivation may possess both intrinsic and extrinsic qualities; as stated in the introduction to this dissertation, a single act is typically the result of a complex interplay between different types of motives and viewing individual work motivation as a question of either intrinsic or extrinsic is therefore a crude simplification. Combining PSM into the framework of Self-Determination Theory, Koehler and Rainey (2008: 40) thus state:

> In the sub-theory's context [within Self-Determination Theory, ed.], the term extrinsic does not mean that the motivation originates exclusively from the individual's external environment. Extrinsic motivation can originate from within the actor (be more self-determined) as the actor understands and integrates the regulation of his actions. This result may be a benefit to individuals, groups, or society, but may not create a direct benefit for the actor.

In this perspective, PSM can be characterized as a certain type of extrinsic motivation that has been internalized since the objective of the motivation is a result outside the individual: the benefit of others and society, but the motivation to act pro-socially is not a result of external influences such as force or incentivized regulation; it originates from within the individual as a personal desire. The use of Self-Determination Theory to explain how PSM fits with classic work motivation distinctions such as intrinsic and extrinsic motivation thus implies a much more dynamic perspective on motivation which fits well with this dissertation's research question. Furthermore, the quote from Koehler and Rainey gives a first take on how organizations might influence the employees' motivation through internalization processes, which is discussed further in Section 2.3.2.

Returning to the question of why individuals engage in public service work to benefit others, I therefore also argue that PSM does not necessarily exclude the fact that by being motivated to engage in actions intended to promote the welfare of others, individuals oftentimes get reciprocal benefits for themselves – for example salary, a higher social status/good reputation, or a positive internal feeling of enjoyment when they experience that beneficiaries of the services become better off. The important thing to note is whether achievement of material, social or psychological benefits for oneself is the main intention of the action or not.[3] The latter case is essential for distinguishing PSM from other

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2 To be more specific, the continuum ranges from amotivation over four modes of extrinsic motivation, which are more or less internalized (self-determined), and to intrinsic motivation.

3 This notion parallels psychologists Batson and Shaw's point of altruism being a 'motivational state with the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare' (1991: 108),

types of work motivation and other types of motivation to benefit others, for example, the selfish and more socio-biologically founded expectation of having the act returned at the one-on-one individual level (however, this does not rule out that by exercising PSM, you may get a return at the collective level cf. Koehler & Rainey).

The distinction between pro-social motives for actions that are whole-heartedly intended to benefit others as opposed to those that more or less intentionally benefit oneself is, as mentioned in Chapter 1, also reflected in the general notion of pure vs. impure altruism (Francois & Vlassopoulos, 2008; Andreoni, 1990; Kolm & Ythier, 2006) – or in economist Julian Le Grand's (2003) more catchy metaphors of act-irrelevant vs. act-relevant knights. Act-irrelevant knights are motivated to help others solely because of their perception of others' unfortunate situation (e.g., pity or feeling of injustice). In this sense, it is irrelevant who performs the helping act as long as the person in distress is helped. Act-relevant knights 'are motivated by actually providing the necessary help themselves' (ibid.: 36). This latter type of other-regarding motivation has also been denoted 'warm glow' as one is likely to personally undertake the helping act to experience a feeling of positive satisfaction (Andreoni, 1990).

PSM as motivation to do good for others and society through the delivery of public services can embrace both types of knightly motivation as long as the main goal of the act is to benefit others and the potential feeling of warm glow is just a pleasant spin-off. In contrast, I find the concept of act-irrelevant knights hard to handle empirically, because we always live with the knowledge of whether people in need do or do not receive help, and this is what we would potentially act according to. In practice, it is therefore very hard to distinguish between these different types of pro-social motivation, and a person can both theoretically and empirically possess both types of motivation at the same time when performing a single act. Thus, I stick to an overall distinction between self-interested motivation[4] and pro-social motivation, where PSM with its focus on pro-social motives in public service work is regarded as a distinct type of the latter. Most obviously shown in Vandenabeele's (2007) PSM definition, the essentially defining characteristic of PSM is thus that it concerns the willingness to engage in behaviors that 'go beyond self-interest'. Very much related to this

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and sociologists Piliavin and Charng's point of altruism being an act that 'is or appears to be motivated mainly out of a consideration of another's needs rather than one's own' (1990: 30) (my accentuations).

4 Self-interested motivation denotes the willingness to undertake an act solely because it benefits oneself in terms of, for example, material wealth, autonomy, joy, power, avoidance of certain work tasks etc. (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Le Grand, 2003).

objective, I now turn to the discussion of whether and how PSM is conceptually linked to public values.

2.1.2 Public values and public service motivation

As mentioned, Perry and Wise's (1990) introduction to PSM draws on Elmer Staats' observation that public employees seem to be driven by a certain 'public ethos', i.e. a set of values held by public sector employees which shapes and is shaped by the procedures, processes and goals in the organization (Rayner et al., 2010). Recent research has begun to address the differences between this public service ethos and PSM and so far the main point is that PSM is a more universal concept related to the delivery of public services, regardless of sector, whereas public service ethos prescribes how public services ought to be delivered within the context of a public sector organization (Horton, 2008; Rayner et al., 2010; Vandenabeele et al., 2006).

From this point of departure, the road to the broader research in public values is not long. Although public values, public ethos and PSM are all concepts centered on phenoma that go beyond self-interest, they have lived rather separate lives. However, as PSM – for lack of anything better – is oftentimes measured indirectly through beliefs and values (Maesschalck et al., 2008: 159) and as some definitions of PSM (e.g., Vandenabeele, 2007) explicitly include values, a discussion of the relationship between public values and PSM is much needed (and called for – see Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 305) in order to conceptualize PSM.

Values in general can be defined as 'a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action' (Kluckhohn, 1962: 395) or as in a more widely cited definition by Milton Rokeach, 'an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence' (1973: 5). The two definitions point to values as something that is morally or socially desirable rather than just something an individual can wish for (e.g., a cold drink on a hot summer day, Andersen et al., forthcoming a). Hence, values can also be difficult to change as they are not just some chance habit or the result of a dictate. But what is then considered *public* values?

In 'Public Values and Public Interest: Counterbalancing Economic Individualism' from 2007, Barry Bozeman defines public values as:

- the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled;

- the obligations of citizens to society, the state and one another; and

- the principles on which governments and policies should be based.

Compared with the general definitions of values, we see that *public* values describe 'the desirable' in a public context; what should be the guiding principles and provide *direction* when public policies are designed, implemented and administered? In contrast, PSM is about the *driving force* of actions related to public service delivery or as Rainey et al. (2008: 10) put it, 'To have a value is not the same as exerting effort to fulfill it'. In this sense, a difference between public values and PSM is that PSM is essentially an individual level phenomenon – the definition and measurement of the concept is tied to the individual. Public values, on the other hand, are a phenomenon that can also be studied at the societal level. Across countries, different societies and public sectors can have different public values (Hofstede, 2001: Horton, 2008; Van der Waal et al., 2008). Furthermore, public values can manifest themselves in many different ways, for example in mission statements, laws, speeches, actions, organizational structures, buildings etc. In this sense, it is possible to have many different values at the same time, and values may even be mutually inconsistent thus providing conflicting directions (e.g., rule abidance vs. user focus) (Andersen et al., forthcoming a; Beck Jørgensen & Vrangbæk, 2011; Steen & Rutgers, 2011). In contrast, PSM is about what motivates an *individual.*

Still, the concepts of public values and PSM have a lot in common. PSM also has some direction built into it in the sense that it is not just any kind of motivation; it is *public service* motivation, implying that it is directed at increasing the well-being of others and society through the delivery of public services and it can be expressed in different ways. Therefore, it may very well target public values, and it is indeed difficult to imagine a person expressing PSM without having any public values whatsoever. Likewise, the literature on public values differentiates between weak and strong values (or façade values and core values) and the latter 'entail deep-seated commitment and powerfully determined motivation' (Hodgkinson, 1996: 131). As such, public values can guide individual acts if they are internalized in a person's value system (for example, through organizational socialization).

There are thus good arguments for assuming that PSM and public values are closely linked both theoretically and empirically, but for the purpose of this dissertation I follow Rainey (2008) and keep the concepts separate to be able to examine the empirical relations between them as a means to gain more knowledge of the nature of PSM. Most likely, not all public values are accompanied by motivation to fulfill these, and further it is not every time a person is motivated to do something good for others and society that she has the oppor-

tunity to translate it into actual behavior (for example due to practical restrictions). In Andersen et al. (forthcoming b), possible relationships between PSM and public values are studied empirically and the results are presented in Section 4.1.

2.1.3 Public sector founded motivation?

Recalling the definition of PSM proposed by Perry and Wise (1990), who include an explicit link to the public sector by defining it as 'motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations', the most disputed issue within the PSM literature is probably whether and to what extent PSM is by definition a matter of public sector employment. Initial research on PSM originated from the belief that public sector employees are in some way different from their private sector counterparts. But in line with opinions of more and more scholars over the past decade, I emphasize that PSM is theoretically a more universal concept; it is its empirical prevalence that can differ between sectors (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Perry & Hondeghem, 2008; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Steen, 2008). Brewer and Selden (1998) thus argue that the discussion of whether PSM is conceptually founded in the public sector relates to the theoretical distinction between public *service* motivation vs. public *sector* motivation, which again dates back to the semantic puzzle hidden in the term *public service* (1998: 416-17). Lack of clarification of these concepts is the main source of the recurring conceptual as well as empirical confusion about the PSM concept and its use (for example, the fact that Rainey (1982) and Lewis & Frank (2002) find support for the existence of PSM in the public sector while Gabris and Simo (1995), who use a definition of PSM that could be perceived as public sector motivation, reject it).

The public sector often offers its employees extrinsic motivators such as job security, favorable pension systems, and good opportunities for professional development (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 3). These can be seen as reasons for working in a public sector organization, i.e. public *sector* motivation. PSM, however, refers to broader pro-social motives for helping other people and society. This implies that PSM may also be found outside a public sector institutional set-up whenever we deal with individuals working with similar public services across sectors. The crucial step is therefore to consider what is meant by the composite term *public service?*

In some contexts, public service may refer to the public-sector labor force, and in other contexts it refers to the act of doing something worthwhile for society by delivering services that are of interest to the public (Brewer & Selden, 1998: 417; Horton, 2008). It is characteristic of work tasks, defined as public

service work tasks that the performance of the tasks represents a larger value to the public than what a single individual receives. For example, health care is not only treatment of sick people, it is also reproduction of the labor force, and teaching is not only improvement of students' knowledge and skills, it is also socialization to life as a citizen and member of a society. Given these positive externalities of the services, government will often assume responsibility in terms of ordering and/or paying for the services in order to ensure a social optimality (Rainey, 2009: 67). In the context of this dissertation, public services are thus defined as services that are *ordered and/or (partly) financed by government and provided to the public*, and the unit of analysis is individuals delivering the services in their jobs. Related to the previous section's discussion of PSM and public values, this emphasis on government ordered and/or financed services also means that public values are expected to matter in the delivery of these services.

If PSM was primarily defined and understood in relation to the public-sector labor force – as implied by Perry and Wise's definition (1990) – the implication would be that all public sector employees have PSM. Conversely, defining PSM as the motivation to provide public services implies that it is also possible to serve the public interest in other sectors. These two interpretations are mutually exclusive which has caused the conceptual confusion. In line with Brewer and Selden's solution to this puzzle (1998: 417), I therefore emphasize that PSM is first and foremost the energy that induces individuals to deliver services of public interest, and empirically it is expected to be more prevalent among public sector employees. How the public vs. private sector is defined and why PSM is expected to be more prevalent among employees in public sector organizations is discussed in connection with the expected PSM-based attraction-selection and socializations effects.

2.1.4 Who are the recipients of public service motivation?

Following the discussion of PSM as related to public service delivery is the question of what the scope and boundaries of this pro-social motivation are. Who are the recipients of PSM? Rainey & Steinbauer (1999) and Brewer & Selden (1998) emphasize that PSM is oriented towards a larger collective of people or even 'humanity'. In contrast, Perry and Hondeghem (2008) suggest that besides being directed towards society, PSM can also be directed towards 'others' (e.g., fellow citizens in general or specific individual/groups of recipients). Finally, Vandenabeele (2007) in addition to directing PSM towards 'a larger political entity' also specifies that PSM is motivation 'beyond organizational interest'. This question of whom one is doing good for in terms of PSM

needs clarification in order to distinguish PSM as a specific type of pro-social motivation from altruism and pro-social motivation in general.

Economists Benabou and Tirole (2006) list a number of activities in which people can engage with the aim of benefitting others: help a stranger, vote, donate blood, join rescue squads, gifts to charitable organizations etc. Organizational behavior scholars Brief and Motowidlo (1986) writing about pro-social organizational behavior specify the targets of pro-social acts as being either co-workers, supervisor or clients/customers etc. and/or the organization in general (via voluntary work in committees, expressing loyalty, making an extra effort to reach organizational goals etc.). Regardless of theoretical point of reference, most scholars thus agree that motivation to perform altruistic or pro-social acts does not include, for example, parents helping their children – the objective has to be someone or something outside the private sphere.

In the context of this dissertation and the discussion in Section 2.1.3, PSM is limited to encompass pro-social motivation presumably expressed through the delivery of public services in a work context. This puts some analytical limits on the recipients covered by the concept. They have to be human members of the same society as the one delivering the public services – the conceptualization of PSM does not make sense with regard to starving children in Africa or endangered animal species. This does not imply that by delivering public services, employees cannot be motivated to do good for society at large in terms of (as mentioned) educating children to become active citizens or thinking of future generations of public service recipients by, for example, undertaking preventive health care. These larger societal interests are also included. But what is not included is pro-social motivations leading to various kinds of citizenship behavior, for example, voting or volunteering in local community committees as this has nothing to do with public service delivery in the sense defined in Section 2.1.3. Likewise, motivation to serve organizational interests such as safeguarding the reputation of one's organization is not included (contrary to the conceptualization of pro-social behavior developed by Brief and Motowidlo).[5]

Returning to the issue of whether PSM includes both society at large and individual humans as recipients, the answer is therefore confirmative. Like Perry

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5 One exception could be if a school teacher in a school with many socially disadvantaged children talks about safeguarding the reputation of the school in order to give these children a chance in life. Then it is clearly an expression of PSM as serving organizational interests has a higher order societal purpose, i.e. a wish to serve organizational interests is only PSM if it is expressed in connection with a greater purpose outside the organization itself.

and Hondeghem (2008), I thus include the possibility that PSM induced actions can be directed towards both generalized other recipients (i.e. society) and specific other recipients (individual users of the services). I now turn to the different ways in which individuals are theoretically expected to express their PSM.

2.1.5 Different ways of theoretically expressing public service motivation

An individual's PSM can be founded in different types of motives reflecting different ways of expressing this pro-social motivation. Based on sociologists Knoke and Wright-Isak's (1982) theoretical framework for explaining individual decisions to contribute personal resources to the collectivity, Perry and Wise (1990) originally conceptualized an individual's PSM as originating from three types of basic human motives: norm-based, affective and rational motives.

Norm-based motives are founded in socially internalized norms of loyalty and duty to serve the interests of government and society (Perry & Wise, 1990: 369; Perry, 1996: 6). When someone is occupied with the provision of public services it is normatively appropriate to do what is considered best for society as a whole. Therefore, this type of PSM is the one most clearly connected to commitment to public values.

Affective motives rest on emotional bonding and general human interdependence. In this sense, individuals express a desire to do good for others and society because of emotional influence of the situation in question (Perry & Wise, 1990: 369). Dating back to Adam Smith 'empathy from imagining oneself in the place of the other person' is considered a very likely motive for altruism and altruistic giving (Kolm, 2006: 9). Thus, the desire and willingness to help can arise from personal identification with other people/groups of citizens, but also from genuine conviction about the importance of a certain social program for helping people in need (Perry & Wise, 1990: 369). In this respect Frederickson and Hart (1985) talk about a special 'patriotism of benevolence' among public service providers. With respect to affective expressions of PSM it is, however, important to note that it is not an individual's *ability* to show empathy that is interesting but rather the extent to which feelings of empathy serve to *motivate* the individual to deliver public services.

Finally, the *rational motives* for PSM are – according to Perry and Wise (1990) – founded in rational, individual utility maximization. In this sense, individuals are expected to participate in public service delivery out of need for power and reinforcement of one's image of self-importance (Perry & Wise, 1990: 368). For example, by participating in the process of policy formulation

concerning a specific public service, one can use this as an instrument to advocate special interests. This type of motive associated with public service is the most controversial as it contradicts the pro-social content of PSM by referring to motives for realizing private rather than public interests.

However, rational motives essentially only mean that an individual make decisions based on assessment of the gains/losses in welfare by choosing among various alternative actions (Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982: 215; Le Grand, 2003: 28). Therefore, an individual can utility maximize even though the valued outcome is not a personal gain. This is precisely the case if an individual's most valued preference is to benefit others. For such individuals, it is rational to act public service motivated. Hence, participation in the policy process can still be considered a rational motive for serving others and society if this act is viewed as the best (and perhaps only) way to do good for as many people as possible at the same time. This has led some scholars to redefine the rational basis for PSM as 'instrumentally founded motives', i.e. individuals are rationally public service motivated when they base their act on an understanding of how means and measures can be combined in order to contribute to the delivery of public services (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010; Ritz, 2011). The important point of awareness is only whether the policy participation is aimed at increasing one's own welfare or others'. Contrary to Perry and Wise (1990) but in line with Wise (2000), I therefore stress that the former cannot be regarded as PSM (by definition) regardless of the pro-social outcome it produces.

This debate about the rational foundations for PSM reflects an ongoing request for refinement of the foundations of PSM – a debate which has developed rapidly in the years I have worked with this dissertation and to which I also contribute. Following the theoretical outline from Perry & Wise (1990), Perry (1996) used the three categories of motives, norm-based, affective and rational/instrumental, to identify a multidimensional conceptualization and measurement instrument for PSM consisting of four dimensions: (1) *commitment to the public interest*, (2) *compassion*, (3) *attraction to public policy making,* and (4) *self-sacrifice*. Dimensions 1-3 represent each of the three categories of motives discussed above (in listed order), whereas the fourth dimension reflects the willingness to substitute service to others for tangible personal rewards (Perry, 1996: 7). Since a number of studies have shown that these dimensions of PSM can have different antecedents and consequences when put into play in an organizational and work-related context (e.g., DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997; Vandenabeele, 2008b), they should not only be studied for the purpose of measuring an individual's PSM (which I will return to in Chapter 3) but also as concepts of theoretical and empirical relevance in their own right when we examine dynamics of PSM.

Because of these dimensions' rooting in distinct psychological processes, one can therefore speak of individuals having different PSM profiles according to their amounts of PSM and its relation to each of the different dimensions. For example, an individual with high levels of normatively founded PSM and low levels of rationally founded PSM can be just as public service motivated as another individual with high levels of affectively founded PSM and low levels of normatively founded PSM; they just have different motivational profiles. I thus follow Perry and Wise's (1990) original theoretical framework for PSM in viewing an individual's total motivation as a mix of different types of motivations, and by assessing different types of PSM it is possible to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics of PSM. As a consequence of this conceptualization, the debates of how individuals express PSM have centered not only on the content of each dimension (as for example reflected in the debate about rational/instrumental PSM) but also on how the dimensions should be related and whether they provide an exhaustive overview of how individuals can express PSM.

With respect to how the dimensions should be related, Kim and Vandenabeele (2010) have recently suggested that self-sacrifice should theoretically be seen as the footing on which the normative public interest dimension, affective compassion dimension, and rational/instrumental policy making dimension rest. However, since previous research (including Perry, 1996) has found that this dimension is very highly correlated with the public interest dimension, some studies omit it from the PSM concept or collapse the two dimensions (e.g., Coursey & Pandey, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe & Pandey, 2006). It therefore requires a bit of discussion whether willingness to sacrifice some private interests should be considered a prerequisite for expressing PSM or not. Usually, it is considered an important part of the definition of general altruism that the actor performs the helping act without expecting material or social rewards – in fact, the notion of pure altruism typically implies that the act is performed to the detriment of one's self-interest (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986: 711; Piliavin & Charng, 1990: 29; Monroe, 1996: 6). This dissertation argues that PSM does not necessarily and by definition involve self-sacrifice in all intended acts of public service delivery. As mentioned in Section 2.1.1, I argue that PSM can even involve self-benefit as long as this is not a primary goal with the act. In favor of this standpoint, I follow psychologists Batson and Shaw (1991) and point to two main problems with incorporating personal sacrifice in the definition of altruistic motivation and more specifically PSM.

First, by including self-sacrifice as a prerequisite for expressing PSM, focus of attention is shifted from motivation and intention with the act to a question of the costs of the act. Second, a definition including self-sacrifice overlooks

that some benefits for helping others may increase proportionally with the costs. For example, if you 'blow the whistle' you may be fired, but your former colleagues may give you a special status, since you did the 'right thing' that will likely benefit others in the long run. In a work context, you always get a reward, namely salary, and it always has a certain cost, namely time and effort. Therefore, I do not see self-sacrifice as a fundamental necessity for expressing PSM in all intended acts of public service delivery, although self-sacrifice is by no means a disincentive to PSM. I will return to this issue in Section 3.2.1 where I present how PSM has been operationalized and measured in the individual articles of the dissertation.

Further, with respect to the number of dimensions and hence different ways of expressing PSM, the ongoing request for refinement of the Perry (1996) dimensions has made especially European scholars launch the possibility of other/additional dimensions of PSM. Sparked by the contributions of Vandenabeele et al. (2006) and Vandenabeele (2008a), two of these additionally proposed dimensions seem to have gained momentum and be more widely discussed than others. First, this concerns expressions of PSM labeled 'Democratic Governance' (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010; Kim et al., forthcoming; Vandenabeele, 2008a). The inclusion of this dimension has been argued to reflect that PSM is likely to be tied to specific public values such as equality, accountability and the rule of law (besides the general value of serving the public interest linked to the Public Interest dimension). As discussed in Section 2.1.2, I agree that PSM cannot be completely isolated from public values. However, for the reasons listed in this previous section, and especially cross-country variations in public values and the likelihood of conflicting values, I question the theoretical necessity and fruitfulness of including specific public values in the PSM conceptualization. For the moment, I will therefore not pay further attention to Democratic Governance as a theoretically distinct dimension of PSM.

On the other hand, a theoretically proposed, second additional dimension of PSM labeled 'Customer Orientation' (Vandenabeele, 2008a; Paarlberg, 2007) or 'User Orientation' (Andersen et al., 2011) seems more interesting with respect to my conceptualization of PSM as being possibly linked to doing good for other human members of a defined community as well for a larger societal entity (Section 2.1.4). This user orientation dimension[6] can be conceptualized

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6 In line with Andersen et al. (2011), I prefer the term 'User Orientation' since 'customers' is neither a meaningful nor a precise term in public services (e.g., in daycare institutions, the users, for whom the employees are expected to be motivated to do good, are the users, but the parents (or even society) are the customers, Andersen et al., 2011: 13).

as describing motivation to serve the interests of individual users in the delivery of public services with the aim of satisfying their (often immediate) needs. In a daily work context, delivery of public services most often takes place in terms of one-on-one interactions with individual recipients of the services whereas the larger societal purpose of pro-socially motivated work behavior can seem more distant. Since Perry's (1996) classic PSM conceptualization is more directed towards the collective aspect of PSM, this could justify the inclusion of user orientation as a way of capturing the more narrowly defined pro-social targets of individual expressions of PSM (Andersen et al., 2011). Or as Le Grand (2003) writes: 'To be a knight does not necessarily imply being a collectivist' (p. 29). On the other hand, it can be argued that this aspect of PSM is to some extent already captured by the affective compassion dimension of PSM or that it should be treated as a separate aspect of pro-social motivation because of its possible different dynamics in different public service jobs (and our lack of knowledge hereof) (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming). The dissertation recognizes, along with Brewer et al. (2000), who outline how conceptions of PSM can differ according to the specificity of their targets, the possibility that PSM (and pro-social motivation in general) can be directed towards individual users of the services, but I keep it as an open issue how it should be related to Perry's (1996) classic conceptualization of PSM. Following the dissertation's empirical analyses, I will follow up on this and get closer to a clarification in the concluding Chapter 5.

Despite these debates and possible additions to Perry's work (1996), his contribution still stands as the most widely used starting point for conceptualizing the different ways of expressing PSM (for an overview, see Wright 2008). Nevertheless, as shown in this section, the Perry (1996) conceptualization is still far from uncontested with respect to its theoretical foundations and this also goes for its empirical applicability and operationalization. How the dissertation contributes with respect to this latter mentioned aspect will be outlined in Section 3.2.1 on measurement of PSM.

2.1.6 Summary

This discussion of the conceptualization of PSM has reached several points. First, I consider PSM a specific type of pro-social motivation, which is distinguished from altruism and pro-social motivation in general by being expressed through the delivery of public services. However, it does not rule out self-benefits such as a feeling of 'warm glow' by performing the public service motivated act – as long as the expectation of such rewards is not the main intention; this should be an internalized desire to benefit others and society. Second,

it is not possible to be motivated to do something good for others and society through public service delivery without adhering to some public values that provide direction in terms of defining what 'something good' (i.e. the desirable) can be. On the other hand, values and motivation are not the same since holding a value does not necessarily result in motivation to act on it. Combining these two points, a public service motivated individual should therefore both desire and be willing to do something good for others and society. Third, PSM is not by definition related to publicly or privately owned organizations but rather to the delivery of public services to human members of the same community/society as the public service provider. Finally, PSM can be directed towards both individual recipients as well as a collective entity (i.e. society). Together these considerations make me define PSM as follows: *An individual's desire and willingness to do something good for others and society through public service delivery.*

Based on norms, affective commitment and instrumental reasons for performing pro-social acts, motivation to do something good for others and society through public service delivery can theoretically be expressed as (at least) (1) loyalty and duty towards the public interest, (2) compassion for people and societal groups in need of help, (3) attraction to participate in policy processes, and (4) willingness to sacrifice personal needs. Together these dimensions can make up different public service motivational profiles among individuals.

2.2 Conceptualization of public service job choice

As previously discussed, I conceptualize PSM as being the desire and willingness to do something good for others and society through public service delivery, i.e. delivery of services that are ordered and/or (partly) financed by government and provided to the public. Therefore, the investigated dynamics of PSM unfold as an interplay between this motivation and choosing/holding different public service jobs. This section outlines what is meant by this second central variable in the dissertation, public service job choice. The starting point for this conceptualization is that a certain job consists of both an organization (the workplace) and a work task, and with respect to a public service job and dynamics of PSM I argue that the most relevant organizational distinction is employment in a publicly or privately owned organization whereas the most relevant task distinction is employment with public services, and more specifically service production or service regulation, or not. Together, these distinctions form a combined typology for the different public service jobs on which the PSM-based attraction-selection, socialization and attrition mechanisms are centered in Section 2.3.

2.2.1 Public and private sector organizations

As discussed in Section 2.1.3, public service is not *per se* a public sector concept; employees can in many cases (at least in Western welfare state regimes) deliver public services in both a public and a private sector job. But how should we define the public and the private sector? What characterizes public and private sector organizations, i.e. the institutional environments that individuals to varying degrees are expected to find attractive (or perhaps the opposite) based on their PSM?

In a literature review of different ways of distinguishing between public and private organizations, Rainey et al. (1976) identified four methods of distinction: (1) common sense approaches, (2) practical definitions, (3) denotative approaches, and (4) analytic approaches. Among these, the analytic approach, which differentiates between public and private sector organizations in terms of differences in ownership status of the organization, source of funding, and degree of political control with organizational activities adding up to an organization's degree of publicness, is considered the most valid and widely used method. This is because it uses explicitly defined classification criteria that are largely comparable across industries, countries and over time providing a more solid base for generalizability (Boyne, 2002; Bozeman, 1987; Perry & Rainey, 1988; Rainey, Backoff & Levine, 1976). It is with respect to such differences of public and private sector organizations that the PSM literature has traditionally expected individuals with higher levels of PSM to be attracted to public organizations due to the perception of these organizations' favorable environment for satisfying public service motives (Perry & Wise, 1990). Unfortunately, it is rarely explained how and why exactly such organizational characteristics should be expected to be related to individual PSM.

Source of funding usually, but not always, follows from the ownership status of the organization (Wamsley & Zald, 1973). Hence, these two criteria are sometimes used interchangeably and in general many forms of 'hybrid organizations' with different combinations between all three analytical criteria can be formed (for an overview, see Perry & Rainey, 1988: 196). However, in the context of this dissertation it is a point that they should be treated separately since this this allows for disentanglement of the theoretical and empirical confusion between potential public sector and (public) service differences in PSM. Even for identical jobs and services, there are reasons to expect public/private differences in dynamics of PSM, and in this dissertation I argue that the most important and essentially necessary criterion for distinguishing between public and private organizations (and thus the choice of a public or private sector

public service providing job based on one's PSM) is the ownership status of the organization.

An organization is defined as publicly owned if it is collectively owned by voters and citizens of the relevant society, whereas a privately owned organization is owned by private investors. This implies that in private organizations risk is very concentrated with a small number of stakeholders and depending on the satisfaction of their interests in profit and the consumers' interests in high quality products at the lowest cost possible, these organizations can go bankrupt; the owner is then the residual claimant. In a public organization the entire public benefits from organizational success and is left with the costs of possible failure and inefficiency. This makes public organizations less vulnerable to bankruptcy than private sector organizations. In turn, public organizations are more dependent on legitimacy from politicians and voters in order to survive, i.e. satisfy the public interest (Boyne, 2002; Perry & Rainey, 1988; Wright, 2001: 566-67). Because of these essentially different characteristics of publicly and privately owned organizations – and most notably their different residual claimants at 'the end of the day', which according to Alchian and Demsetz (1972), Boyne (2002: 98), and Perry and Rainey (1988: 184) is considered the most fundamental criterion for distinction between the public and private sectors – individuals are likely to be able to donate their effort more directly to the public in publicly owned organizations (Francois & Vlassopoulos, 2008). This is expected to attract and nurture individuals with motivation to do something good for others and society to a larger extent than the institutional environment offered by privately owned organizations and hence give different dynamics of PSM.

Before I go into more detail with the expected relationships between organizational ownership and employee PSM in terms of possible attraction-selection, socialization and attrition effects, I will consider the other important distinction involved in a public service job: The choice of a specific public service work task. Neither publicly nor privately owned organizations are concepts of unity, and to only consider public service job choice a matter of choosing a sector would therefore constitute a crude simplification – although this is exactly what many studies of sector differences in PSM have been criticized for doing (Bright, 2008: 151; Vandenabeele, 2008b: 1092).

2.2.2 Public service work tasks: production and regulation

A point made by Leisink and Steijn (2008) is that although several studies have supported Perry and Wise's (1990) hypothesis that PSM is likely to lead to public sector employment, people can also find a job outside publicly owned or-

ganizations that matches their PSM. Some public service delivery jobs are almost identical within the public and private sectors (e.g., teaching and nursing), while others are only found in one of the two sectors (e.g., police officers). When assessing the dynamics of PSM, one should therefore be cautious not to compare apples and oranges. Focusing on service/work task *and* organization, this dissertation thus adds a new aspect to the PSM literature, which has mostly looked at dynamics of PSM in terms of employment in public or private sector organizations.

Following the conceptualization of PSM in Section 2.1, the dynamics of PSM studied in this dissertation firstly unfolds in relation to public service delivery work, i.e., individuals occupied with services that are ordered and/or (partly) financed by government. This means that, for example, self-employed hairdressers or salesmen in telephone companies or other people working with discretionary personal consumption are not considered relevant job choices in the present context (or at least they would be expected to have very low levels of PSM). A few studies within the PSM literature have taken the public service content of the job into account in the study of PSM and sector employment – either by controlling for work task by holding it constant (e.g., Andersen et al., 2011; Crewson, 1997; Wright & Christensen, 2010), by comparing employees on the basis of industry (e.g., Steinhaus & Perry, 1996; Vandenabeele, 2008b), or by operationalizing the degree of service delivery (e.g., client representation/interaction) in a job (Christensen & Wright, 2011; Grant, 2008b).

However, the dissertation takes these studies one step further in terms of investigating the role of the public service work task by not only looking at public service vs. non-public service but also differentiating between service production and service regulation tasks. When an individual has chosen to be occupied with public service delivery, I argue that a central distinction with respect to dynamics of PSM is whether this is realized in a job with service production as the main work task or in a job that focuses on service regulation. Service production means that the individual participates physically in the production of a specific service directed towards an identified group of recipients/citizens (e.g., a teacher who teaches a classroom of students). Service regulation means that the employee makes decisions regarding eligibility to specific public services using the relevant legal framework (e.g., an engineer who grants a construction permission) (Kjeldsen, 2012b, 2012c; Nielsen, 2011). In line with sociologist Yeheskel Hasenfeld's (1972, 1983) distinction between 'people-changing' and 'people-processing' human services, the aim of public service production tasks is to mentally or physically 'change' recipients of the public service by, for example, teaching them something new or treating their illnesses, while the aim of service regulation tasks is to 'process' recipients of public

services and confer a special status to them by making decisions such as entitled/not-entitled to unemployment benefits. This essential difference in the aim and content of these two public service tasks means that successful social interaction between service provider and recipient becomes the center of gravity in service production while successful implementation of rules becomes the center of gravity in service regulation. Together this is likely to imply that individuals with different PSM profiles and different conceptions of how one can do good for others and society through public service delivery will be differently attracted and/or socialized to carry out these two tasks, i.e. different dynamics of PSM are expected. Which PSM profiles are expected to be linked to which public service tasks is explained in further detail in Section 2.3.

The importance of the service production/regulation distinction for dynamics of PSM is furthermore underpinned by the fact that in most countries, public service production takes place within the institutional boundaries of both the public/non-profit and private sectors, while public service regulation in many Western welfare state regimes mostly takes place within the public sector only. Failure to take this distinction into account may therefore have caused previous studies' overstatement and/or misspecification of public sector employees' PSM compared with private employees. This dissertation, however, investigates the role of job content in different public service jobs instead of just keeping it constant (or not taking it into account at all). Service production vs. service regulation is a distinction that holds across industries and like the analytical approach used to differentiate between public and private sector organizations in terms of ownership, it has the advantage of being valid across time and space. Although the composition of the two tasks across sectors is likely to differ between countries/welfare state regimes, no matter what type of public service we are talking about, some people have to regulate access to the service and some people have to produce the service (furthermore they will often be related in the sense that eligibility for a service has to be decided upon before the production of the service to the recipient can begin).

People's work tasks are, however, to a wide extent also determined by occupational choice (specific education/profession), but within many occupational groups and branches of public service provision both types of work tasks are possible – although one of the tasks will often be more dominant than the other (e.g., a physician diagnoses the patients but also treats their illnesses). In practice, the distinction between service production/regulation therefore often takes the form of continuous dimensions where a job can be more or less oriented towards either of these services. Still, I do not claim that the service production/regulation distinction is completely exhaustive of the types of public service jobs available. One could, for example, think of public service providers

primarily occupied with coordination or basic administration (e.g., a receptionist) who are not readily encompassed by the distinction. In the dissertation's articles, I investigate the dynamics of PSM among a number of different occupations in the public and private sectors within which public service providers can have service production jobs, service regulation jobs, both or none. This provides a comprehensive test of the two elements in a public service job, the sector affiliation of the organization and work task. How this is done is explained in further detail in Chapter 3 on data and methods.

2.2.3 Summary: A typology for public service job choice

In this section, I have discussed and conceptualized the second central variable of the dissertation, public service job choice. I have argued that this job choice is both a matter of choosing an organization of employment and a specific work task within this organization. In an examination of dynamics of PSM in public service delivery, two important distinctions are considered to be the choices between a publicly or privately owned organization and a service production or service regulation work task. The combinations of these public service job choices are illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 presents a typology for the public service jobs considered in relation to different dynamics of PSM in the following Section 2.3. Three points are important to note. First, the distinctions between publicly or privately owned organizations and service producers or service regulators are the primary focus in this monograph and in most of the dissertation's articles. The dotted lines surrounding non-public service jobs (which are non-government ordered or financed services that can only be performed in privately owned organizations) indicate that these services are only used occasionally as a basis for comparison depending on the empirical case. The same goes for other possible public service work such as general administration and coordination of the services, which does not directly involve regulation or production.

Figure 2.1: Typology for public service job choice

Organizational ownership:

Public service job   vs.   Non-public service job

Public   vs.   Private

Public service work task:

Other work   Service production   vs.   Service regulation

Service production   vs.   Service regulation   Other work

Typology:

Public sector service **producer**	**Public** sector service **regulator**
Private sector service **producer**	**Private** sector service **regulator**
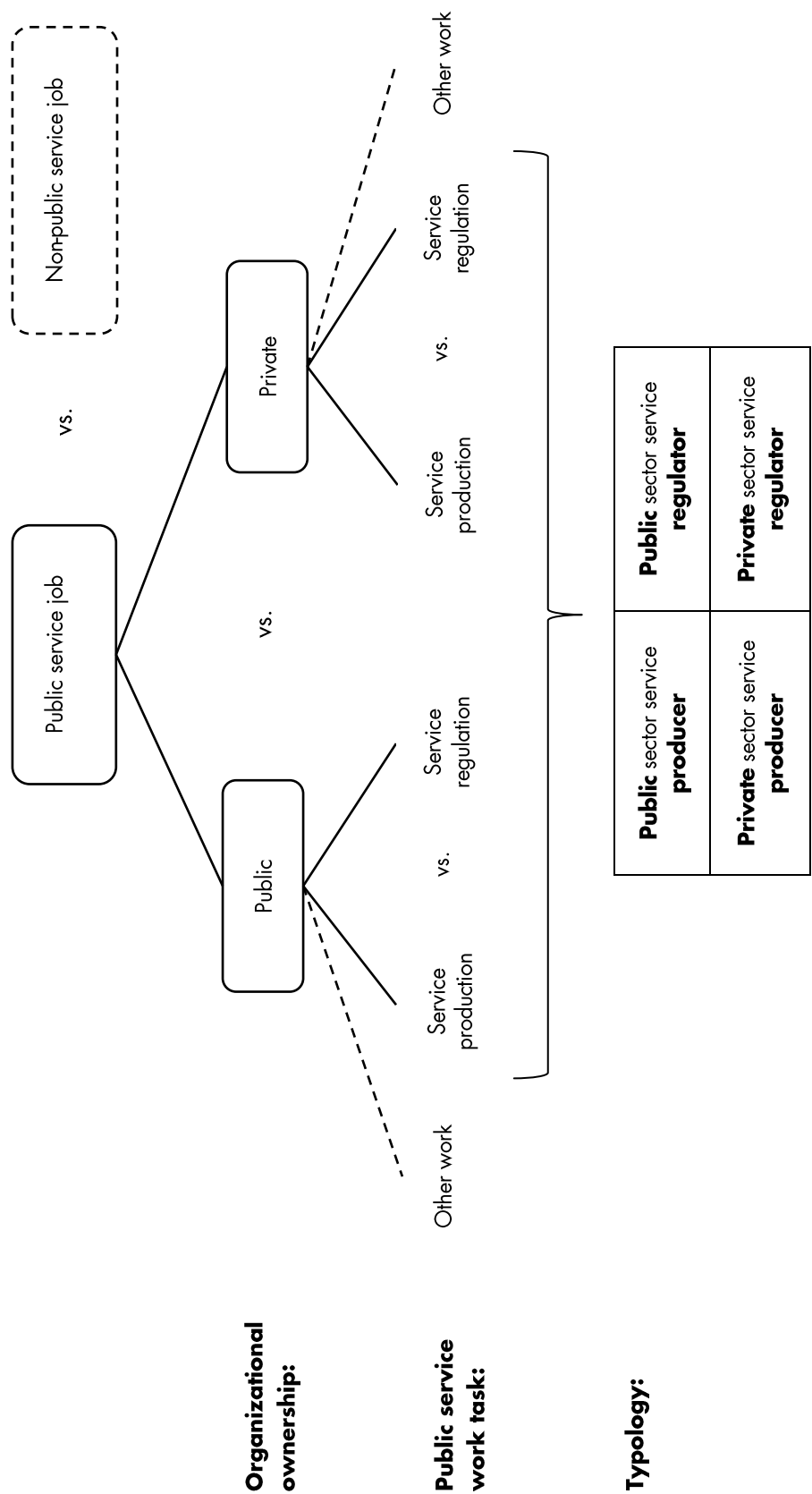
Second, the assessment of whether a specific work task can be described as service production or service regulation is in practice likely to be evaluated from continuous distinctions according to which of the two tasks a person is mainly occupied with. Finally, I by no means argue that these two aspects of a public service job choice capture *all* considerations involved in an individual's specific job choice, nor do I posit that Figure 2.1 should be interpreted as a causal model where choice of organization comes before choice of work task. Other possible determinants of the job choice process are discussed in the following section and in the individual articles in connection with control variables. Likewise, identifying how the actual job choice process takes place will be an important part of the empirical analyses.

2.3 The dynamics of public service motivation and different public service job choices

This dissertation rests on the claim that individuals' PSM constitutes an important factor for assessing attraction-selection, socialization and attrition mechanisms related to different public service jobs. Based on Person-Environment Fit Theory, people will search for an organization and a work task that match their PSM. But they may also adapt to circumstances once they are employed with possible consequences for their job satisfaction and ultimate turnover intention. How these PSM dynamics are expected to unfold is outlined and discussed in this section. First, I discuss attraction-selection effects into different public service jobs based on individuals' PSM. Inherent in this causal relation is the assumption that a particular job is more or less deliberately chosen, and hence this section also discusses the central premise for investigating the dynamics between PSM and public service job choice – that it is actually a choice. Second, I discuss how membership of publicly or privately owned organizations and performing certain public service tasks within these organizations may also affect individual PSM through organizational socialization processes. Third, the dynamics are extended to evaluate the consequences of a match (or mismatch) between individuals' PSM profiles and their public service jobs for job satisfaction and possible turnover intention. Finally, the entire causal model for the expected dynamics of PSM is illustrated. Along the way, I put forward three general propositions about the investigated attraction-selection, socialization and attrition effects that cut across the more specified hypotheses in the dissertation's articles and which structure the empirical results presented in Chapter 4.

2.3.1 Attraction-selection effects

Within the literature on organizational behavior, dynamics of different job choices have received considerable attention (e.g., Cable & Judge, 1996; Chapman et al., 2005; Rynes, 1991; Schwab et al., 1987). An important part of organizational survival and stability is to attract and retain the 'right' employees and therefore insight in the individual job choice process is crucial. Over the years, the dominant framework for studying attraction-selection-attrition effects and individual job choice has become Person-Environment Fit Theory (Leisink & Steijn, 2008: 119).[7] As mentioned in the introduction, this is also the departure point in the present context.

The concept of person-environment fit can be defined as 'The compatibility between an individual and work environment that occurs when their characteristics are well matched' (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005: 281). This matching of characteristics can happen in two ways; either by the environment and the individual complementing each other or by the environment and the individual supplementing each other (ibid.: 288). The *supplementary fit* thus occurs when the individual and the environment are very similar, whereas the *complementary fit* occurs when individual skills are met by environmental needs ('demand-abilities fit') or when individual needs are met by environmental supplies ('needs-supplies fit'). In this sense, an individual is attracted to and chooses a specific job because he/she meets the required skills and thinks that the job fulfills certain personal preferences – whether these are extrinsic, intrinsic or, as expected in this case, based on a preference for doing good for others and society.

In addition to these two types of fit, the theory operates with several domains of fit within which an individual assesses the compatibility between own characteristics and environment in order to find the 'perfect' job (Kristof-Brown, 1996; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005):

1. Person-organization fit: compatibility between individual characteristics and organization.
2. Person-job fit: compatibility between individual characteristics and work task.
3. Person-vocation fit: compatibility between individual interests and vocational environment.

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7 Other approaches and partly related theories for explaining job choice include Schneider's (1987) attraction-selection-attrition model and the psychological contract theory advanced by particularly Rousseau (1995) and Sekiguchi (2007).

4. Person-group fit: interpersonal compatibility between individuals and their work group.
5. Person-supervisor fit: Interpersonal compatibility between individuals and their supervisor.

The dissertation concentrates on the domains of person-organization fit and person-job fit as they are considered most relevant with respect to dynamics of PSM and different public service job choices (see also Leisink & Steijn, 2008: 120). The two types of fit correspond to the conceptualization of public service job choice as a matter of choosing a publicly or privately owned organization and a service production or service regulation work task. The person-organization fit is typically studied with focus on the supplementary fit and more specifically value congruence between individual and organization, whereas the person-job fit is typically studied with focus on the complementary fit (Leisink & Steijn, 2008; Christensen & Wright, 2011). Thus, choosing an organization of employment is a matter of assessing whether one's own values and the organization's values are similar, whereas choosing a specific job within an organization is a matter of assessing whether one's needs and abilities are matched by the supplies and demands that come with the job.

Integrating the person-environment framework with the PSM literature, we are especially interested in the match between the work environment and an individual's PSM profile. Taylor (2008: 72) describes this as 'The compatibility between the needs of individuals to serve the public interest and the environmental conditions in their organization which affect the fulfillment of these altruistic motives' (see also Steijn, 2008). A central point in this dissertation is thus that the crucial factor for being attracted to and subsequently wanting to stay and feel satisfied in a public service job is that that the work task and the organizational ownership status match the individual PSM profile. Considering my emphasis on Le Grand's (2003) notion of public service motivated individuals as also including act-relevant knights, this means that the job should allow the individual to actually act on his/her motivation to do good for others and society on normative, affective and/or rational grounds. Theoretically, I thus expect the attraction-selection effect between PSM and public service job choice to depend on individuals' *expected fit* with the organization and task with respect to being able to help other people and contribute to society. (As I present later, once a person is employed in a particular work setting, *actually experienced* fit is likewise expected to moderate the association between PSM and job satisfaction/turnover intention, see Figure 2.1, Section 2.3.4). How this is the case is now further elaborated.

With respect to the environment of the organization, a work environment fulfilling public service motives is more likely to be found in public sector organizations than in private sector organizations (Perry & Wise, 1990). As outlined in Section 2.2.1, the public ownership of a public sector organization implies that the organization survives and justifies itself by serving the public interest defined by voters and politicians. Hence, public sector organizations have missions with a broader societal scope (e.g., balancing of interests and equality in welfare) and a more profound impact than typically found in the private sector (Baldwin, 1984; Boyne, 2002; Rainey, 2009; Perry & Porter, 1982). Based on expectations of a supplementary fit, public service motivated individuals are therefore likely to expect more values congruence between their desire to do something good for other people and society and the organizational work environment by entering a publicly owned organization compared with a privately owned organization. In contrast, the private residual claimant of privately owned organizations implies an entirely different focus on profit-maximization which would – from a view of potential job applicants – be expected to correspond less with individuals' motivation to serve broader societal interests. Potential service providers in private sector organizations would know that when they exert extra effort in their jobs the benefit of this goes straight into the pocket of the owner, whereas public sector employment offers better opportunities for donating effort to the public (Francois & Vlassopoulos, 2008). Even for similar service delivery jobs, individuals with higher levels of PSM are therefore expected to be attracted to public rather than private sector employment.

A limited number of studies have explicitly dealt with this proposition in a person-environment fit framework (Steijn, 2008; Taylor, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008b; Wright & Christensen, 2010; Christensen & Wright, 2011), while many others have examined general differences in pro-social orientations and work motivation of public sector employees compared with private sector employees (e.g., Crewson, 1997; Jurkiewicz, Massey & Brown, 1998; Lewis & Frank, 2002; Rainey, 1982). Despite varying research designs, samples and methods, all these studies are generally supportive of significant differences in PSM among public and private sector employees. For example, using cross-sectional data from the US General Social Surveys in 1989 and 1998, Lewis and Frank (2002) found that individuals who prefer a public sector job rate 'being useful to society and helping others' as more important attributes in their jobs than individuals who prefer private sector employment. Likewise, examining Dutch public and private sector employees, Steijn (2008) confirmed a positive association between preference for 'doing work that is useful to society' and public sector employment. Moreover, private sector

employees with this preference were found to be more likely to look for work in the public sector. These results coincide with the expectation formed from Person-Environment Fit Theory: Individuals seek employment in an environment that matches their preferences in terms of wanting to help others and contribute to society. However, since these studies are cross-sectional there is a risk that organizational socialization has blurred the picture. Thus, the fit between individual and environment may be due to individual motivational adaptations to the environment and postdecision processes rather than a matter of attraction, selection, and attrition.

To overcome this endogeneity problem in the causal relationship between PSM and job choice, scholars have recently started to pursue new avenues – a trend to which this dissertation contributes. Some argue that a more valid test of the proposed attraction effect can be conducted by comparing PSM among students about to enter either of the two sectors (Vandenabeele, 2008b; Christensen & Wright, 2011), while others have introduced the use of cross-sectional, longitudinal data (Wright & Christensen, 2010). Vandenabeele (2008b) found that Flemish master students with higher levels of PSM (public interest, compassion, and policy making) are more attracted to employment in public sector organizations characterized by a high degree of publicness, and Wright and Christensen (2010) confirm a positive association between 'interest in social service/helping others' and attraction to public sector employment; however, only for subsequent job choices and not lawyers' first legal job. Although Wright and Christensen's (2010) use of cross-sectional, longitudinal data significantly advances the research of sector different PSM dynamics, they are still unable to rule out sector differences due to organizational socialization (ibid.: 171). Furthermore, they are unable to distinguish between different PSM profiles, they only consider the sector context, and they examine American lawyers who have a structural difficulty in finding a job in the public sector (if that is their wish). Hence, there seems to be room for improvement.

Wright and Christensen (2010) encourage further research to not only test the attraction-selection hypothesis on a broader range of professions and use more diverse PSM conceptualizations, but also include other factors influencing job choice such as type of work (ibid.: 170).[8] Given that PSM is

8 It is important to note that Vandenabeele (2008b), Taylor (2008), Lewis and Frank (2002) and Wright and Christensen (2010) are some of the only studies investigating the attraction-selection hypothesis with samples containing individuals who actually have the possibility of choosing both public and private sector employment; the others conduct their studies as post-tests among public sector employees.

linked to the delivery of public services and thus can prove relevant in privately owned organizations to the extent that private sector employees also deliver public services, the task is very relevant for studying the dynamics of PSM-based public service job choices. One could, for example, expect that if we take individuals' work tasks and different PSM profiles into account, serving individual users and benefitting fellow citizens in a more narrow sense would also be possible in a privately owned service delivery organization. This can mean that sector differences in PSM-based attraction-selection effects are not as big as anticipated – or that different PSM-profiles are related to different sector dynamics. Within sectors, Leisink and Steijn (2008) have likewise proposed that job applicants who value PSM will be more strongly attracted to a job in the public sector if their need for acting public service motivated is matched by both the job and the organization, and that this attraction is lower if only one of the two domains fits the need (p. 126). Failure to take the work task into consideration may therefore have blurred the picture of not only comparisons of attraction-selection effects between sectors,[9] but also between employees performing different tasks within sectors. As mentioned a few studies within the PSM literature have therefore taken the public service content of the job into account in the study of PSM and sector employment – either by controlling for work task by holding it constant (Andersen et al., 2011; Crewson, 1997; Wright & Christensen, 2010) or by comparing employees on the basis of industry (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007; Steinhaus & Perry, 1996; Vandenabeele, 2008b).

In the only study so far in the PSM literature that has integrated the domains of person-organization and person-job fit into the same study, Christensen and Wright (2011) show that American law students with high degrees of PSM are more likely to accept jobs that are seen as being more 'service oriented' (regardless of sector affiliation). This result supports the proposed causal argument that individuals seek jobs where the work allows help to others and societal contributions. It is, however, a bit puzzling what 'service orientation' of the job covers since it is measured differently across sectors as pro bono work (private sector), client interaction (public sector), and client representation (non-profit sector). Therefore, the service orientation of a job does not necessarily describe a specific characteristic of the work which – like service production and service regulation – can be used

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9 This is, for example, the case with Jurkiewicz, Massey and Brown (1998), who compare (among others) police officers with employees from the financial industry without a task control and conclude that public sector employees have higher levels of PSM than private sector employees.

across different professions and sectors. Christensen and Wright (2011) also measure PSM as a unidimensional concept, which limits our knowledge of this job choice based on individuals' different PSM profiles. Although they make a significant contribution to the PSM literature, Christensen & Wright (2011) thus again leave room for improvement.

This dissertation takes the research of the possible impact of work task on dynamics of PSM one step further by examining how choices of service production or service regulation work tasks are related to individuals' different PSM profiles. Based on the essentially different content and success criteria for the performance of these two tasks outlined in Section 2.2.2, one could imagine that individuals with higher levels of the affectively founded compassion PSM would be more inclined to look for and accept a job with service production work tasks rather than service regulation work tasks. Compassion rests on human relatedness and from this perspective individuals will be motivated to contribute to society and help others because they feel emotionally moved and identify with people in need/underprivileged societal groups with whom they are confronted (Perry & Wise, 1990: 368). Hence, public service job applicants with this PSM profile would be likely to expect a service production job, which often implies daily and positive face-to-face contact with the recipients of the services, to fulfill this need for relatedness to a larger extent than other work tasks. In comparison, a job with service regulation implies that one can expect contact with clients/recipients to often be more negative and short-termed (if there is physical contact at all). This is because public service regulators will sometimes have to reject eligibility for a service and/or sanction non-compliance with service terms. This does not exactly evoke expectations of being able to realize motivation related to empathy, and individuals with higher levels of compassion PSM will therefore probably be more likely to look for and accept jobs with service production as the main work task (maybe regardless of sector preference).

On the other hand, policy making PSM seems to be more likely to lead to a job with service regulation work tasks. This type of PSM implies that the individual is instrumentally motivated to contribute to society by participating in the (political) decision processes regarding the service in question since this can be seen as a means to affect public service delivery with positive consequences for as many people as possible (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010: 703; Perry & Wise, 1990: 368). If one wants to help other people and contribute on a larger scale and with (often) long-term implications, then a likely choice would be to look for a job in which it is possible to make decisions about access to public services. This is exactly the core content of service regulation. Knowing that there are (at least in most Western welfare state re-

gimes) more service regulation jobs in the public sector, it is thus especially important that this attraction-selection effect is seen in relation to public/private sector preferences as well.

In sum, this discussion has outlined different ways of how PSM-based attraction-selection effects are likely to be a result of individuals trying to find a match between the sector environment of the organization, the public service work tasks in the job and their individual PSM profiles. This is expressed in the following general proposition for the dissertation's examination of PSM-based attraction-selection effects (as mentioned, more specific hypotheses are outlined in the articles):

Proposition 1: Attraction-selection into different public service jobs based on individuals' different PSM profiles is a matter of achieving a fit with the sector status of the organization and with the public service work task being performed in terms of being able to help other people and contribute to society.

Although I expect PSM to play an important role in individuals' public service job choices, PSM is by no means the only factor affecting attraction-selection into different jobs. Firstly, individuals can hold many other work preferences besides the wish to be able to act on their PSM. Previous studies have, for example, emphasized expectations of job security, higher pay, career opportunities, and work/life balance (for overviews see for example Kilpatrick et al., 1964; Pinder, 2008; Rainey, 1982). Second, an individual's educational background limits the range of potential jobs available as the performance of most jobs requires specific skills (Wanous, 1992: 90-91). Therefore, the public service job choice may be made already when people enter a vocation in the field of public services rather than when they have to choose a specific job. Third, the institutional settings in a country regarding public service provision, i.e. whether the different tasks are typically carried out in the public or private sectors, also influence the range of jobs available with the preferred combination of sector and work task. Fourth, employers also make choices. The focus of the dissertation implies that the dynamics of PSM and different public service job choice are primarily seen from an individual perspective rather than from an organizational perspective: It is investigated how motivation and labor market behavior of the individual can help establish a fit with the environment rather than how this process looks from the employers' side.

Finally, some scholars point to the role of coincidence/chance events when examining individuals' job choices. Talking about job choice as a result of chance events, this generally relates to 'unplanned, accidental, or other-

wise situational, unpredictable, or unintentional events or encounters that have an impact on career development and behavior' (Rojewski, 1999: 269).[10] Examples include unexpected personal events (e.g., being at the right place at the right time), macroeconomic situations and fluctuations, personal or professional contacts, marriage and family influences etc. (ibid.). Studies investigating the role of such events have reported that they influence individuals' career behaviors to a considerable extent (Betsworth & Hanson, 1996; Bright et al., 2005; Scott & Hatalla, 1990).

Within the PSM literature, Gabris and Simo (1995) have therefore rejected that it makes sense to study a specific job choice as this is a much too volatile decision/state; one should rather study broader and more long-term career goals. Nevertheless, several studies have shown systematic differences in employee PSM between different sectors, tasks, and employers (Andersen et al., 2011; Houston, 2000; Lewis & Frank, 2002; Rainey, 1982; Vandenabeele, 2008b), and these differences must have a reason. A likely explanation is that despite some chance events and/or barriers there is still an element of systematic attraction-selection into certain environments rather than others involved in a public service job choice. Whereas career goals can be relatively diffuse and 'cheap', job choice decisions are binding (at least for a while), and it is the actual job choices that along the way make up people's careers. If we want to know more about the dynamics of PSM in job choice processes, it therefore seems reasonable that we need to start here.[11]

2.3.2 Socialization effects

Previously reported differences in PSM between public and private sector employees and between employees from different industries/occupations can, however, also be due to PSM-based organizational socialization taking place after a person enters a job (Brewer, 2008). Originally, Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as a dynamic concept implying that PSM can be something that individuals bring to the work place and that influences attraction-selection effects but it can also evolve and change as a result of the organi-

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10 This builds on Bandura's (1982) psychological discussion of the influence of chance on life paths.

11 Furthermore, Lau and Pang (1995) stress that the most valid case for studying the dynamics of job choice is among graduates choosing their first job as the meaning of career and job are indistinguishable to employees during the first years of employment. This is exactly what this dissertation does in Kjeldsen (2012b, 2012c) and Kjeldsen & Jacobsen (forthcoming).

zational environment the employee is situated in. So far, this latter mentioned socialization perspective remains rather unexplored within the PSM literature (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008: 297; Wright & Grant, 2010).

Studies in the fields of organizational behavior and personnel psychology typically define socialization as 'the process by which an individual acquires the values, knowledge, and expected behaviors needed to participate as an organizational member' (Cable & Parsons, 2001: 2; Chatman, 1991: 462; Feldman, 1976; Van Maanen & Schien, 1979). Theoretically, this process has been incorporated into the PSM literature by Perry (2000), Vandenabeele (2007), and Perry and Vandenabeele (2008). They place the development of PSM within an institutional framework and outline how social institutions such as public organizations can transmit general public values ('a public in-stitutional logic') to its members by means of socialization, social identifica-tion, culture, and social learning.[12] Regardless of specific mechanisms, the point is that individuals by being part of a social institution resting on public values, and by observing, interacting, and identifying with significant others in this institution can eventually internalize the institution's values and norms into their own identities. In this way, they get the public service identity nec-essary to be motivated by and act on the basis of the public institutional logic (Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008: 60-62). According to the Self-Determination Theory (see Section 2.1.1), this process of internalization only comes about if the individual feels that his basic psychological needs are fulfilled through the work environment (Deci & Ryan, 2002)[13]. When we focus on PSM, indi-viduals with this motivation will therefore experience that it is nurtured and cultivated when they enter a public service job if the job environment fulfills the individuals' preference for helping others and contributing to society on normative, affective and/or rational grounds.

Brewer (2008) summarizes this mechanism: 'In all likelihood, organiza-tional socialization is an important mechanism for transmitting a "public insti-

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12 These mechanisms are derived from classic theories within political science and psychology such as Mintzberg's (1983) work on organizations with strong common understandings of mission and values, Wildavsky's (1987) thoughts on organiza-tional culture and preference formation, Ostrom's (1998) work on norms, and Ban-dura's (1977) work on social learning.

13 Here, the Self-Determination Theory points to a fit with the needs for compe-tence, autonomy and relatedness. Within classic motivation theories, other scholars have pointed to fulfillment of needs for existence, relatedness, and growth (Alder-fer, 1972; Wanous, 1992), needs for achievement, power, and affiliation (McClel-land, 1951), and within the Attraction-Selection-Attrition model Schneider (1987) has pointed to fit between personal and organizational goals, i.e. goal congruence.

tutional logic" and seeding public service motivation in the individual. Organizational socialization may quicken an individual's sense of public service and inculcate public service-related virtues and norms' (p. 149). When this is specifically linked to the environmental context of public sector organizations, I expect that those who become public service providers in a publicly owned organization experience a general increase in PSM regardless of specific work task. In line with March and Olson's (1995) work on institutions and the 'logic of appropriateness', newcomers in public sector organizations are expected to show loyalty and duty to the public as this is a means to maintain the organization's legitimacy and survival. Therefore, public organizations will try to sow public values in the identity of public employees and through the proposed internalization mechanism this can cause them to develop PSM (March & Olsen, 1995: 58; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007: 41; Perry & Vandenabeele, 2008). In contrast, the survival of privately owned organizations depends on their ability to make a profit, which does not necessarily correspond with services in the interest of the general public but rather with the interests of the private residual claimant(s). The organizational socialization taking place in private sector organizations is therefore likely to concentrate on matching employee work motives and preferences with market-related goals and values.

Within the social psychological literature and mostly in private sector settings, several studies support the existence of individual adaptation processes to fit the organization (e.g., Cable & Parsons, 2001; Chatman, 1991; Cooper-Thomas, van Vianen & Anderson, 2004; Saks & Ashforth, 1997a, 1997b). These studies demonstrate that although employee perception of value congruence prior to joining an organization explains more of the variance in employee-organization value congruence after organizational entry, involvement in organizational socialization activities and social interaction with existing organization members play a positive, significant role in predicting newcomers' fit with organizational values. Besides confirming that a fit between employee and organizational characteristics can be the result of an attraction mechanism, these studies thus indicate that individuals' beliefs and perceptions can also change as a result of organizational membership. Similar results are found in one of the only studies within the public administration literature that explicitly addresses processes of organizational socialization in a public sector setting. In panel studies of American police officers and welfare caseworkers, Oberfield (2010, 2011) found that organizational influence was associated with the rule-following identities that these workers developed, but that they also remained tethered to their entering, default rule-

following expectations (for example, with respect to attitudes about using force).

However, our knowledge of the possible role of organizational socialization in fostering pro-social motivations such as PSM is sparse – and certainly with respect to longitudinal research setups such as in these examples. Still, a few empirical studies within the PSM literature have touched upon the issue. First, the previously mentioned study by Wright and Christensen (2010), who measure the PSM of US lawyers in 1984 and 1990, shows that while PSM (surprisingly) does not predict the employment sector of an individual's first job in the public sector, it increases the likelihood that individuals' subsequent jobs are in the public sector. This suggests that public sector organizational socialization may play a role in shaping the positive association between PSM and public employment (pp. 170-171). Second, Andersen et al. (2010) examine the association between Danish university teachers' PSM and their grading behavior, and they show that this relationship is moderated by informal peer institutions; discussion of grading behavior with peers constrains the impact of teachers' PSM on students' grade point average. Last but not least, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) have examined a range of possible organizational antecedents of PSM such as organizational culture, red tape, hierarchical authority, and organizational tenure among managers in US state-level primary health and human service agencies. They find that while perceived reform orientation of an organization is, for example, positively associated with higher PSM, public sector organizational tenure and red tape are negatively associated with these managers' PSM.

Besides indicating likely organizational PSM socialization processes, Moynihan and Pandey's study also points to a possible downside of entering a public service job in the public sector. More red tape in the public sector compared with the private sector may prevent socialization processes into higher PSM as employees may become frustrated in achieving their objective of helping others and contribute to society if they experience burdensome rules. This may cause their PSM to drop (Buchanan, 1975; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007: 47). Furthermore, this possible frustration may only increase with the length of public sector organizational membership. This is in line with results from a study by Buurman et al. (2009), who found that the likelihood of public sector employees performing altruistic acts (e.g., charitable donations) is negatively associated with tenure, whereas there is no tenure effect on pro-social motivation for private sector employees. These detrimental effects may, however, also be linked to the performance of public service work in general and not so much the employment in a publicly owned organization.

In an older study, Blau (1960) thus found that newly hired social service caseworkers in a large American welfare agency experienced a 'reality shock' when they started working with the clients. Their 'strongly positive, if somewhat sentimental and idealistic' attitudes were put to a severe test by the clients which resulted in disillusion and lack of interest in helping the clients (p. 347). Similar effects have been detected for American police recruits (Van Maanen, 1975) and Flemish teachers (De Cooman et al., 2009), which indicates that the story of rising PSM upon entry in a service delivery job may be more complicated. However, since these studies do not distinguish between influence from the environment of the public sector organization and the character of the work being performed and do not measure PSM, there are more questions asked than answered concerning possible PSM-based socialization effects.

With respect to the distinction between service production/regulation, it is for instance likely that being confronted with service recipients on a daily basis in a service production job would positively affect newcomers' compassion PSM (regardless of sector of employment). By engaging in one-on-one and often long-term interactions with the recipients, service producers may have an easier job identifying with people in need and making a positive difference in their lives. This is further theoretically underpinned by Hackman and Oldham's (1976) job characteristics model of work motivation where experienced task identity and task significance are important for creating a feeling of meaningfulness of the work leading to higher work motivation. Empirically, this is supported by Adam Grant (2007, 2008b), who shows that employees' pro-social motivation increases when they are able to (physically) see the positive consequences of their work. Oppositely, being a newcomer in a service regulation job in which the employee can experience that she plays an important role in implementing public policies of a given service may mean that policy making PSM is enhanced. In sum, the question of whether it is possible to nurture PSM through organizational socialization in the context of different sectors and tasks or whether 'meeting with reality' rather creates the opposite effects must be subjected to more and direct empirical tests before we can get closer to an answer. To examine possible PSM socialization effects, the empirical analysis in the dissertation is guided by the following general proposition:

> **Proposition 2**: When individuals get employed in a public service job, the sector environment of the organization and the character of the public service work task being performed affect their PSM profiles.

However, it is important to bear in mind that parallel socialization processes in other domains of the employees' work environments than the sector and work task may take place at the same time and perhaps interfere with this socialization effect. Most notable is probably the effect of socialization and identification between colleagues sharing the same professional background – and more specifically, sharing a background in a highly professionalized occupational group (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997). Many public services are delivered by professionals, i.e. members of occupational groups with specialized, theoretical knowledge and intra-occupational norms/ethical codes of conduct implying commitment to an altruistic service ideal that promotes the public interest rather than personal economic gain (Andersen, 2005: 23-25; Freidson, 2001; Mosher, 1968). This means that professionals to a higher extent than other occupational groups are expected to have a public service identity, which is 'produced and reproduced through occupational and professional socialization by means of shared and common educational backgrounds, professional training, vocational experiences …' (Evetts, 2003: 403). Thus, for employees belonging to highly professionalized occupational groups, the public sector organizational socialization into higher levels of PSM may be reinforced by professional socialization. On the other hand, it may also be overruled if the domain of the profession is more important for needs fulfillment than sector/task. This implies that the socializing effects from the different sector and task environments on PSM are perhaps less pronounced within highly professionalized occupational groups than among other public service providers.

2.3.3 Attrition: Job satisfaction and turnover intention

Finally, examining the dynamics of PSM also includes considerations of attrition effects: Why are people satisfied and want to stay in public service jobs based on their PSM profiles? Or oppositely, why do they want to change jobs? These questions are very closely intertwined with attraction-selection and socialization considerations as obtained person-environment fits through these mechanisms may result in positive outcomes such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment and higher performance, whereas failure may result in negative outcomes such as turnover intent, anxiety, and actual turnover. As Wright and Pandey (2008) state, 'just because public employment can provide opportunities for an individual to satisfy their public service motives does not mean that the employing organizations will actually provide opportunities that individuals feel satisfy their public service motive' (p. 506). This final stage may therefore be crucial for determining the

role of PSM in provision of public services and in this dissertation I focus on the consequences of PSM-organization fit and PSM-work task fit for employee job satisfaction and turnover intention.

Employee job satisfaction can be defined as 'a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences' (Locke 1976 cited in Vandenabeele, 2009: 14). Related to PSM and motivation linked to achievement of pro-social objectives, this 'pleasurable emotional state' is likely to emerge if (and only if) employees feel that they can actually help others and contribute to society in the environments of their publicly/privately owned organizations and production/regulation work tasks. Linking back to Le Grand and his notion of different public service providing knights, individuals can derive satisfaction from activities motivated by a pro-social purpose although it does not necessarily affect their own material welfare (2003: 27-28). When this happens in the job, it is a potential source of job satisfaction, which I claim is not yet entirely recognized, because we still do not fully understand the relationships (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming).

Some scholars have identified a direct positive relationship between PSM and employee job satisfaction (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Kim, 2005; Naff & Crum, 1999), while others have taken the same avenue as this dissertation and pointed to the crucial role of a fit between person and workplace for this positive association to come about. Measuring perceived person-organization fit among 205 US public sector employees, Bright (2008) thus found that PSM is positively associated with perceived values congruence between the employees and their public sector organizations, which in turn is associated with higher levels of job satisfaction. This result is partly replicated in a recent study by Wright and Pandey (2010), who confirm a positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction mediated by public employees' perceived mission valence with the organization. As mentioned in Section 2.3.1, Taylor (2008) specifically introduces a PSM-organization fit variable into the associations between PSM and job satisfaction and shows that PSM positively affects job satisfaction if the PSM fit is high, i.e. employees perceive that they are able to act on their PSM in the current work environments of their organizations.

However, since these studies mostly deal with the environments of the organizations and test expectations of a positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction in a public sector context only, we do not know how this relationship unfolds when we simultaneously consider the environments of an organization's sector affiliation and the work task. Nor do we know whether/under what circumstances the relationship perhaps also exists in

the private sector. Since previous studies have shown that job satisfaction is positively related to individual performance in the provision of public services (Judge et al., 2001; Kim, 2005; Petty et al., 1984), it is highly relevant to consider these causes of job satisfaction.

Following my argumentation in Section 2.3.1 about PSM-based attraction-selection effects, I expect employees to express high job satisfaction if their expectations of fit with the sector and task environments translate into actual fits. Specifically, this is more likely to happen for persons with high PSM employed in a publicly owned organization since the work environment of these organizations (ceteris paribus) allows them to donate work effort more directly to the public. Likewise are persons with, for example, high compassion more likely to be satisfied in a service production public service job where the long-standing and close contact with service recipients can make affective motivation thrive. But given that many public service delivering jobs can also be found in the private sector, the work environments for delivering public services may in reality be experienced as not that different. Perhaps an actual fit between employees' PSM profiles and the environment leading to high job satisfaction can be obtained in both sectors?

On the other hand, if this match is not possible, either through attraction-selection or socialization, this may have negative consequences for an employee's willingness to stay with the organization. Perry and Wise (1990: 370) thus state: 'If individuals are drawn to public organizations because of the expectations they have about the rewards of public service but those expectations go unfulfilled, they are likely either to revise their preferences and objectives or seek membership in organizations compatible with their interest'. Cable and Parsons (2001: 3) state in more general terms: 'To the extent that newcomers learn during the socialization process that their values do not match their organizations' values, they experience dissonance because the norms for success are counter to personal assumptions. Among newcomers' dissonance-reducing options are changing their self-perceptions (e.g., their personal values) or leaving the organization'. In line with these predictions, several studies have shown that job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover intention. Moreover, values and goal congruence have the same positive impact on lower turnover intent (and lower absenteeism) as they have on job satisfaction (see Cable & Judge, 1997; Chatman, 1991; Verquer et al., 2003; Wright & Pandey, 2008). In other words, just as a discrepancy between what an individual wants in the job and what she actually gets can lead her to be less satisfied with the job, it can also lead her to want to change her job (both directly and indirectly through job satisfaction).

From the previous section on PSM-based socialization effects, we know that PSM has been shown to be negatively related to public sector tenure and that public sector bureaucracy and red tape may create (unexpectedly) unfavorable environments for actualizing employee PSM. The question is whether this also results in employees actually switching to other sectors as predicted by Perry and Wise (1990) and the other way around? Steijn's (2008) cross-sectional study shows that private sector employees with higher PSM levels are more likely to look for jobs in the public sector. Using longitudinal data, Wright and Christensen (2010) furthermore show that while PSM does not predict an individual's first job choice it increases the likelihood that individuals' subsequent jobs are in the public sector. Panel studies from the economic literature are more inconclusive. Georgellis et al. (2008) confirm that PSM increases the likelihood of private employees switching to the public sector, while Gregg et al. (2008) fail to predict such sector switches. According to Wright and Christensen (2010), one explanation for these mixed findings could be that complexity is added when we consider decisions to actually change jobs and sectors instead of merely speaking about attraction. Maybe this is not primarily a result of unfulfilled expectations regarding the opportunity to help others and contribute to society, but also of misfits with supervisor and coworkers, lacking career opportunities, a bad physical environment etc. If this is the case and PSM proves to be an important factor for attraction and not retention, then Wright and Christensen (2010: 159) express concerns that 'PSM may only provide a short-term benefit to public organizations at best'.

Another explanation could be that since no previous studies (to my knowledge) have jointly considered the influence of the sector and work task environments for these attrition effects, the mixed results may also be due an unobserved interplay between these environments. For instance, cleaning staff and administrators working in publicly owned organizations might experience a PSM-task misfit but still feel that their motivation to help others and contribute to society is fulfilled through the organization's environment. Empirical examination of whether this is the case has been called for within the PSM literature (Leisink & Steijn, 2008:126) and the broader person-environment fit literature (Kristof-Brown, 2005: 323). In sum, the following proposition will thus guide this dissertation's analysis of PSM-based attrition effects:

> **Proposition 3**: Job satisfaction and possible turnover intention in different public service jobs depends on an actually experienced fit between individuals' PSM profiles and the organization's sector environment and the character of the public service work task being performed.

2.3.4 Summary: Outline of theoretical model

This chapter has outlined and discussed the theoretical framework for examining the dissertation's research question: How do the dynamics of PSM unfold in the provision of public service? Starting from Person-Environment Fit Theory I have argued that PSM-based attraction-selection, socialization and attrition in public service jobs is a matter of establishing a match between individuals' PSM profiles and the organization's sector environment and the work task. With respect to both, the crucial point is whether individuals feel that they in their potential/current organizations and work tasks can help others and contribute to society in accordance with their values and motivation – otherwise they will be likely to leave the job.

This causal argument is illustrated in Figure 2.2, which shows the main variables and associations forming the longitudinal panel design from the choice of one's first public service job and onwards to potential turnover considerations (individual level control variables such as gender and age and other work preferences are not illustrated). As discussed in Section 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 the individuals' profession/ occupational group is included to take into account that prior to entering a public service job, a process of vocational choice took place (which may affect PSM_{t0}), and this choice will stay with the individual in the workplace and thus create a third domain of potential socialization processes. Finally, following the discussion of PSM and public values in Section 2.1.2, public values are also included in the model since they tell us something about what the desirable objectives are when people want to help others and contribute to society (i.e., the basis for the values congruence indicating actual perceived PSM-organization fit in one's job). Thus, public values are associated with the foundation of initial PSM, the socialization processes within professions/occupational groups, and with the individual's PSM_{t2} through organizational socialization processes.

Figure 2.2: Causal panel model of the theoretical framework of the dissertation

Attrition

Turnover int.$_{t3}$
Job satisfaction

Experienced PSM-org. fit and PSM-task fit

PSM$_{t2}$

Socialization

Public service job choice$_{t1}$

Attraction-selection

Expected PSM-org. fit and PSM-task fit

PSM$_{t0}$

Profession/occupational group

Public values
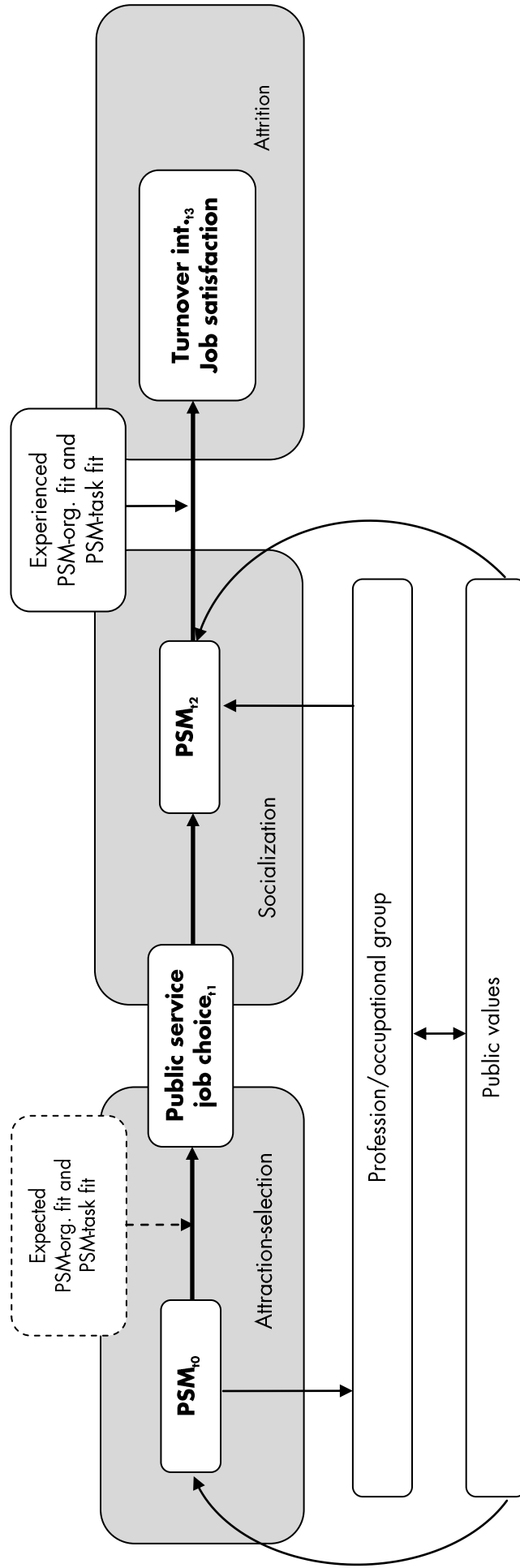
Chapter 3
Methodological considerations

This chapter discusses the central methodological considerations involved in choosing research design and methods, collecting data, and operationalizing the central variables. Across the dissertation's articles, I have used a range of different cases and methods (an overview is provided in Table 3.1 below). But in line with the theoretical model illustrated in Figure 2.2, Section 2.3.4, the overall research design is a mixed methods longitudinal panel design involving collection of qualitative and quantitative data in both pre- and post-entry stages of individuals' public service job choice processes. This is the focus of Section 3.1. Section 3.2 discusses the measurement of the most important variables with respect to the proposed dynamics of PSM: individuals' PSM, employment sectors and public service work tasks, person-environment fit, job satisfaction and turnover intention variables.

3.1 Research design, data and methods

As mentioned in Chapter 1, most previous studies of PSM-based attraction effects have relied on cross-sectional survey data of individuals who have already entered the labor market (e.g., Lewis & Frank, 2002; Steijn, 2008; Tschirhart et al., 2008). Thus, the norm- and value-shaping socialization which is expected to take place in the work environment may have blurred the picture, and the results from most previous PSM studies therefore suffer from endogeneity problems.

Following the theoretical model in Figure 2.2, Section 2.3.4, this dissertation makes use of a longitudinal panel design. Examining the dynamics of PSM associated with different public service job choices requires a research design that allows individuals' PSM to vary over time. For this purpose, a panel study is considered most suitable (Gujarati, 2003: 636-638). The basic idea of a panel study is to question the same sample of individuals at different points in time in order to reveal shifting attitudes and patterns of behavior that cannot be detected by a one-shot case study or a cross-sectional study. In the present case, at least two rounds of PSM measurement were required: one before and one after public service job choice. More specifically, the first round of data collection measures PSM among final-year students. Then I follow their PSM developments in their first jobs via a second round of data col-

lection after labor market entrance.[14] By measuring the same individuals' PSM both prior to and after labor market entry, the dissertation thus pays special attention to the internal validity of the proposed causal relationships in ensuring that the independent variable, PSM t_1, could not have been affected by the dependent variable, public service job choice t_2. Hence, the dissertation makes the first attempt within the PSM literature to overcome previous studies' endogeneity problems in separating the mechanisms of attraction-selection and socialization within the same study.[15]

In the different panels it has been possible to collect and get access to suitable data with a time span of 1-2 years between the pre- and post-entry measurements of individuals' PSM. This fits with the expectation from several private sector studies that newcomers' first year of employment is considered the most important in organizational socialization processes (Bauer et al., 1998; Cooper-Thomas et al., 2004: 53; Wanous, 1992: 189). However, this design also implies that public service job attractions are presupposed to take place immediately prior to labor market entry. Hence, there is still a risk that self-selection at an earlier stage affects the investigated dynamics of PSM. I have sought to investigate whether and to which extent this is the case in 'Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, forthcoming) and by conducting qualitative interviews that illuminate and validate how public service job choice processes take place.

A mixed methods approach has thus been embedded into the panel design to approach the endogeneity problem of the relationship between PSM and various work contexts from yet another angle than previous studies' exclusive use of survey data (Wright, 2008). Besides survey panel data, the dissertation relies on qualitative interview data collected cross-sectionally and as a parallel qualitative panel. Following classic advantages of integrating quantitative and qualitative research (see King, Keohane and Verba, 1994; Dunning, 2010; Lieberman; 2005; Emmenegger & Klemmensen, 2010), this mixed methods design has had two primary goals.

First, the interviews have served to enlighten the theoretical understanding and empirical operationalization of the central concepts – most notably

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14 Cf. Table 3.1 two almost identical panel designs were applied among physiotherapist students and social work students. In addition, I have a panel with physiotherapists who were employed at the time of both the first and second rounds of panel data collection.

15 As described, Wright and Christensen (2010) have used longitudinal panel data on employed US lawyers' PSM, which enables them to distinguish attraction-selection and attrition effects but not socialization effects.

PSM and the proposed typology for a public service job choice. Since the interviews were conducted prior to the collection of the quantitative survey data, they played an important role with respect to providing relevant knowledge for raising the measurement validity of the survey questions. How this is the case is further discussed in Section 3.2 on measurement. Second, the interviews have as mentioned validated the theoretical mechanisms of the proposed attraction-selection, socialization and attrition effects and provided post-hoc explanations for unexpected findings from the quantitative analysis. Since there is a general lack of PSM studies conducted in the private sector, we only know little about how private public service providers (perhaps) express PSM and what the private ownership work context means to their motivation (Moynihan, 2010; Steen, 2008). Moreover, we lack knowledge of how PSM-based socialization processes may unfold in the different sectors. With respect to this research gap, the collection of qualitative panel data alongside the quantitative survey data has proved vital for a comprehensive assessment of the empirical validity of the dissertation's propositions.

As outlined in Table 1.1, Chapter 1, the dissertation's central panel studies were conducted among certified Danish social workers and physiotherapists. The choice of each case and their advantages/disadvantages in terms of investigating the proposed dynamics of PSM has been thoroughly discussed in 'Public Service Motivation and Employment sector' (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming), 'Public Service Motivation and Job Choice' (Kjeldsen, 2012b), and 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012c). Across these articles, the general point of restricting the panel studies to single-profession studies among certified Danish social workers and physiotherapists is that this makes it possible to hold a number of third variables constant, which would otherwise be hard to control properly when we investigate different public service job choices (e.g., professional socialization, specific labor market properties/options, and content of work tasks across sectors). Like almost all other Danish welfare services, physiotherapy and legally granted social assistance are to a very wide extent ordered and financially subsidized by government whether they are delivered in publicly or privately owned organizations. This provides very conservative tests of the propositions about PSM dynamics.

Moreover, the two cases are chosen because they supplement each other in terms of ensuring variation with respect to all four types of public service jobs displayed in Figure 2.1, Section 2.2.3. Danish physiotherapists are almost equally distributed across the public and private sectors, but they mainly work as public service producers. This case therefore provides a strong test of sector differences in dynamics of PSM. On the other hand, certi-

fied Danish social workers are more often employed in publicly owned organizations rather than in private, but they have good possibilities of working with both public service production and service regulation. This provides a strong test of task differences in dynamics of PSM while at the same time controlling for employment sector. The two cases therefore make it possible to isolate the impact of public service job factors and examine the interplay between them to a much larger extent than previous studies while at the same time controlling for other independent variables/keeping them constant.

The downside of using single-profession cases to test the core causal claims of the theoretical model is the potential lack of empirical generalization of the findings; rather internal validity and theoretical generalization are prioritized. To accommodate this concern (which will also be discussed in the final chapter) and provide broader tests of the propositions in other settings, the dissertation therefore also relies on a number of large-N cross-sectional studies, which are outlined in Table 3.1. These studies include a range of different professions with different opportunities for public service jobs. As the profession/occupational group and/or service/work task is controlled for in all analyses using these datasets, this can support findings of systematic sector differences in the dynamics of PSM in other public services than social work and physiotherapy.

An overview of the specific research designs, cases and methods of collecting the different data in the dissertation are displayed in Table 3.1 and further details can be found in the articles. In general all surveys are web based and distributed via email (except the ISSP survey 2005 and the public managers' survey 2010/2011 where different methods such as written questionnaires and telephone interviews were also used) and whenever possible the surveys were distributed to all individuals in the relevant populations (the public managers' survey 2010/2011, the vocational students' survey 2010, the social worker panel 2010-2011, and the physiotherapist panels 2009-2011). All interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews of approximately one hour, and all were electronically recorded, fully transcribed, and systematically coded using the qualitative software program NVivo. Examples of interview guides and coding lists from the qualitative analyses are displayed in the appendix.

Table 3.1: Overview of the data and methods used in the dissertation

Data	Type	Nᵃ	Units of analysis	Methods	Collected by	Analyzed in
Public managers' survey 2010/2011	Cross-sectional survey data	501	Public managers	Confirmatory factor analysis Partial correlations	Lotte Bøgh Andersen Torben Beck Jørgensen	Public Value Dimensions Public Values and Public Service Motivation
Vocational students' survey 2010	Cross-sectional survey data	3,521	Students in different vocational education programs	OLS regressions	Gitte Sommer Harrits Søren Gytz Olesen	Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation Additional analyses in this monograph
Nurses/nursing assistant study 2009	Cross-sectional interview data	32	Nurses and nursing assistants working at public or private hospitals/in public or private home care	Qualitative content analyses	Anne Mette Kjeldsen Carsten Grønholdt	Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation
Social worker panels 2010-2011	Interview panel Survey panel	16 (21) 79 (189)	Social worker students and employed social workers	Qualitative content analyses OLS regressions Panel regressions	Anne Mette Kjeldsen	Public Service Motivation and Job Choice Dynamics of Public Service Motivation Additional analyses in this monograph
Physiotherapist panels 2009-2011	Survey panel (1) Survey panel (2)	210 (671) 1,848 (3,763)	Physiotherapist students Employed physiotherapists	Logistic regression Panel regressions	Lotte Bøgh Andersen Christian Bøtcher Jacobsen	Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector Additional analyses in this monograph
Zapera survey 2009	Cross-sectional survey data	2,811	Public and private sector employees	Tobit regressions	Zapera (ordered by Lotte Bøgh Andersen and Lene Holm Pedersen)	Employment Sector and Job Satisfaction
ISSP survey 2005	Cross-sectional survey data	10,661	Public and private sector employees in 14 Western countries	Multilevel tobit regressions	ISSP (International Social Survey Programme)	International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction

a. Numbers in parentheses refer to the valid number of respondents/interviewees in the first round of panel data collection.

3.2 Measurement of central variables

This section discusses general measurement concerns with respect to the most central variables in the theoretical model of the dissertation: individuals' PSM, individuals' employment sectors and public service work tasks, person-environment fit, and job satisfaction and turnover intention variables. Following the mixed methods design, I direct special attention to how the qualitative interview questions have been designed to provide background information and validate the quantitative survey data operationalizations. Relevant control variables are discussed thoroughly in the dissertation's articles.

3.2.1 Public service motivation

As mentioned in Section 2.1.5 on theoretical conceptualizations of how individuals can be expected to express their PSM, i.e. the different dimensions of the concept founded in distinct normative, affective and/or rational/instrumental motives, the most widely used operationalization of this conceptualization rests on the work by Perry (1996). Originally proposing six empirical dimensions of PSM, 'Attraction to Policy Making', 'Commitment to the Public Interest', 'Social Justice', 'Civic Duty', 'Compassion', and 'Self-Sacrifice', measured by 40 Likert-type items, Perry conducted a series of confirmatory factor analyses and arrived at a PSM measurement instrument consisting of the four dimensions, 'Public Interest', 'Public Policy Making', Self-Sacrifice' and 'Compassion' measured by 24 items. Following Wright (2008), Kim & Vandenabeele (2010) and Kim (2011) this measure should be viewed as a first-order reflective and second-order formative construct meaning that the Likert-type items reflecting each dimension may be interchangeable within dimensions, but each dimension gives a unique contribution to an individual's aggregated PSM. Following the theoretical conceptualization of PSM as a mix between pro-social motives rooted in distinct psychological processes, this also implies that it is possible to have large amounts of for example public interest motivation and not compassion motivation, although high levels of PSM on all the latent dimensions imply a higher total level of PSM. Hence, previous studies using the Perry (1996) measurement scale have implemented it both as a multidimensional scale and as a unidimensional scale (either by adding the dimensions together or by picking out items from each dimension and adding them into an aggregated measure). For parsimony, scholars have, however, often used abbreviated versions rather than the full 24 items (for an example, see Coursey & Pandey, 2007).

This dissertation also draws heavily on the Perry (1996) scale for operationalizing and measuring individuals' PSM. During the past two decades the Perry (1996) scale has provided an excellent starting point for cumulating results within the literature – a trend the dissertation very much continues. With its explicit multidimensional, theoretical foundation, this scale is a rather unique example within the broader public administration literature of a widely validated measure which has proved its usefulness in different services and such different national settings as Korea (Kim, 2009), Switzerland (Anderfuhren-Biget et al., 2010), Australia (Taylor, 2007), The Netherlands (Vandenabeele, 2008a), and Denmark (Andersen et al., forthcoming b). In line with, for example, Rainey (1982), Lewis & Frank (2002) and Steijn (2008), this dissertation also uses single survey items like 'How personally important do you find the following: To have a job that is useful to society' to measure the more collectively oriented (classic) PSM conceptualization and 'To have a job that allows help someone to help other people' to measure pro-social motivation possibly directed towards individual recipients (also called user orientation) in the article 'International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction' (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming). A forthcoming article by Wright, Christensen and Pandey shows that such global measures can perform as well as measures drawing on the Perry (1996) scale. Table 3.2 below provides an overview of the PSM survey measures used in the dissertation's articles, whereas the specific survey questions and interview questions can be seen in the articles and in the appendix, respectively.

Despite its more widespread use for measuring PSM, the Perry (1996) scale is far from uncontested. Especially during the years I have worked with this dissertation more and more debates about the scale have started to emerge (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010; Kim et al., forthcoming). I will now discuss some of the more important critiques of the Perry (1996) scale and explain how the dissertation has sought to address these.

First, Perry's (1996) Likert-type questions have been criticized for lacking an explicit work relation, which can make the scale difficult to administer in specific study designs measuring employee PSM (Wright, 2008: 84). In practical situations, dilemmas may arise and employees have to prioritize between competing values and motives (e.g., doing what is best for an individual client versus choosing the most cost-effective solution). Such dilemmas are poorly handled using the Perry measurement scale. I have tried to address this by asking the respondents to think about their daily work when they answer the survey questions, and furthermore the qualitative interviews have been most helpful in determining whether and how the employees perceive any conflicts between different ways of doing good for others and society. However, it is al-

so important to note that this critique is considered more relevant when it comes to examining, for example, PSM-induced behavior and actual decisions taken by frontline employees rather than – as in the present case –emergence and developments in the motivation itself.

Second and related to this, the Perry items have been criticized for mixing concepts of different ontological status. For example, 'I unselfishly contribute to my community' (PSM23) refers to behavior whereas 'I believe in putting duty before self' (PSM5) refers to personal beliefs or values. In this sense, Perry contributes to the conceptual confusion surrounding PSM, which was discussed in Section 2.1, instead of clarifying it. In the items used in this dissertation, I have therefore (to the widest extent possible) tried to delete or slightly alter the wording of these items to refer more closely to motivation and *intentions* of actions rather than *actual* behavior and subscription to specific values. As an example, PSM23 has been changed to 'I get energy from contributing to the common good' (in Danish: 'Det giver mig energi at bidrage til det fælles bedste') in the social worker panel survey. Nevertheless, I recognize that this is a critique where much more can be done, which has recently been commenced by the international community of PSM scholars (Kim et al., forthcoming).

Third, following the theoretical discussion in Section 2.1.5 of the public policy making dimension as rather reflecting an instrumental motivation to contribute to society and help others through participation in policy processes, this has also required a revision of the Perry operationalization – a revision it has only been possible to implement fully in the social worker panel study and in the qualitative interviews. An example is the deletion of the Perry (1996) item 'I don't care much for politicians' (PSM31), which measures attitudes towards politicians, and replacing it with 'It motivates me to help improve public services' (in Danish: 'Det motiverer mig at hjælpe med at forbedre de offentlige ydelser'), which is thought to reflect the instrumental foundation of this dimension more closely (Kim et al., forthcoming).

Fourth, the Perry (1996) scale is – like many other measures of motivation, job satisfaction, commitment etc. – prone to social desirability response bias (Paulhus, 1991; Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987). In the interviews, this has been dealt with by asking the interviewees to describe specific situations from their daily work to support their statements of motivation. Such detailed descriptions make it more difficult to 'just' give a socially desirable answer. In the surveys, strategies to limit the social desirability response bias are to (1) use reversed items, (2) ensure the respondents' anonymity, and (3) personalize the items by starting with 'I…' so it becomes more difficult to answer in the abstract (Perry, 1996: 9). Furthermore, a recent study shows that the Perry measurement scale

is (fortunately) less prone to socially desirable answers in individualistic cultures like the Danish rather than in collectivist cultures like, for example, the Korean (Kim & Kim, 2012).

Finally, Perry can be criticized for complicating the measurement of PSM unnecessarily by suggesting a four-dimension model instead of a three-dimension model corresponding more closely to the theoretical motivational framework proposed by Perry and Wise (1990) (Coursey & Pandey, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe & Pandey, 2006; Vandenabeele, 2008a; Wright, 2008). This is especially the case since Perry found that the public interest dimension is very highly correlated with the self-sacrifice dimension (r = 0.89) suggesting considerable redundancy. Therefore, some scholars have proposed that the self-sacrifice dimension is underlying the other three dimensions (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010), while others simply consider a three-dimension solution equally appropriate and therefore completely omit the self-sacrifice dimension (e.g., Coursey & Pandey, 2007; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe & Pandey, 2006). As discussed in Section 2.1.5, I do not consider personal sacrifice to be a prerequisite for expressing PSM in all situations of public service delivery. Besides, Perry (1996) items for measuring self-sacrifice like 'Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements' (PSM1) might as well be a sign of public interest motivation. Still, I do not question that self-sacrifice can be an element in willingness to undertake pro-social actions. As seen in Table 3.2, self-sacrifice has therefore been included whenever accessible and when a fit with data could be achieved. The same is the case with 'User Orientation' reflecting the theoretical debate of whether to include this as a theoretical dimension of PSM or as a separate aspect of pro-social motivation directed towards helping others (individual recipients of the services). I will return to these issues in Chapter 5.

Table 3.2 provides an overview of the different survey operationalizations and measures of PSM used in the dissertation's articles. Examples of the PSM questions from the qualitative studies can be seen in the appendix. In the qualitative analyses, the content coding of the PSM statements have been validated and reliability tested by colleagues, and in all the articles using quantitative survey data, the PSM measures have been validated using confirmatory factor analyses supplemented with appropriate reliability measures.

Table 3.2: Overview of public service motivation survey measures used in the dissertation's articles

Paper	Public service motivation survey measures	Analyzed as
Public Values and Public Service Motivation	16 Likert-type items from Perry (1996) and the abbreviated version of the scale by Coursey and Pandey (2007) measuring 'Public Interest', 'Compassion', 'Public Policy Making' and 'Self-Sacrifice'.	Multidimensional construct
Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation	15 Likert-type items from Perry (1996) and the abbreviated version of the scale by Coursey and Pandey (2007) measuring 'Public Interest', 'Compassion', 'Public Policy Making' and 'Self-Sacrifice'.	Unidimensional construct
Public Service Motivation and Job Choice / Dynamics of Public Service Motivation	11 Likert-type items from Perry (1996) and the abbreviated version of the scale by Coursey and Pandey (2007). Measuring 'Public Interest', 'Compassion', and 'Public Policy Making'. Changes to the items made according to Gianque et al. (2009), Kim (2009), Kim et al. (forthcoming) and own adjustments.	Multidimensional construct
Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector	4 Likert-type items from Perry (1996) measuring 'Public Interest' and 'Compassion'.	Unidimensional construct
Employment Sector and Job Satisfaction	11 Likert-type items from Perry (1996) and the abbreviated version of the scale by Coursey and Pandey (2007) measuring 'Public Interest', 'Compassion', and 'Public Policy Making'. 'User orientation' measure from Andersen et al. (2011).	Separate unidimensional constructs
International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction	2 Likert-type items from Kilpatrick et al., 1964; Rainey, 1982; Steijn (2008) and others: one question measures PSM and the other question measures 'User Orientation'.	Separate global constructs

3.2.2 Employment sector and work tasks

To measure individuals' preferences for employment in a publicly or privately owned organization and/or their actual employment in either type of organization, the analyses rely on measures of self-reported sector affiliation in the questionnaires (based on organizational ownership) or subscriptions of sector affiliation via case selection (e.g., nurses and nursing assistants from different publicly and privately owned hospitals). Generally, the sector variables have been treated as dummy variables, where employment in a publicly owned organization includes employment (or preference for employment) at the state, regional and municipal levels of the public sector, and employment in a privately owned organization includes both private companies and self-employment. Depending on the aim of the individual articles (e.g., within-profession or cross-profession study) and knowledge of the different cases (e.g., from the interviews and relevant documents and laws concerning the organization of specific public services), individuals with an imprecise sector affiliation have either been coded by hand using answers to open-ended questions about their current occupation and workplace or left out of the analyses to improve the reliability of the self-reported measures. Likewise, respondents with preference for and/or actually holding a job in the non-profit sector have also been left out of the analyses.[16]

Regarding measurement of individuals' preferences for producing or regulating public services, I have used a more general measure as well as a specific measure suited especially for the work context of the social workers. The measures were developed by use of the interview data, relevant literature about Danish social workers (e.g., Fisker et al., 2008; Fagbladet 'Socialrådgiveren', årgang 2010-2011, discussions with colleagues, and cross-validation among two social worker students and employed social workers (see also Kjeldsen 2012b and 2012c). The more general measure asked about the social worker students' preferences for the two work tasks in their (potential) first jobs by asking a number of Likert-scale statements such as 'I would like to be out "in the field" among the clients/citizens' and 'I wouldn't mind doing most of my work sitting behind a desk'. The more specific measure asked the students to choose between four pairs of jobs where jobs with mainly service produc-

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16 An exception is in 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012c). Because employment sector only serves as a control variable in this article, the concern of keeping as many respondents in the balanced panel meant that one respondent working in a non-profit organization was included in the category with the public employees.

tion were option A and service regulation jobs were option B. An example of a choice A is 'Employee at an activation project in the field' (in Danish: Medarbejder på et aktiveringsprojekt) and the corresponding choice B is 'Caseworker in an unemployment agency' (in Danish: Sagsbehandler på et jobcenter). For each of the four questions, the target group (unemployed, socially disadvantaged children/families, mentally/physically challenged citizens, and drug/alcohol abusers) was held constant and references to public or private organizations were avoided. The general measure relying on Likert scale questions and the more specific measure using dichotomous questions were both turned into unidimensional measures for public service work preference with the highest value indicating a pure service regulation preference and the lowest value indicating a pure service production preference.[17]

In the second round of data gathering for the social worker panel, the social workers' actual employment in jobs with mainly service production or service regulation was coded by hand (cross-validated by a colleague). This was done using two open-ended questions from the survey, which asked the social workers to (1) list their current employer and (2) briefly describe their main work tasks. Again, detailed work descriptions from the interviews (conducted just prior to the survey) were used to code the specific jobs. The two jobs related to unemployment services mentioned above are examples of jobs coded as mainly service production or regulation. A similar coding was used in the articles 'Public Values Dimensions' (Andersen et al., forthcoming a) and 'Public Values and Public Service Motivation' (Andersen et al., forthcoming b) to construct a control variable for service production or regulation/administration. However, since the unit of analysis in these articles is public managers, this variable was coded on the basis of their organizations. Managers for service producing organizations at the state, regional or municipal level were coded as service production and managers for public authorities at all three levels were coded as regulation/administration (e.g., justice and tax collecting organizations). As mentioned, all articles in the dissertation control for work task (mostly using various occupation classifications when more specific work task variables were unavailable) to avoid confounding with respect to sector dynamics of PSM. Details of these control variables can be seen in the different articles.

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17 By use of factor analysis, the more general measure was constructed as a reflective index ranging from 0-100. The more specific measure was constructed as a formative index ranging from 0-4, where 4 = students who four times picked the service regulation job and 0 = students who four times picked the service production job (rescaled to range from 1-5).

3.2.3 Person-environment fit measures

The measurement of person-environment fit between individuals' motivation and the characteristics of their organizations and work tasks relies heavily on validated measures from previous studies in the PSM literature. In line with Steijn (2008) and Taylor (2008), the ISSP survey used in 'International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction' (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming) offered two Likert-scale questions 'My job is useful to society' and 'In my job I can help other people' for measuring a PSM-related person-job fit. By creating cross-product interaction terms between individuals' PSM and these questions of perceived opportunity to help others in one's current job/the job's perceived usefulness to society, I measure a subjective PSM-based person-job fit as opposed to a more objective fit involving assessment of motivation and work environment characteristics from two different sources (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Since research has shown that subjective fit measures are stronger and better predictors of employee attitudinal outcomes than objective, indirect fit measures (Bright, 2008; Kristof-Brown, 1996; Kristof-Brown et al.; 2005; Verquer et al., 2003), this is evaluated as a very valid measure for assessing the moderating effect of experienced fit on the relationships between PSM and job satisfaction/turnover intention.

However, this measure only relates to the environment of the job and as it is an important purpose of the dissertation to assess possible interplays between PSM and the work environments of both task and organization, other and more general measures have also been used. Drawing on the general Person-Environment Fit Theory literature (Judge & Cable, 1997; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Saks & Ashforth, 1997a), the social worker panel survey (second round) thus includes multi-item Likert-scale measures of perceived person-organization fit and person-job fit, reflecting their theoretical contents of supplementary values congruence and complementary needs-abilities/supplies-demands fit more closely, respectively. Consequently, the following items measure person-organization fit: 'My values are very similar to the values of my workplace', 'I am not very comfortable within the culture of my workplace' (reversed), 'What this workplace stands for is important to me', and 'I feel a strong sense of belonging to my workplace' (Bright, 2008; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986).[18] These items measure person-job fit: 'My job is a good match for me', 'My knowledge and skills match the requirements of my job', 'My job does not enable me to do the kind of work, I want to' (reversed), and 'My job fulfills my

demands for what a good job should be' (Saks & Ashforth, 1997a). Like the fit measures above, these person-organization and person-job fit measures are not only subjective but also direct measures of perceived fit (Kristof-Brown, 1996: 11).[19]

By creating cross-product interaction terms with the PSM measures to examine the moderating effect of the experienced fits on the relationships between PSM and job satisfaction/turnover intention, these more general person-organization and person-job fit measures are used for additional analyses in this monograph only (presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.4). The analyses will be supplemented by qualitative analyses of interview questions asking social workers to describe work situations where they feel satisfied with their work tasks and organizations and why (the interview questions are displayed in the appendix) . This provides solid descriptions of which domains in the workplace are considered important to fit with the individual's PSM.

3.2.4 Job satisfaction and turnover intention

As final outcome variables in the dissertation's theoretical model, individuals' job satisfaction and turnover intention indicate the potential attrition consequences of achieving or not achieving a fit between one's PSM and the work environment. In Section 2.3.3, job satisfaction was defined as 'a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences' (Locke, 1976 cited in Vandenabeele 2009: 14). In the surveys used in 'Employment Sector and Job Satisfaction' (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming) and 'International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction' (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming), this is measured by asking the employees to indicate their general satisfaction with their current jobs on a scale from 'completely/very dissatisfied' to 'completely/very satisfied'. This single question operationalization of job satisfaction is a common measure used by many studies of the PSM/job satisfaction relationship (Bright, 2008; Taylor, 2008). Likewise, the qualitative interviews asked the interviewees to indicate their current job satisfaction on a 0-10 scale (see interview guide in appendix A), but here I also asked them to explain *why* they picked a certain number on the satisfaction/dissatisfaction scale. This provided valuable insights into whether

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18 In the Danish questionnaire, 'my workplace' (min arbejdsplads) was used as a synonym for 'my organization', which is not a very common Danish term when referring to one's current organization of employment – especially not in the public sector.
19 The items for measuring person-organization fit and person-job fit form two reflective indexes with Cronbach's alphas of 0.798 and 0.757, respectively (indexes rescaled from 0-100).

they described this as a result of fit/misfit with their work environments (and in which domains) or not. This validates the proposed theoretical mechanisms of PSM-based attrition.

The measure of individuals' turnover intention has also been operationalized in a very straightforward manner by asking the respondents how likely they are to voluntarily change jobs within the next two years (0-10 scale ranging from 'I will definitely not opt for a job change' to 'I will definitely opt for a job change'). This single item question for measuring individuals' possible turnover intentions has previously been used within the PSM literature (e.g., Bright, 2008), and as for job satisfaction, the semi-structured interviews were used to ask openly about the reasons for interviewees' possible intentions to change jobs. Moreover, having panel data for employed physiotherapists has made it possible to analyze employees' *actual* turnover (i.e. sector switch) between the two rounds of data collection based on their initial PSM profiles. Unfortunately, the physiotherapists' surveys do not include person-organization fit and person-job fit measures so it is only possible to investigate whether, for example, having lower levels of initial PSM as a public sector employee implies a job change to the private sector. Still, this is a very useful supplement to the analyses of turnover intentions as this measure risks being abstract 'cheap talk' without any real consequences (Moynihan & Pandey, 2008).[20]

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20 Other studies have shown that turnover intention is highly correlated with actual turnover (Dalton et al., 1999; Steel & Ovalle, 1984).

This chapter presents the results from the analyses of the dissertation's research questions. First, the results concerning conceptualization of PSM and its identified relationships with public values and the impact of different professional educational backgrounds are outlined. Second, the results from the mixed methods analyses of attraction-selection effects into the different public service jobs are presented. Third, the results from the analyses of post-entry changes in individuals' PSM are presented; that is, possible socialization effects. Finally, I present the results with respect to attrition effects: individuals' job satisfaction and turnover intentions dependent on perceived compatibility between their PSM profiles and the environment of their public service delivering jobs. The purpose of the chapter is thus to cut across the individual articles and provide an overview of the main results from the different studies in the dissertation. These results are supplemented by additional analyses (mainly from the qualitative studies), which are considered useful in providing cross-study explanations that add to a more comprehensive understanding of the dissertation's research questions and tie together the articles' results.

4.1 Conceptions and correlates of public service motivation

Before I outline the main results regarding dynamics of PSM in relation to different public service jobs, I will spend a little time presenting and discussing results concerning the conceptualization of PSM. What are the different conceptions of how to do good for others and society identified in the empirical cases, and where do they originate from? In line with the theoretical discussion in Section 2.1, several of the dissertation's articles and studies have provided interesting insights with respect to this.

Firstly, this concerns the relationship between Public Values and PSM analyzed among Danish public sector managers in the article 'Public Values and Public Service Motivation' (Andersen et al., forthcoming b). Building on the conceptualization and measurement instrument for Public Values developed in the article 'Public Values Dimensions' (Andersen et al., forthcoming a), this article theoretically discusses and empirically explores the possible links between public values and PSM research. The main result of the article is that all traditional PSM dimensions (Public interest, Compassion, and Policy making)

except Self-sacrifice are some way empirically related to different dimensions of public values (The public at large values, Rule abidance, Budget keeping, Professionalism, Balancing interests, Efficient supply, and User focused values) controlled for gender, age, and service producing/service regulatory tasks of the managers' organizations. More specifically, partial correlations between the investigated public values and PSM dimensions show that public interest PSM is positively correlated with 'the public at large' values (accountability, transparency and public insight), rule abidance, professionalism, and efficient supply values. Compassion PSM is positively associated with balancing different interests and user focus as objectives for service delivery, and those with high levels of policy making PSM emphasize balancing different interests in addition to budget keeping. These relationships suggest some overlap between the concepts of public values and PSM.

On the other hand, the self-sacrifice dimension is not significantly related to any of the investigated public values dimensions. This may indicate that this type of PSM is the one most 'purely' linked to a general altruistic motivation without providing any direction of what is the desirable in delivering public services. This could support Kim and Vandenabeele's (2010) notion that self-sacrifice should be viewed as the footing on which the other dimensions rest, but it could also support my notion put forward in Section 2.1.5 that self-sacrifice is not necessarily a prerequisite for expressing PSM in all situations of service delivery. The result that not all PSM dimensions can relate to public values thus suggests that separation of the concepts PSM and public values is possible. However, the analysis also shows that public interest is the type of PSM most clearly linked to several dimensions of public values. Since values such as rule abidance and efficient supply clearly provide some direction to this PSM dimension, the finding of these associations can be interpreted as a specification of what service in the 'public interest' could be. This supports Kim and Vandenabeele's (2010) re-specification of the public interest PSM dimension to 'Commitment to Public Values'.

However, the results from both the 'Public Values Dimensions' article (Andersen et al., forthcoming a) and the 'Public Values and Public Service Motivation' article (Andersen et al., forthcoming b) also showed that some public values are internally uncorrelated or even negatively correlated. This indicates that some conceptions of what is desirable in terms of providing meaningful public service can be in conflict with others. Hence, it can pose problems when we consider including a unified public values concept into PSM, and I therefore suggest that the concepts of public values and PSM are kept analytically distinct (Andersen et al., forthcoming b). This means that we should continue to distinguish between what is the desirable when delivering public services (dif-

ferent public values) and whether one is willing to act on this. Moreover, although an employee has high PSM and wants to pursue certain public values in her job, it is not always possible due to practical restrictions and the mutual inconsistence between some values such as rule abidance and user focus (ibid.). This is a general condition of much public service work and particularly the work of street-level bureaucrats, which can make the realization of PSM difficult.

Following this, the qualitative analyses among nurses, nursing assistants and social workers have also provided interesting insights into how PSM can be linked to public values: what is the desirable when undertaking public service motivated acts? And how is value dilemmas solved in different work settings? The qualitative content analyses in the article 'Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012a) showed that public sector nurses talk much about preventive health initiatives and how their motivation to help other people and contribute to society centers on a coordinative and holistic approach where socio-economically equal opportunities for treatment are seen as important means and ends of the public service provision. On the other hand, nursing assistants and also some of the private sector nurses talk more about the importance of keeping the users/patients satisfied and showing respect for their own choice of lifestyle (also when they are aware that it can be considered unhealthy).

This cross-sector comparison between nurses and nursing assistants indicates that PSM can be targeted at different types and levels of service recipients from 'a more generalized, societal recipient' and to specific users. The user-satisfying objective of the services can to some extent be linked to the nursing assistants' compassion PSM: They feel empathy with the people in need, which they say can make them compromise with rule abidance values and hospital-specific service standards. For the privately employed health personnel, this also has to do with the profit-creating environment of their organizations, which I will get back to in Section 4.3 on socialization. In sum, the analyses in 'Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012a) thus indicate that not only is there a public/private sector difference in the PSM of this health personnel, there is also – or even more pronounced and interestingly with respect to the foundations and conceptualization of PSM – a difference in PSM between the two occupational groups, nurses and nursing assistants, characterized by higher and lower degrees of professionalism, respectively.

Moving beyond the results presented in the articles, it is thus characteristic of the nurses and the social workers (especially the publicly employed) that they – in line with their higher degrees of professionalism – tend to have a pa-

ternalistic approach to the users of the services. This can be seen in the following two statements from the interviewed nurses and social workers:

> Clients can be satisfied in many different ways, and it is nice if they are satisfied, but I need to be satisfied too (…) For example, when you are high on marijuana, you don't know what is best for your child, but I know (IP17).

> When you have an unusual patient, you have to find out why and then try to explain to him that when he has agreed to A, then he must listen to professional advice and agree to B as well (…) But this is also the fun part; it is a bit of a challenge (public nurse 1, hospital care) (see also Kjeldsen, 2012a: 65).

As it is obvious from the statements, these public service providers define personally and via their professional knowledge what is considered the desirable of the services. This may or may not coincide with the opinions of politicians and voters/users, which can be one of the problems of having very public service-motivated service providers; it is hard to control which purposes they pursue in the performance of their jobs and they can hold many different conceptions of what 'good for others and society' through the job means. In the interviews with the employed social workers, I have asked directly about different value dilemmas where the social workers' personal and professional values conflict with what is politically, economically, from the users' viewpoints, or otherwise desirable (see Appendix). Hence, these interviews further clarify the interplay between values, motivation and professional knowledge. Additional within-case analyses indicate that social workers' with a PSM profile with larger emphasis on compassion seem to have a harder time sticking to their professional knowledge (without compromising too much in order to satisfy the users). On the other hand, those with a motivational profile with more public interest more often say that they feel they can combine their professional knowledge with rule abidance, and those with more policy making PSM are often focused on balancing different interests. Overall, the analyses of the qualitative material thus support some of the same patterns of relationships between different PSM profiles and subscription to certain public values as seen in 'Public Values and Public Service Motivation' (Andersen et al., forthcoming b). But it also illustrates that the linkage between values and motivation is translated through the individuals' professional knowledge and backgrounds.

The article 'Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, forthcoming) offers more general insights into the role of a professional educational background for understanding the emergence of individual PSM. Examining the levels of PSM among students enrolled in different vocational education programs and at different stages (years) of these programs, the article

shows that students enrolled in programs aiming at core public service delivering jobs (such as nurses, social workers, physiotherapists, physicians, and teachers) more or less have the same (high) levels of PSM across the different stages of their educational programs. On the other hand, PSM levels among students in non-core public service studies such as technical and business-related educational programs seem to have increased substantively comparing first-year and final-year students (see Figure 1 in Kjeldsen, forthcoming). This suggests that the association between higher education and PSM is not as uniform as previous studies (e.g., Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2007; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997) have assumed: For students in non-core public service studies, membership of higher educational institutions seems to foster higher levels of PSM, but students enrolled in core public service studies already tend to have high PSM levels when they self-select into these educational programs. This does not mean, however, that the PSM of students in core public service studies remains unchanged. Rather, the different educational programs relate to different PSM profiles among the students.

Table 4.1 shows additional analyses of the relationships between years of study and four PSM dimensions among students from different core public service as well as non-core public service educational programs using the same data and measures as 'Vocational Study and Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, forthcoming).[21] Focusing on the lower part of the table, which shows interaction terms between the different vocational studies and the students' years of study, we see that from very low levels of especially public interest PSM and self-sacrifice (compared to the nurse students which is reference category), it is a higher level of these two types of PSM that drives the overall increase in PSM for the students enrolled in non-core public service studies, especially the law students. However, they also seem to have lower levels of policy making PSM the further they get in their educational program. Still, the law students (together with the business students) have considerably higher levels of this motivation than the nurses.

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21 The analyses are based on a subsample of students from the sample used in Kjeldsen (forthcoming). The subsample consists of students from the 11 vocational study programs with more than 100 respondents in the sample (see Table 1 in Kjeldsen, forthcoming).

Table 4.1: OLS-regressions of students' public service motivation according to vocational study (unstandardized coefficients)

	Overall PSM		Public interest		Compassion		Policy making		Self-sacrifice	
	B	Std. E.	B	Std. E.	B	Std. E.	B	Std. E.	B	Std. E.
Intercept	61.22***	(1.070)	79.19***	(1.661)	64.16***	(1.529)	47.33***	(1.814)	50.74***	(1.950)
Gender (female)	1.640***	(0.431)	-0.957	(0.669)	7.005***	(0.616)	-0.0711	(0.730)	0.156	(0.785)
Age	-0.016	(0.025)	-0.163***	(0.039)	0.128***	(0.036)	-0.147***	(0.043)	0.084	(0.046)
Parents in public sector	0.294	(0.394)	1.792**	(0.612)	0.342	(0.564)	0.295	(0.669)	-1.252	(0.719)
Years of study	-0.309	(0.305)	-0.614	(0.473)	0.203	(0.436)	0.790	(0.517)	-1.340*	(0.555)
Occupational/physical therapy	-2.772*	(1.304)	-3.764	(2.025)	-3.665*	(1.864)	-0.609	(2.212)	-2.509	(2.377)
Medicine (physician)	-1.637	(1.184)	-1.198	(1.838)	-3.716*	(1.692)	2.211	(2.008)	-2.884	(2.158)
Pre-school education	-0.820	(1.074)	-1.855	(1.667)	-0.0270	(1.535)	-0.455	(1.821)	-0.852	(1.957)
Education (primary school)	-3.427**	(1.098)	-3.188	(1.706)	-6.077***	(1.570)	-0.766	(1.863)	-3.012	(2.002)
Social work	0.478	(1.428)	-1.435	(2.217)	-0.212	(2.041)	2.179	(2.421)	1.804	(2.603)
Design and business	-6.272**	(2.158)	-4.627	(3.352)	-11.30***	(3.085)	6.242	(3.660)	-12.27**	(3.935)
Nutrition management	-4.245*	(2.044)	-8.123*	(3.174)	-4.588	(2.922)	3.189	(3.467)	-5.598	(3.726)
Engineer/technician training	-8.402***	(2.131)	-3.444	(3.309)	-16.31***	(3.046)	-3.226	(3.614)	-9.335*	(3.885)
Laboratory technician training	-4.886*	(2.072)	-2.931	(3.217)	-8.600**	(2.961)	-3.516	(3.513)	-4.156	(3.777)
Law	-9.796***	(1.936)	-11.97***	(3.006)	-13.94***	(2.767)	7.272*	(3.283)	-16.28***	(3.529)
Nursing (ref.)	-		-		-		-		-	
Occupational/phys.*years_study	-0.0251	(0.520)	0.906	(0.807)	-0.088	(0.743)	-0.440	(0.881)	-0.393	(0.947)
Medicine*years_study	-0.121	(0.383)	0.823	(0.595)	-0.756	(0.548)	-1.326*	(0.650)	0.474	(0.699)
Pre-school *years_study	0.102	(0.439)	0.268	(0.682)	-0.415	(0.628)	-0.551	(0.745)	0.944	(0.801)
Education*years_study	1.229**	(0.440)	1.382*	(0.683)	1.456*	(0.629)	0.152	(0.746)	1.657*	(0.802)
Social work*years_study	-0.087	(0.546)	0.582	(0.848)	0.107	(0.781)	-0.687	(0.926)	-0.500	(0.995)
Design/business*years_study	0.279	(1.282)	-0.771	(1.991)	1.508	(1.833)	-3.676*	(2.174)	3.067*	(2.337)
Nutrition management*years_study	0.364	(0.773)	2.161	(1.200)	0.260	(1.105)	-2.434*	(1.310)	0.771	(1.409)
Engineer/technician *years_study	1.416*	(0.796)	-0.187	(1.236)	1.856	(1.137)	0.991	(1.349)	2.898*	(1.450)
Laboratory tech.*years_study	0.523	(0.869)	1.079	(1.350)	0.305	(1.242)	-0.869	(1.474)	1.228	(1.584)
Law*years_study	1.036*	(0.566)	2.446**	(0.879)	-0.007	(0.809)	-1.606*	(0.960)	2.651*	(1.032)
Nursing (ref.)	-		-		-		-		-	
Observations	3,383		3,383		3,383		3,383		3,383	
R^2	0.057		0.024		0.149		0.017		0.036	
Adjusted R^2	0.051		0.017		0.143		0.010		0.029	

Note: * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$.

The picture among the students in core public service studies is a bit more blurred given that their overall PSM levels are more or less constant across the different years of education. Nonetheless, the analyses in Table 4.1 still indicate that medicine students tend to have lower levels of compassion and policy making the further they are in their educational programs, while students studying to become teachers seem to experience increased compassion and also higher self-sacrifice compared to the nurses during their years of education. In sum, interesting differences in the PSM profiles of public service providers seem to be fostered within different vocational education institutions. As outlined above, these differences are likely to be important for their conceptions of how to do good for others and society. I now turn to the results of the analyses of dynamics of PSM in relation to different public service job choices.

4.2 Attraction-selection effects

The first proposition concerning the dynamics of PSM in public service job choice processes was that individuals' attraction-selection into different public service jobs based on their different PSM profiles will be a matter of achieving a fit with the sector status of the organization and with the public service work task being performed (in terms of being able to help other people and contribute to society the desired way). Perry and Wise (1990) originally suggested that individuals with higher levels of PSM will be attracted to public sector employment, but moving on from theoretical considerations by Leisink and Steijn (2008) this dissertation also looks at the importance of the environment of individuals' work tasks – and more specifically service production/regulation – for PSM-based job choice decisions.

In 'Public Service Motivation and Job Choice' (Kjeldsen, 2012c), 21 semi-structured interviews with final-year social work students are analyzed to shed light on the public service job choice process with respect to service production and service regulation work tasks. Table 4.2 summarizes these students' statements regarding attraction to the two work tasks (adapted version of Figure 1 from Kjeldsen, 2012b). The table shows that most of the students are oriented towards either of the two work tasks while only a few interviewees consider equal advantages/ disadvantages of the two jobs. This latter group is hence undecided regarding preference for future job, and they explain that this is because they feel that they need to learn more about the legal framework of the services in a service regulation job in order to (perhaps later) interact more closely with the clients in a service production job. In general, more students tend to prefer a service production job, but it

takes a lot of experience to get these jobs – of which they are well aware. Still, they cling to the hope that their preference is met.

Table 4.2: Summary of social worker students' statements about attraction to service production or service regulation work tasks, 2010

	Service regulation	Undecided	Service production
Statements regarding attractiveness of the work tasks	Implies acting within a political agenda and according to the legal framework Motivates to process clients from A to B within the framework/service standards Is about taking measures and actually 'doing something' Requires that one can vouch for the legal framework of the service	It is better to start out in local government doing regulation Does not feel bad about regulation, but it is merely a duty Service production implies too much 'coffee and talk', but it is 'real' social work	Stand on the clients' side against the government Meaningful to work in the field where it is possible to show care 'It is real and pure social work' Requires a lot of experience
Preferred jobs	Local government (municipal/regional administration) Private unemployment agencies/funds		Social institutions/ treatment facilities Prison service Teaching/consulting Activation projects Voluntary organizations Unions
Interviewees	IP1, IP2, IP4, IP5, IP6, IP8, IP12, IP20	IP3, IP17, IP19	IP7, IP9, IP10, IP11, IP13, IP14, IP15, IP16, IP18, IP21

Note: Adapted version of Figure 1 from Kjeldsen (2012b), translated from Danish.

Also evident from the statements in Table 4.2 is a clear divide in how the students describe the two types of public service tasks. This validates the dissertation's use of this distinction as an important element in public service job choices. The question is, however, whether these descriptions of the two public service tasks can be related to the students' PSM profiles and the wish to obtain a fit between work tasks and motivation to do good for others and society. Table 4.2 shows that the students opting for a service production job emphasize the possibility to use empathy in the job as one of the important reasons behind this job preference. As IP15 says, 'I want to be in the field among the citizens, because I believe that this is where it all makes sense.

This is where I can be allowed to show my care'. This supports the theoretical considerations from Section 4.3.1 that compassion PSM is likely to be perceived as best supported by service production work where longstanding, intensive contact with citizens in need of help can create meaningful social relations allowing one to outlive this motivation. Furthermore, these students find it attractive to be able to stand side by side with the clients against 'the system'. In this way the students attracted to service production define themselves in direct contrast to the students attracted to service regulation (Kjeldsen, 2012b: 77).

However, this does not mean that the students attracted to service regulation are not motivated by close interaction with service recipients – they just have more instrumental reasons for this contact. Students who are attracted to service regulation describe good contact with clients as vital for finding solutions that comply with the law and service standards and coincide with their professional knowledge while at the same time being acceptable to the clients. As shown in Table 4.2, it motivates to 'process clients from A to B' by imposing specific measures on them and thereby 'get something done' (Kjeldsen, 2012b: 79). This likewise supports the theoretical considerations from Section 2.3.1 about possible associations between individuals' attraction to policy making PSM profiles and a service regulation job.

These results from Table 4.2 align with the results from the quantitative analyses of the relationships between social worker students' PSM and job preferences also presented in the article 'Public Service Motivation and Job Choice' (Kjeldsen, 2012b: Table 2) and in 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012c: Table 2). Using data from the first round of panel survey data among the final year social worker students, regression analyses in Kjeldsen (2012b) show a significant negative association between students' compassion PSM and preference for a service regulation job (continuous variable with service regulation and service production at the two poles cf. Section 3.2.2) and the same is the case in Kjeldsen (2012c). Furthermore, the results in Kjeldsen (2012b) show that students with higher policy making PSM tend to prefer service regulation jobs, while in 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012c, using a subsample of Kjeldsen, 2012b) it is the students with higher public interest PSM who prefer service regulation (controlled for public/private sector preference). This indicates that for social workers there is a very robust association between compassion PSM and attraction to service production while attraction to service regulation is possibly associated with both policy making PSM and public interest PSM.

However, the studies do not produce solid evidence for significant associations between individuals' different PSM profiles and attraction to work in

a publicly or privately owned organization – neither the social worker study nor the physiotherapist study show significant, positive associations between students' higher levels of PSM and attraction to work in the public sector (Kjeldsen, 2012c; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming). This contradicts expectations from Perry & Wise (1990) and many other studies confirming such an association (e.g., Lewis & Frank, 2002; Taylor, 2008; Steijn, 2008). The reason may be found in the very conservative tests of this expectation performed in this dissertation where I have examined PSM and sector preferences in single profession studies among students who have not yet been subject to potential PSM socialization in the labor market and who can expect to perform very similar tasks in the two sectors. Furthermore, the larger institutional setup for public service provision – different welfare state regimes – is also likely to play a role for the comparability between these previous studies and the present. I return to this in Section 4.4 and in the discussion of the external validity of the dissertation's results in the concluding Chapter 5.

From the qualitative interviews with the social worker students, additional analyses shown in Table 4.3 indicate that many of the future social workers are not that concerned with the issue of choosing a sector of employment. Many have not made a very conscious sector preference choice, and their considerations about the two sectors seem to be more a matter of fulfillment of work preferences such as pay, job security, target group, possibilities for professional development and further education rather than the possibility to do good for others and society in the desired way. This is exemplified by the following statement from IP16 regarding preference for private employment, 'I opt for employment in a private organization because the pay is higher [and] it is not as hierarchically organized and managed as in the public sector', and the following statement from IP8 regarding preference for public sector employment, 'Right now there is so much insecurity and not that much work, and I think that publicly employed have higher job security (…) but the most important thing for me is really the target group'.

However, some interviewees mention that they want to work in a public sector organization because they feel that these organizations offer better opportunities for making a difference for other people (see Table 4.3). As IP9 puts it, 'I would prefer the public sector, because in the private sector they see humans as products', and IP1, 'In the beginning I was sure I wanted to work in the private sector (…) but now I am becoming a social worker, that is, the incarnation of one who wants to make a difference. It is extremely important with these children! [And you feel you can better act on this by becoming a public employee?] Yes, that is for sure'. These statements support an association between individual PSM and preference for public sector

employment through an expected fit between personal values and motivation and the potential workplace. However, this does not change the general picture that PSM does not play a prominent role with respect to sector-related attraction effects – at least not for individuals' first jobs.

Table 4.3: Summary of social worker students' statements about attraction to public or private sector employment, 2010

	Public sector	Undecided	Private sector
Statements regarding attractiveness of the public/private sectors	Starting out in the public sector gives a solid professional background	Have not thought that much about it	Lack of tight control and bureaucracy
	Higher job security	Mention pros and cons of both sectors	More efficient service delivery
	Clients are not seen as a 'product' which means that you can better make a difference	Lack knowledge of what a social worker can do in the private sector	Requires a lot of experience
			Higher pay
	Better opportunities for further education		More responsibility towards the organization (e.g., lower sickness absence)
	Does not have to negotiate own working conditions		
Interviewees	IP1, IP2, IP5, IP6, IP8, IP9, IP12, IP17, IP18, IP19, IP21	IP3, (IP4), (IP10), (IP13), IP20	IP7, IP11, IP14, IP15, IP16

An advantage of panel data with pre- and post-entry measures is that it has also been possible to examine selection effects; that is, which jobs the social worker students and physiotherapy students actually got. The results in 'Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector' (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming) show that PSM does not predict physiotherapy students' actual employment sector (controlled for other work preferences), and the results in 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012c) show that PSM does not predict social worker students' actual employment with service production/regulation (controlled for sector employment). This indicates that employers do not select on the basis of PSM. This is in line with results from other studies (e.g., Lewis & Frank, 2002; Tschirhart et al., 2008; Wright & Christensen, 2010), which used broader samples with other professions and also found that PSM does not predict actual sector of employment (at least concerning individuals' first jobs). Still, the quantitative analyses in both Kjeldsen (2012c) and Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (forthcoming) show that the social worker students and physiotherapy students do tend to get the public service jobs they prefer – whether the preferences are formed by wishes to be able

to outlive their PSM profiles and/or wishes for a certain pay and job security. This offers support for self-selection into the different public service jobs.

Figure 4.1 gives an overview of perceived importance of different factors for individuals' public service job choices and illustrates the distribution of the employed social workers' evaluation of what mattered most for why they ended up in their current jobs.

Figure 4.1: Overview of mean importance of different factors for the social workers' job choices, 2011 (N = 79)
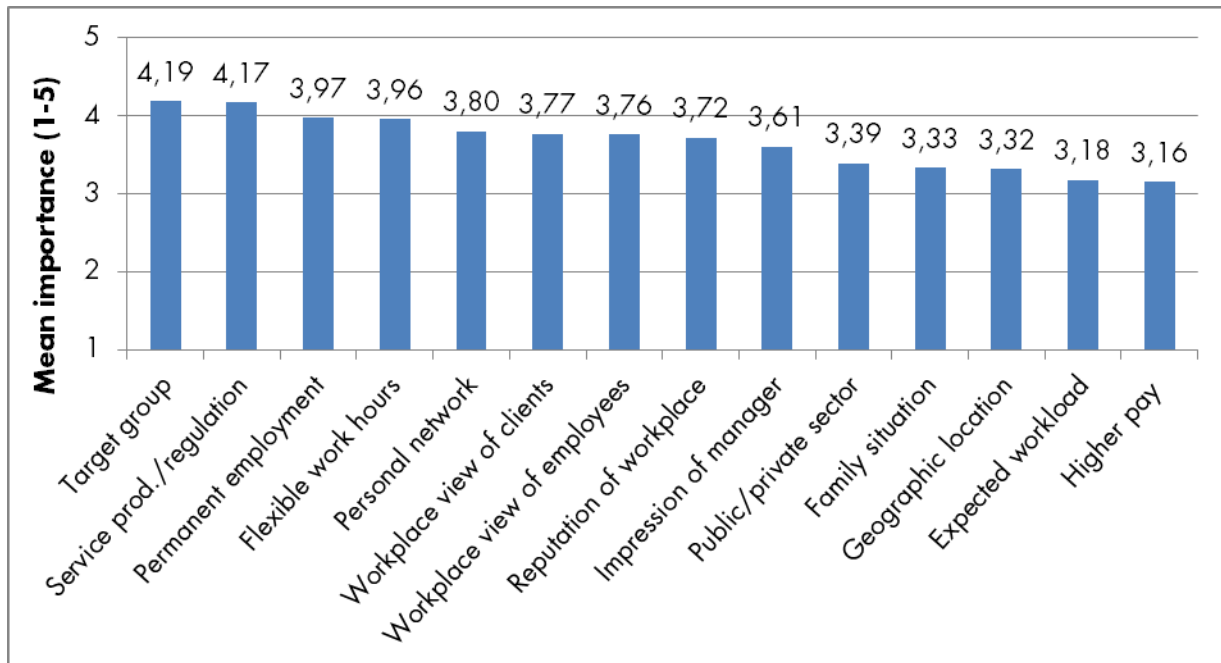
In line with the statements from the qualitative analyses of the social worker students' job preferences, Figure 4.1 shows that public service job choice is a complex affair where many other intrinsic as well as extrinsic motivators besides fulfillment of one's potential wish to do good for others and society can play a role; individuals have mixed motives and preferences. Most notably, the social workers emphasize the target group (which type of clients/users they want to work with) as a very important factor for their choice of public service job – closely followed by whether the job involves mostly service production or service regulation. This is in line with the quote by IP9 above. Additional statements from the social worker students analyzed in Kjeldsen (2012b) furthermore indicate that a hierarchy of preferred target groups exists in service production and regulation tasks. Regulation of services to target groups such as socially vulnerable families ranks above regulation of unemployment benefits/sanctions, and service production in relation to citizens with cancer, for example, seems to rank above work in social institutions with

mentally and physically challenged citizens (Kjeldsen, 2012b: 78). Despite the financial crisis it is the impression from the interviews that many have had their job wishes fulfilled, and as mentioned the quantitative analyses among social workers and physiotherapists confirm this. I now turn to the results regarding what happens to the newcomers' PSM after they have entered the labor market in the various public service jobs.

4.3 Labor market entry and socialization effects

The second proposition concerning dynamics of PSM in different public service jobs stated that individuals' PSM profiles will be affected by both the sector environment of the organization and the character of the work task when they become employed. So far most PSM studies have focused on how PSM affects attraction-selection and attrition in different sectors (e.g., Lewis & Frank, 2002; Steijn, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008b; Wright & Christensen, 2010). But by having both pre- and post-entry measures of the same individuals' PSM, this dissertation's studies among social workers and physiotherapists offer a unique opportunity to begin uncovering how employment in different public service jobs perhaps affects PSM. Are differences in PSM profiles between individuals in different public service jobs a result of adaptation processes?

First, the quantitative panel regression analyses in the articles 'Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector' (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming) and 'Dynamics of Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012c) looked at the 'pure' effect of entering the labor market on the PSM of physiotherapists and social workers, respectively. Using a unidimensional measure of PSM (cf. Table 3.2), Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (forthcoming) found that the physiotherapy students' PSM dropped quite substantively when they entered the labor market. This is in line with studies by Blau (1960) and others (De Cooman et al., 2009; Van Maanen, 1975) interpreted as a 'reality shock' effect among newly hired public service providers entering the labor market for the first time. But what was also evident from this analysis was that PSM dropped less for those entering public employment relative to private employment (controlled for public/private sector tenure). In other words, employment sector moderates the effect of labor market entrance on PSM. This could be an indicator of organizational socialization affecting individuals' different levels of PSM.

Kjeldsen (2012c) detects somewhat similar results for social worker newcomers. However, as the article both distinguishes between different dimensions of PSM and different public service work tasks (production/regulation)

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in the two sectors the picture is slightly more complicated here. The panel regression analyses show that the social workers' compassion PSM dropped substantively when they entered the labor market, their public interest PSM stayed fairly unaffected, and their policy making PSM increased (Kjeldsen, 2012c: Table 4). These different developments point to the importance of analyzing PSM changes at the sub-dimensional level. As for the physiotherapists, the analyses also revealed, however, that the social workers' drop in compassion was hampered by entrance in a public sector job compared with entrance in the private sector, and that the policy making PSM increased more for those who enter a job with service production in the public sector (these interaction effects should, however, be interpreted with caution since relatively fewer social workers got their first job in service production and in the private sector than in service regulation and the public sector). Despite these differences between the two panel studies' results, both social workers' and physiotherapists' PSM thus tends to be affected by labor market entrance. Moreover, this tendency is characterized by a drop in motivation – at least with respect to compassion – which is most pronounced when entering private sector organizations compared with public sector organizations.

What can the qualitative interview data say about the reasons and mechanisms behind these results? To start with the drop in compassion, a prominent explanation among the social workers seems to be that they have become tougher from the daily confrontations with the clients. An example is IP12, who as a student emphasized that she believed in the good sides of all people, and that everybody deserves to be helped. But now (after having worked 7 months with regulation of services to physically and mentally disadvantaged citizens at the local municipality) she says that:

> There is really a big difference between those who want to do something by themselves, and those who just want to get stuff. They want to get help for everything! (…) Most citizens are really nice to talk to, but these others … They take up your time and you think, oh come on! Not in a 100 years should they have the joy of getting this (IP12).

Still, the general impression is that the majority of the social workers have had – and to some extent still have – very high levels of compassion. The very reason they wanted to become social workers was that they identify with socially vulnerable citizens and want to help them. But as they have entered the labor market and found out that some clients can be very demanding (as IP12's statement illustrates) and as some of the social workers even suspect some clients of pretending to be worse off than they really are in order

to get sickness benefits and other services, their motivation to ensure the clients' welfare drops. An example is the following statement by IP13:

> I listen to the citizens and I have to believe that when they say they are ill, then they are really ill. But I also think that if you said to them tomorrow: Here is your 'dream job'! Then they would take it. (…) You are not that affected when you have to close these cases [i.e., take away their benefits] (IP13).

On the other hand, the reality shock seems to have something to do with not only the direct relationship with clients and the surprising experience that the clients sometimes betray the social workers' trust, but also the general frustration of starting in a new job and having to handle new IT systems, getting to know new colleagues, becoming familiar with a certain service area and its procedures, and having to navigate within a budget etc. The social workers' main motivational factor is to help the socially disadvantaged clients/citizens and thereby contribute to society and when these other things take up their time (often combined with a high workload), some of them say that they cut down their core tasks by, for example, making phone calls instead of home visits (IP16 and IP17) or have shorter conversations with clients so that they have to take fewer notes afterwards (IP1). Hence, the reality shock seems to have (at least) two sides: experiences with the clients and being a newcomer struggling to find one's feet in a complex system of social service provision.

Recalling the quantitative analysis in Kjeldsen (2012c: Table 4), which also showed that the social workers' policy making PSM increases when they enter the labor market, post-entry dynamics of PSM are, however, more complicated and not necessarily that negative. Statements from the qualitative interviews suggest that this increase happens because many of the social workers find it easier to see how they can influence and improve public service delivery from within once they are employed. An example is IP10, who when she was still a student declared that she was only interested in the close relationship with clients, but now she finds it very motivating if she gets an opportunity to participate in projects aimed at improving service delivery and she actively seeks such opportunities in her job. This contradicts the result regarding nurses' policy making PSM analyzed in 'Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012a). Here, the publicly employed nurses complained that they found it hard to influence public policy making and get through with their ideas for improved public service delivery because of the rigid and hierarchical policy processes at the hospitals (Kjeldsen, 2012a: 65). In contrast, only few of the interviewed social workers express this concern with respect to their motivation for participating

in (local) policy processes regarding the service delivery. Besides the fact that social workers and nurses/nursing assistants often work in organizations of different sizes, this difference in post-entry levels of policy making PSM between the two occupational groups is also likely to be related to their different professional, educational backgrounds. The analyses in Section 4.1, Table 4.1 indicate that already at this stage the social worker students may have more policy making PSM than nursing students and in general the social work education is much more oriented towards local and societal policy making processes.

However, the question is also whether these different developments in PSM – and most notably the result that PSM seems to drop more for private sector newcomers than for their public sector peers – can be linked to different organizational socialization processes between the public and private sectors. Table 4.4 gives an overview of the different socialization activities reported by the interviewed social workers to take place in the publicly and privately owned organizations where they are employed. This shows that more different socialization activities seem to take place in the publicly owned service delivery organizations than in the privately owned. Before I go into detail with how these activities are described by the interviewed social workers to influence their motivation and priorities, two important things should be noted with respect to this analysis: Only two of the social worker students from the first round of interviews did not end up in public sector employment (IP5 and IP11), and both of them got employed in small, private organizations where they are the only social workers.[22] This is not an unusual situation for privately employed social workers; still, their statements should be treated with caution in terms of external validity.

The interviewed social workers' descriptions of how the activities in Table 4.4 unfold provide interesting insights into the dynamics of PSM in relation to organizational socialization. In relation to the declining compassion, a very striking result is that seven of the publicly employed social workers talk about how they were immediately taught by their colleagues and team managers not to use 'the pity argument' (in Danish: 'synd-for paragraffen') to argue their cases:

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22 Note, moreover, that IP11 works with client representation at a union, which is not a government-ordered service (although unions receive small financial subsidies from the government). To keep as many of the panel participants in the qualitative analysis as possible, and because IP11 still does social work, she has only been deleted from the quantitative analysis.

Table 4.4: Overview of socialization activities in their public and private sector organizations reported by the interviewed social workers, 2011

Employment sector	Reported socialization activities
Publicly owned organization (14 interviewees)	If there is doubt about a case colleagues and team manager are asked for advice and/or decisions are handed over
	Mostly seek advice with respect to service standards, local network partners/contacts in other agencies, and how to communicate service decisions
	Social activities with colleagues create social relations that make it easier to ask for advice
	Weekly staff meetings with case discussions
	Many sit in office landscapes
	Look for advice in colleagues' previous cases
	Employee evaluation meetings with nearest manager
	Informal talks about clients during coffee breaks
	Communication classes (coaching of employees)
Privately owned organization (2 interviewees)	No other social workers at the workplace to ask for advice
	Get feedback from external network and top management
	Mostly advice about facts (legal issues etc.)
	Staff meetings mostly used for sharing of facts (e.g., budget keeping and coordination of activities)

It would be a completely different picture if we could decide everything by ourselves, because then we would use the pity argument. Although we all share the same professional educational background, I have to talk to my team manager when I want to extend sickness benefits (…) It hasn't scared me away; I see it as a challenge. I can see that you have to be careful with using too many 'pity arguments'. Clients have to work if they are able to (IP10).

> When I started, my team manager had very sharp views. Then I felt like I didn't belong here, because I couldn't argue my case. No matter how I tried to put it, it was perceived as if I tried to use the pity argument (…) As a social worker, you can't say that you feel pity for them [the clients]. You have to objectively describe who you pity and why they need help (IP16).

This case with 'the pity argument' illustrates important points about the PSM socialization in these public sector organizations. First, the statements indicate that the team managers are crucial socialization agents. The team managers communicate the values of the organization and the priorities in

the casework to the newcomers. This typically takes place at weekly staff meetings where the difficult cases are discussed in the teams (or sub-departments). This helps the social workers navigate in value dilemmas be-tween, for example, user focus, due process and tight budgets, and it gives them confidence that they are not 'bad social workers' just because they cannot implement the optimal solution (from a professional and/or clients' point of view). In other words, the interview quotes clearly show signs of a socialization process defined as individuals' 'acquirement of the values, knowledge, and expected behaviors needed to participate as an organiza-tional member' (cf. Cable & Parsons, 2001: 2, Chatman, 1991: 462 referred in Section 2.3.2). In this case it centers on changing the PSM profiles of newly hired social workers away from emphasis on compassion motivation linked to the desirability of client/user focus and to more focus on due process and balancing different interests (cf. also Andersen et al., forthcoming b, and the analyses in Section 4.1). Second, the socialization process and whether the organization's values are internalized in the social workers' own values sys-tems is very important for whether they feel comfortable at their workplace, and it can help dampen the reality shock. In contrast, perceived failure to re-ceive such guidance and supervision – which is especially important in the public sector since many social workers begin their careers here although it is not their primary preference – can lead to lack of job satisfaction and turn-over intention. This is the case for at least two of the publicly employed social workers (IP13 and IP14), and I will return to this in Section 4.4 about attrition effects.

The interviews indicate that the two privately employed social workers receive less guidance – instead they experience a more straightforward trial and error process of labor market entrance. Internally in the organizations they mostly ask colleagues and managers for advice on factual issues (since they cannot use them for professional advice because they are not social workers), whereas they use their external professional networks for advice when in doubt about how to handle a case. This means that their sphere of post-entry socialization is extended beyond the organization, but it also means that 'help' is further away when they run into difficulties and value di-lemmas, which can explain the less positive tendencies in their post-entry PSM developments. On the other hand, one of the things they do get guid-ance on from the management level is that client/user satisfaction must have high priority. The same can be seen in the study among employed nurses and nursing assistants (Kjeldsen, 2012a), where one of the privately employed nurses stated that:

> As a nurse, you want to provide a good service, and when you have the time and resources, it just comes naturally. Of course we are also told at the staff meetings that the patients have to be satisfied; this is our entire means of existence (…) but it is also implicit that this is what you want to do (private nurse 3, hospital care).

However, the quote shows that satisfying the users is also perceived as a desirable purpose that these public service providers believe is already an internalized part of the nurse profession. This underlines that successful socialization requires that the values the organizations are trying to transfer to the newcomers are not too contradictory of the values that these individuals already have.

In sum, the quantitative and qualitative studies of how the PSM of primarily social workers and physiotherapists is affected by the public service delivering environments of their tasks and sectors have shown clear signs that some adaptation is going on. In line with the theoretical framework from Section 2.3.2, entering public sector employment seems to have a positive effect on the PSM profiles of newcomers but mainly in the sense that it prevents their PSM from declining as much as it could have been the case compared with private sector entrance. Concerning the environment of the public service delivering work task, service production or regulation and its potential for affecting PSM, this was found to be less obvious compared with (or perhaps rather because of) the strong attraction effects from Section 4.2 based on this distinction.

4.4 Attrition effects: Job satisfaction and turnover intention

Finally, the third theoretical proposition regarding dynamics of PSM in different public service jobs stated that individuals' job satisfaction and possible turnover (intention) will depend on an actually experienced fit between their PSM profiles and the sector environment of the organization and their public service work task. Drawing on work by especially Wright and Pandey (2008), Bright (2008), Steijn (2008) and Taylor (2008), the central claim is here that although all public service jobs can potentially support employee PSM, this does not mean that the employees actually experience such opportunities. Hence, employees' subjectively experienced fit between PSM and the public service delivering environment of their organizations and work tasks is expected to be a crucial moderator of positive PSM outcomes. More specifically, an experienced fit through attraction-selection and/or socialization is like-

ly to result in job satisfaction, whereas failure to achieve such is likely to result in intention to change job.

Concerning job satisfaction, two articles in the dissertation analyze this outcome in relation to PSM dynamics and different public service jobs. Through a cross-sectional survey study of 2,811 Danish public and private sector employees, analyses in 'Employment Sector and Job Satisfaction' (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming) show that both 'classic' (more collectively oriented) PSM and user orientation have positive relationships with employee job satisfaction controlled for employee public/private sector employment, personal characteristics and employees' salary. This indicates that having employees who are motivated to serve the interests of society and the individual recipients of the services can have positive individual-level outcomes in both public and private sector organizations. However, the analyses also show that while the strength of the relationship between employee PSM and job satisfaction did not vary between sectors, the user orientation/job satisfaction relationship was stronger for those employed in privately owned organizations. This corresponds well with results from 'Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012a) reported in Section 4.3. Furthermore, the relationships between PSM, user orientation and job satisfaction were found to vary systematically between employees' different occupations. Compared to the nurses (reference occupation in this study), the PSM/job satisfaction relationship was, for example, significantly weaker among school teachers, administrators (without a master degree), and IT personnel (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming: Table 2). In sum, the study shows that the relationships between motivation to do something good for others (defined as the specific users of the service) and society depend on both employment sector (i.e., where you do the job) and occupation (i.e., what you do in the job), but in more complex ways than anticipated since the PSM/job satisfaction relationship was (generally) not found to be stronger among public sector employees than among private sector employees.

The article 'International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction' (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming) moves on from this Danish study and examines pro-social motivation/job satisfaction relationships and their possible moderation by perceived person-job fit (experienced opportunity to actually help other people and contribute to society in one's current job) in 14 countries. Most notably, the study confirms the theoretical expectation that the relationships between PSM, user orientation and job satisfaction are moderated by perceived usefulness of the job for society and other people. In other words, those who experience that they can act on their pro-

social motivation in their jobs have higher job satisfaction than other employees. Moreover the study shows that across countries, public sector employees perceive their jobs to be more useful to society and to allow them to help others more than private sector employees (controlled for individual characteristics, work autonomy, and occupation), and this public-private difference in job usefulness is larger for employees in the Scandinavian welfare state regimes than for employees in Continental and Anglo-Saxon welfare state regimes. The institutional set-up for public service provision at the national level may thus also affect individuals' pro-social motivation/job satisfaction relationships. On the other hand, if public employees do not experience that they can actually do good for others and society in their jobs, then they have *lower* job satisfaction than private sector employees with similar levels of experienced job usefulness. By underlining the importance of a fit between individual motivation and work environment for harvesting positive effects of pro-social motivation on job satisfaction, this study can therefore also help explain why the Danish study in Andersen and Kjeldsen (forthcoming) does not find a significantly stronger relationship between PSM and job satisfaction in the public sector than in the private sector; it depends on a perceived fit. This is in line with the theoretical expectations from the person-environment fit theory as outlined in Section 2.3.3.

When we take a closer look at the importance of a fit between person and work environment, the dynamics of how it emerges, and what consequences it can have, Table 4.5 provides further insights from the qualitative panel study among Danish social workers. The table presents an overview of the match between the interviewed social workers' preferred public service jobs as final-year students in 2010 and their current jobs in 2011 (match through attraction-selection) in relation to their job satisfaction and their post-entry experiences of a fit between the work environment and their motivation to do good for others and society.

The qualitative content analysis in Table 4.5 firstly shows that those who have achieved a match between the job they opted for in 2010 and their actual job in 2011 generally have higher job satisfaction than those who did not have their sector and work task preferences fulfilled through attraction-selection. Social workers who have a match with their preferred job to a large extent attach their higher job satisfaction to positive experiences of being able to help others and contribute to society through their jobs; that is, they feel that they are able to act on their PSM and one of the only things that can sometimes threaten this experience is the high workload. They also describe that they have felt great support and guidance as newcomers in their organizations with respect to finding (alternative) solutions to various di-

Table 4.5: Overview of the interviewed social workers' match between preferred job in 2010 and current job in 2011, their job satisfaction and subjective fit experiences (N=16)

Match between preferred job and current job[a]	Number of interviewees	Job satisfaction (mean, scale 0-10)	Subjective fit experiences
Match with sector and work task	6	8.5	Feel that they make a positive difference for the clients and society
			Dilemmas between different service objectives are seen as a challenge
			The only downside of their jobs is the work pressure (IP1, IP11, IP12)
Match with sector but not work task	2	7.0	IP13: Actively seeking new employment with service production – mostly satisfied because of a higher pay than in similar jobs. Does not feel that she is able to do a decent job with the clients
			IP9: Not always able to help the clients the way she wants to – too many dilemmas. Very high person-organization fit and lots of support from colleagues and team manager helps her cope
Match with work task but not sector	0	0	
No match	5	5.8	All (except IP5) are considering or actively seeking new jobs
			Feel that they let the clients down – are not able to help them the way they want to for various reasons (primarily the character of the work task, but also lack of fiscal autonomy, high work pressure, bad work culture etc.) (IP14, IP15, IP16)
			IP7: High person-organization fit but low person-job fit: Comfortable with the work culture but too much people-processing tasks and too little people-changing
			IP5: Fights to keep her social, professional approach – feels that her role is not completely defined yet
Unable to determine[b]	3	8.7	IP17: Very satisfied – feels that her work makes a lot of sense. Alternative approaches are welcomed by managers
			Feels able to make a difference to the clients, although it is in small steps (IP3, IP19)
Total	16	7.4	

a. Attraction-selection match based on Table 4.2 and Table 4.3, Section 4.2.
b. IP3 had no clear task or sector preferences, IP17 and IP19 had preferences for public sector employment but no task preferences.

lemmas. In line with the results from Section 4.2 and 4.3, this supports the importance of both a successful attraction-selection process and organizational socialization for nurturing a fit between individuals' PSM profiles and their work environments.

The importance of post-entry experiences and adaptation to ensure a fit between the social workers' PSM profiles and their work environments is perhaps most clearly seen with respect to the interviewed social workers who did not have clear job preferences in 2010, but still have high levels of job satisfaction in 2011. The analysis points to two (related) reasons for this result. First, these social workers also experience a lot of autonomy and support in their way of handling the cases. Second, their lack of firm job preferences corresponding to their PSM seems to have made it easier for them to adapt. An example is IP17's experiences as a newcomer in a public sector service regulation job:

> It all happened a bit fast when I was hired. They needed me to take action right away, and I started with a very tough case, so it was just 'welcome to the world!' But I thought it was fantastic. I was very keen on starting to make a difference, and I have a manager who always backs me up and my colleagues are very supportive (IP17).

On the other hand, the analysis in Table 4.5 indicates that the majority of those who did not achieve a match with their job preference through attraction-selection feel unsatisfied and express turnover intentions. IP14, IP15 and IP16 all preferred to work with private sector service production and they are all currently employed in jobs with public sector service regulation. Hence, they do not experience that they can be the kind of social workers they want to be; most notably, they say that 'their heart is not in it'. Moreover, they do not feel that they have received support from managers and colleagues in coping with the character of their work tasks and the limitations in service regulation:

> Social learning has been very bad; in fact, there hasn't been any support at all. You just plunge right into it with 60 very ill citizens, and you don't know what to do, and there is nobody to ask (…) I'm really not okay with it [closing a case with a terminal cancer patient who receives sickness benefits, ed.], but I do it when I'm told to by my team manager, and then I encourage them [the clients, ed.] to file a complaint with the Social Appeals Board' (IP13).

IP13's statement furthermore illustrates that she tries to bypass the regulation of the services when she feels a mismatch between her PSM and a specific work task she has to perform. Likewise, IP15 says that she has contacted a

client's medical practitioner and tried to convince him to make a different (more severe) diagnosis of the client's health status so that IP15 could extend the client's sickness benefits instead of having to close the case. Exceptions to this pattern are IP5 and IP7, who experience a slightly higher fit between their PSM and the work environment. This is mostly because they felt very welcome as newcomers, although they are still struggling to find their roles in the organizations – and IP7 considers leaving. This suggests that a fit with the organization achieved through post-entry socialization can to some extent make up for a bad fit with the work tasks. Generally, the qualitative analysis among the interviewed social workers has thus supported the importance of a fit between PSM and the work environment of different public service jobs for employee job satisfaction and retention – although the analysis has also indicated that other factors such as the workload plays a role.

Moving on to the quantitative part of the social worker panel study, Table 4.6 shows multivariate regression analyses of the social workers' job satisfaction and turnover intentions[23] including more general measures of person-organization fit and person-job fit than the PSM-job fit measure used in Kjeldsen and Andersen (forthcoming). With respect to job satisfaction, the results in Table 4.6 show that controlled for individual characteristics, public/private employment sector and public service work task, the two most important and significant predictors of the social workers' job satisfaction are experienced person-organization fit and person-job fit with their work environments (Model 2a). The same is the case with the analysis of the social workers' turnover intention – although here only experienced person-organization fit is significantly associated with social workers' wish to stay in their public service delivering jobs (Model 2b). However, it cannot be confirmed in this study that the fit experiences serve as moderators of possible PSM/job satisfaction and PSM/turnover intention relationships (model 3a and 3b).

These results suggest that especially the experience of a match with the values of one's organization is important for the satisfaction and retention of public service providers. This is in line with the results from the qualitative analyses pointing to the importance of organizational support from colleagues and managers in order to feel comfortable with the job (and in

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23 Cf. Section 3.2.4 these variables are measured on 0-10 scales with 10 as the highest possible job satisfaction and intent to change job. The bivariate correlation between these two outcome variables is -0.596 (p<0.001). Because job satisfaction is skewed to the left (mean job satisfaction is 8.13), I use multilevel tobit regression for this analysis, whereas the analysis of turnover intention uses standard OLS regression as statistical technique.

many instances this is more important than the task in itself). Contrary to the results in 'International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction' (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming) the quantitative social worker study does not link this fit to experienced opportunity to outlive one's PSM in the work environment of the job.[24] This is probably due to the relatively low number of respondents in the social worker study, which also means that the analysis lacks the power to (conversely) accept the null hypothesis stating that person-organization fit and person-job fit do not work as moderators of the PSM/job satisfaction and PSM/turnover intention relationships. Linking back to the results from the analysis of social workers' PSM-based attraction effects, where the environment of the work task played a predominant role compared with the sector organizational environment (Section 4.2), the most robust and strongest result from Table 4.5 is thus that the organization's environment seems to matter more for attrition effects

In the physiotherapist study's panel with employed personnel, it is possible to examine the relationship between employee PSM (measured in 2009 at t_0) and actual sector switches from the public to the private sector from 2009-2011 (and conversely from the private to the public sector). Table 4.7 shows the results from a logistic regression analysis of these relationships. With respect to a switch from a publicly owned to a privately owned organization, the analysis shows that only the policy making PSM explains this change of job; physiotherapists with higher levels of policy making PSM are inclined to switch from the public to the private sector. Furthermore, those who value job security are less likely to have made this sector switch. Correspondingly, in the second half of Table 4.7, which analyzes the sector switches from the private to the public sector, we see that physiotherapists who value job security have opted for public sector employment whereas those with less value on receiving a high salary and many years in the private sector are less likely to have switched to the public sector. Finally, Table 4.7 shows that older physiotherapists are generally less likely to have made a sector switch from 2009-2011.

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24 The analyses in Table 4.5 use a formative measure of PSM consisting of the dimensions Public Interest, Compassion, and Policy Making. Analyses with the separate PSM dimensions do not change the results substantively. The only exception is that social workers with high levels of policy making PSM, who experience a person-organization fit, are more satisfied ($p<0.032$). Three-way interactions between PSM, person-organization fit and sector and PSM, person-job fit and work task have also been included, but they were non-significant. Hence, a more parsimonious version of Table 4.5 is displayed.

Table 4.6: Regression analyses of social workers' job satisfaction and turnover intentions, 2011

	Tobit regression of job satisfaction				OLS regression of turnover intention			
	Bivariate	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Bivariate	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b
Gender (1 = female)	-0.265	-0.888	-0.996	-0.988	-0.733	-0.637	-0.643	-0.244
	(0.904)	(0.930)	(0.551)	(0.550)	(1.712)	(1.861)	(1.424)	(1.449)
Age_{2011} (years)	-0.038	-0.039	0.009	0.008	0.020	-0.006	-0.090*	-0.074
	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.047)	(0.056)	(0.043)	(0.044)
PSM_{2011} (0-100)	-0.005	0.004	-0.007	-0.014	0.003	0.011	0.028	-0.127
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.043)	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.032)	(0.111)
Employment sector $_{2011}$ (1 = public sector)	-1.518	-1.132	-0.790	-0.753	0.489	-0.947	-1.808	-2.016
	(0.886)	(1.014)	(0.621)	(0.612)	(1.710)	(2.030)	(1.605)	(1.611)
Work task$_{2011}$ (5 = service regulation)	-0.301	-0.140	0.015	0.022	0.501	0.564	0.330	0.330
	(0.173)	(0.200)	(0.118)	(0.116)	(0.330)	(0.400)	(0.305)	(0.305)
Person-org. fit (0-100)	0.079***		0.059***	0.119*	-0.119***		-0.107***	-0.219
	(0.007)		(0.009)	(0.050)	(0.017)		(0.024)	(0.130)
Person-job fit (0-100)	0.065***		0.032***	-0.034	-0.102***		-0.038	-0.104
	(0.009)		(0.009)	(0.044)	(0.017)		(0.022)	(0.115)
PSM*PO-fit				-0.0008				0.0015
				(0.001)				(0.002)
PSM*PJ-fit				0.0009				0.0008
				(0.001)				(0.002)
Intercept		11.56***	4.002**	4.429		5.193	17.94***	28.60***
		(1.981)	(1.366)	(3.133)		(3.956)	(3.522)	(8.086)
Sigma		1.885***	1.100***	1.080***				
		(0.159)	(0.092)	(0.091)				
R^2/Pseudo R^2		0.020	0.275	0.284		0.031	0.464	0.481
N		77	77	77		77	77	77

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (standard errors in parentheses).

Table 4.7: Logistic regression analysis of sector switches among employed physiotherapists (2009-2011)

Predictor	Switching from public to private sector (public keepers is reference category)			Switching from private to public sector (private keepers is reference category)		
	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b
Gender (1 = male)	0.230	4.592**	4.805**	-0.542**	-0.157	-1.004
	(0.518)	(0.024)	(0.020)	(0.041)	(0.890)	(0.423)
Age in 2009 (years)	-0.087***	-0.074***	-0.052	-0.090***	-0.087***	0.005
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.171)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.845)
Public interest (0-100)	0.014	0.014	0.015	-0.009	-0.010	-0.015
	(0.212)	(0.209)	(0.197)	(0.275)	(0.269)	(0.121)
Compassion (0-100)	-0.008	-0.006	-0.006	-0.004	-0.004	0.000
	(0.420)	(0.552)	(0.541)	(0.624)	(0.635)	(0.941)
Policy making (0-100)	0.018**	0.018**	0.017**	-0.004	-0.004	-0.003
	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.491)	(0.503)	(0.634)
Other work preferences:						
Job security	-0.337**	-0.365**	-0.360**	0.201*	0.200*	0.083
	(0.037)	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.096)	(0.097)	(0.529)
High salary	0.123	0.121	0.102	-0.278*	-0.276*	-0.282*
	(0.522)	(0.531)	(0.593)	(0.067)	(0.069)	(0.086)
Interaction: Male *Age		-0.137**	-0.144**		-0.012	0.017
		(0.038)	(0.032)		(0.729)	(0.650)
Organizational tenure (years):						
Private sector			0.056			-0.329***
			(0.142)			(0.000)
Public sector			-0.038			-0.029
			(0.347)			(0.362)
Constant	-1.008	-0.686	-1.203	3.465	3.384	1.697
Likelihood χ²	44.466***	54.163***	58.318***	83.356***	83.479***	134.712***
Nagelknerke Pseudo R²	0.113	0.126	0.136	0.218	0.219	0.353
N	1,294	1,294	1,290	554	554	538

Note: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01, B coefficients reported, p-values in parentheses.

The result that policy making is the only type of PSM directly linked to turnover – and not least turnover from the public to the private sector resembles the finding from the study of publicly and privately employed nurses and nursing assistants in Kjeldsen (2012a: 65). Here the qualitative analysis indicated that the privately employed nurses experience better opportunities to act on their policy making PSM in terms of getting through with suggestions for improved public service delivery than their publicly employed peers. A likely explanation for this somewhat surprising result (which I already pointed to in Section 4.3) is the smaller organizations and fewer hierarchical levels in most Danish privately owned public service providing organizations compared with the publicly owned organizations (Kjeldsen, 2012a: 67). The same is probably the case with respect to the result that service producing social workers experience a larger increase in policy making PSM than those employed with service regulation; jobs with mainly service production are typically also more often found in smaller organizations (Kjeldsen, 2012c). With this more narrow understanding of policy making, which is very much linked to participation in political and managerial processes at the service providers' workplaces, the formal structure of the organization thus seems to play a role for the employees' possibilities to outlive this type of PSM. In sum, both the structure of the public service delivering organizations and their values need to match the PSM of the individual public service providers before job satisfaction and retention of the employees is achieved.

Chapter 5
Concluding discussion

Understanding the motivation of public service providers is crucial for how we structure and manage public service provision. This dissertation has focused on a particular type of work motivation among public service providers, namely public service motivation and its emergence and development in different work settings. Several studies in the international PSM literature have confirmed the prevalence and importance of this type of work motivation in public service provision, but there has been a lack of studies that distinguish between its emergence as a result of attraction-selection-attrition or socialization effects and jointly consider the influence of employment sector and different public service work tasks for these dynamics. Addressing these gaps, the dissertation has shown that public service organizations play an active role in affecting the motivational profiles of their employees with important consequences for daily work attitudes and attrition. In contrast, attraction-selection effects were found to be less obviously tied to organizations in different employment sectors, but important differences in these PSM dynamics were associated with the choice of different public service work tasks. This suggests revisions of classic PSM theory and provides managers and politicians with important insights of how to better utilize employee PSM.

This chapter first concludes on the empirical analyses of PSM dynamics. Second, it outlines and discusses the theoretical implications of these findings and considers the generalizability of the findings and the limitations of the dissertation's analytical framework and design. Fourth and finally, it discusses the advantages and pitfalls of employee PSM in terms of the dissertation's practical implications for managers and politicians alike.

5.1 Dynamics of public service motivation

The empirical analyses of PSM dynamics have been guided by three general propositions which highlighted that PSM attraction-selection, socialization and attrition effects are expected to center on the achievement of a match between individuals' PSM profiles and the work environment – and more specifically, the public/private ownership of the organization and the service production/regulation character of the public service work. This has been examined using a range of qualitative interview data and quantitative survey data with special focus on two panel studies with pre-entry and post-

entry measures of PSM among certified Danish social workers and physio-therapists.

With respect to PSM-based attraction-selection effects, the analyses showed that the public/private ownership of a public service-providing organization only plays a minor role for the employment preferences of social workers and physiotherapists (Kjeldsen, 2012b, 2012c; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming). In single-profession studies with individuals who can perform very similar tasks across the public/private sectors, PSM-based attraction-selection effects instead seem to be a matter of service/task rather than sector. This was clearly shown among the social workers as their different PSM profiles proved to be systematically linked to preferences for service production and service regulation work (controlled for public/private organizational ownership preference). A PSM profile with more emphasis on compassion corresponds with a wish to work with service production, whereas a PSM profile with more emphasis on serving the public interest and participating in public policy making is associated with a preference for working with service regulation (Kjeldsen, 2012b, 2012c). Since the analyses also showed that these different PSM profiles and work tasks can be associated with very different conceptions of what 'something good for others and society' means (Andersen et al., forthcoming a and b), this has important implications for recruitment into and the performance of these services.

However, besides resting on an expected fit between individuals' PSM profiles and the work environment, the examined public service job decision processes were found to be very complex. Factors such as the target group of the public service, pay, job security, and opportunities for professional development also play important roles (cf. Section 4.2, Section 4.4, and Kjeldsen, 2012b). Although the analyses showed that the social workers and physiotherapists tend to actually become employed in their preferred sectors and with their preferred public service tasks, PSM is far from alone in predicting this (Kjeldsen, 2012c; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming). Furthermore, an important sorting mechanism for employment with public service work based on individuals' different PSM profiles seems to take place upon and during higher education rather than upon labor market entry (Kjeldsen, forthcoming).

On the other hand, analyses of the closely intertwined dynamics of PSM-based attrition effects, job satisfaction and turnover intention, indicated that this depends on a fit between PSM and the work environments of both one's specific job and especially the public/private ownership of the organization (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming; Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming). Those with PSM who experience that they can actually help others and con-

tribute to society in their current jobs are more satisfied. Across Scandinavian, Continental, and Anglo-Saxon welfare-state regimes, this is more often the case for the publicly employed than for the privately employed (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming). In contrast, lack of opportunities to act pro-socially in the job is associated with lower job satisfaction, and when this opportunity and occupation is controlled for, employees in publicly owned organizations actually have significantly lower job satisfaction than their private sector peers (ibid.). More specifically, additional analyses in Section 4.4 thus showed that a lacking match with the values of the organization means more for the social workers' job satisfaction and turnover intentions than a match with the work task. But if we look at the physiotherapists and their actual sector switches from 2009-2011, other factors such as job security in the public sector and tenure in the private sector also play important roles.

Overall, the dissertation's attrition analyses thus show that the environments of both sector and work task/occupation are important elements in keeping public service motivated employees satisfied. But how is a fit with these work environments established? Some employees achieve a fit through attraction-selection, but as mentioned this is a complex affair and sometimes it is not possible to get the preferred job. This dissertation is the first attempt to open the 'black box' of PSM socialization by comparing pre- and post-entry measures of the same individuals and thereby examine whether the fit is also a result of adaptation processes. The most striking result is here that the public service providers' PSM drops significantly when they enter the labor market – especially their compassion PSM (Kjeldsen, 2012c; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming). This is interpreted as a reality shock. Yet, this drop is less pronounced for those who enter a public service job in a publicly owned organization compared to entering a privately owned organization and there are also variations depending on the character of the task and whether we look at the results from the physiotherapist or the social worker study. Interestingly, the social workers' public interest PSM was thus unchanged and their policy making PSM actually seemed to increase. Additional analyses in Section 4.3 thus indicated that besides achievement of a fit through attraction-selection, organizational socialization by peers and managers to deal with the public service-providing context and perhaps find alternative ways helping others and society is crucial for the social workers' experience of a fit; if these processes fail, a decision to quit is a likely outcome.

5.2 Theoretical implications for public service motivation research

The dissertation's theoretical arguments and analyses contribute in several ways to the existing literature on PSM and the motivation of public service providers in general. The main contribution of the dissertation is the modeling of expected PSM-based attraction-selection, socialization and attrition effects depending on the work environments of both public/private employment sector and different public service work tasks. Importantly, this includes the use of person-environment fit theory to explain how these dynamics unfold in relation to the two domains of the work environment and also the larger institutional setup of public service provision (i.e., different types of welfare-state regimes). During the past few years, some studies within the PSM literature have worked along the same lines as this theoretical model. This includes Steijn (2008) and Taylor (2008), who have shown that employees with a fit between their PSM and the work environment are more satisfied, more committed, and less inclined to leave their jobs, and Wright and Christensen (2010), who have shown that PSM can predict individuals' employment sector. However, these studies only focus on sector-related PSM dynamics and attraction-selection-attrition effects. The dissertation to some extent corroborates their findings, but adds important insights.

The most important new insight concerns the socialization effect. Previous PSM research has pointed to the possible existence of this mechanism for creating sector differences in PSM (Brewer 2008; Moynihan & Pandey 2007; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008), yet none have explicitly tested the proposition. The dissertation has shown that post-entry experiences in public sector organizations do indeed have positive effects on the PSM profiles of Danish health and social service providers but in much more complex ways than anticipated (Kjeldsen 2012a, 2012c; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming). This suggests that socialization effects should be incorporated into PSM theory with equal status for explaining employees' different PSM profiles in different work contexts alongside the more investigated attraction effect proposed by Perry and Wise (1990). Furthermore, since the results also showed that individuals' PSM is likely to face a reality shock upon entrance in a public service-providing job, tenure is an important factor when we examine such relationships. Still, the PSM socialization effects detected in the dissertation need validation in more areas of public service provision.

The dissertation's focus on different types of public service work (besides the public/private sector distinction) also makes an important contribution to

the PSM literature. The finding of systematically different PSM-based attraction (and to some extent socialization and attrition) effects across sectors according to different public service work tasks confirms that PSM is also a matter of 'what you do' and that PSM can certainly also be prevalent among private sector employees. This means that previous studies of sector differences in PSM (e.g., Gabris & Simo 1995; Jurkiewicz 1998; Rainey 1982; Steijn 2008) might have reached other conclusions if they had included a control for type of work. Hence, future studies should take the character of the work task into account when investigating PSM dynamics. Neither public nor private sector organizations are uniform work environments, and this dissertation has pointed to important differences comparing service production and regulation (Andersen et al., forthcoming a; Kjeldsen 2012b, 2012c), public and non-public services (Kjeldsen, forthcoming), different occupations (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming; Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming) and occupational groups with varying degrees of professionalism (Kjeldsen, 2012a). Most notably, the theoretical distinction between service production and service regulation is a contribution that can be used both within and between services and professions. Again, this contribution should be validated in other work contexts than among Danish public sector managers and certified social workers. When doing this, the dissertation has shown that it is also important to take the target group of the services into account since some societal groups such as socially disadvantaged children vs. unemployed are seen as needier and/or more interesting work, which affects these dynamics of employee PSM (additional analyses in Section 4.2 and Kjeldsen, 2012b).

Besides these theoretical implications related to dynamics of PSM, the dissertation has made several contributions to the conceptualization of PSM. First, theoretical overlaps between the literatures on public values and PSM have been discussed, and the empirical results from 'Public Values and Public Service Motivation' (Andersen et al., forthcoming b) showed that although the public interest dimension is positively correlated with most of the examined public values dimensions, there are theoretically as well as empirically sound reasons for keeping the concepts analytically distinct. The compassion and policy making dimensions relate to very different public values such as user focus vs. budget keeping, whereas the self-sacrifice dimension seems unrelated to any of the investigated public values. This implies that highly public service-motivated employees may work towards very different conceptions of what the desirable in public service is depending on their PSM profiles. Hence, studies of especially PSM and performance should bear this in mind. I will get back to this in the final section of this chapter. Still, the results with respect to the public interest dimension support the avenue laid out

by Kim and Vandenabeele (2010) and Kim et al. (forthcoming), who re-specify this dimension as 'commitment to public values'. This dissertation offers valuable insights into this effort by pointing out the public values (accountability and public insight, rule abidance, professionalism, and efficient supply values) that could most validly be incorporated in such a conceptualization.

The second conceptual contribution concerns the understanding of PSM's as a specific type of pro-social work motivation. Drawing on broader literatures on employee motivation within the social sciences, the dissertation's theoretical discussions argued that PSM is neither purely extrinsic nor purely intrinsic. The results from 'Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector' (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming), 'Employment Sector and Job Satisfaction' (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming), and additional analyses in Section 4.2-4.4 indicated that PSM can exist alongside intrinsic motivators such as the comfort of having good relationships with peers/managers and extrinsic motivators such as pay and job security. Furthermore, the qualitative interviews have yielded insights into how these motivations can relate to different choices of public service delivery work. This supports the viewpoint that individuals' work motivation is mixed; individuals can hold intrinsic, extrinsic, and pro-social objectives of engaging in public service delivery at the same time and none of them single-handedly explain individuals' attraction-selection and attrition. In this dissertation, I focus on PSM dynamics in different work contexts, whereas the comparison with other types of work motivation has played a minor role. Still, the articles including other types of work motivation support the justification of PSM as an important type of work motivation in studies of public service provision. Much more can be done, however, with respect to the interplay between different types of work motivation, for example by drawing on insights from motivation crowding theory (Frey, 1997).

A third conceptual contribution concerns the emphasis on PSM as not necessarily presuming motivation to act in a self-sacrificing manner. The result that self-sacrifice is unrelated to any of the investigated public values points to this dimension as the one most 'purely' linked to a general altruistic motivation that does not provide any direction of what the desirable is in the delivery of public services (Andersen et al., forthcoming b). This could support Kim and Vandenabeele's (2010) notion that self-sacrifice should be viewed as the foundation on which the other PSM dimensions rest. On the other hand, it could also support the theoretical notion from Section 2.1.5 that PSM need not involve self-sacrifice as a prerequisite for expressing this pro-social motivation. When we study PSM in a work context (which I have argued is a

central premise – otherwise we might just lean on social psychologists' studies of altruistic motivation in general, cf. Batson & Shaw, 1991), the examined employees are motivated to use varying degrees of time and effort to perform their work and in return they always receive a certain amount of material, psychological and/or social rewards. Hence, motivation to do something good for others and society through public service does not necessarily involve a sacrifice (although I by no means deny that in some situations it can be an important part of a public service provider's pro-social motivational utility function, Vandenabeele & Kjeldsen, 2011).

Fourth, the dissertation has conceptualized PSM as being possibly directed towards different levels of recipient specificity: from society to specific users of the services. Alongside Brewer et al. (2000), who distinguished between public service providers as Samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians according to whether their public service motivation targeted (individual) others, the community, the nation, or a larger society this can help explain why individuals with similar PSM levels still differ – something that other social science disciplines studying altruism and pro-social motivation have had difficulties with (cf. Koehler & Rainey 2008, referred to in Chapter 1). The empirical analyses confirmed that public and private sector personnel direct their motivation towards the users of the services as well as a larger society with positive consequences for their job satisfaction (Andersen & Kjeldsen, forthcoming; Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming; Kjeldsen 2012a). However, since the analyses also indicated that employees' user-oriented motivation plays a larger role for both attraction, socialization and attrition dynamics in privately owned organizations, I suggest that it is kept analytically separate from a more collective understanding of 'doing something good for others and society'. As it was most clearly shown in the interviews with nurses and nursing assistants in 'Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation' (Kjeldsen, 2012a), doing good for others understood in a narrow sense as specific patients/elderly citizens is to some extent already captured by the compassion aspect of PSM. In comparison, the parts of this motivation that do not rest on affective motives appear to be more rational and self-interested; at a privately owned hospital it is important to keep patients satisfied to profit – also if this means compromising with societal interests such as spending time and effort on preventive health care. Since this is clearly at odds with understanding the pro-social nature of PSM, I depart from Vandenabeele (2008a) and Andersen et al. (2011) and suggest treating user orientation as a separate type of work motivation that can be expressed in public service delivery.

In sum, the dissertation has contributed to the modeling of PSM dynamics in different work contexts and to the theoretical conceptualization of PSM. This concerns both its associations with related concepts such as public values and intrinsic/extrinsic motivation, and clarification of its different dimensions. I now move on to discuss the fruitfulness of the dissertation's analytical framework for explaining PSM dynamics and the validity of the empirical results.

5.3 Evaluation of the analytical framework and generalizability of results

The focus on fulfillment of PSM through the work context of both sector and work task to explain attraction-selection, socialization and attrition in public service delivery does not mean that other types of work motivation and domains for establishing a person-environment fit should be overlooked. The analyses have shown that the individual public service job choice process is a complex affair. Factors such as the target group of the public service (like cancer patients compared with sports injury patients or drug abusers compared with unemployed citizens), job security, pay, social relationships with peers, possibilities for professional development and further training, and workload also play important roles for individual attraction and attrition. Whenever possible, I have taken the variation in PSM development and job satisfaction/turnover intention due to this mix of explanatory factors into account – either through statistical control and/or through case selection.

Furthermore, Kristof-Brown (1996) has pointed towards the possible importance of other domains such as the vocation, work group and supervisor for establishing a fit between employees' personal attitudes and the work environment (see Section 2.3.1). This dissertation has primarily focused on the domains of work task and organization. In addition, the vocation has been included via the distinction between different professions/occupations. However, the qualitative approach has revealed that especially during the socialization stage, the character of the social interactions (frequency and quality) between employee and the work group and team manager is also important for whether a fit between PSM and work environment is established (cf. the additional analyses in Section 4.3). I will return to the practical implications of this below. Meanwhile, future studies could usefully consider including these domains in their analytical models for explaining post-entry PSM shifts and job satisfaction.

Last but not least, the analyses have indicated that other institutional context variables such as an organization's hierarchical setup (organizational size and number of hierarchical levels from employee to top management) can have a negative impact on whether the employees experience that they can act on (especially) their policy making PSM (Section 4.4 and Kjeldsen, 2012a). More direct studies of possible relationships between different organizational structures and employees' PSM profiles would thus be interesting. Moynihan & Pandey (2007) have already looked into this in a study of public managers' PSM, while my studies show that different organizational structures could also be used to explain sector and occupational differences in PSM development among frontline employees.

Despite the identification of this variety of other contextual and individual-level factors for explaining PSM dynamics and the labor market behavior of public service providers, the analytical framework resting on person-environment fit theory and with primary focus on the role of work task and sector is still considered to have been a very fruitful choice for gaining further insights into the complex nature of PSM emergence and development. The research design with both pre- and post-entry PSM measures in single profession case studies has been very unique and innovative in its attempt to handle the endogeneity problem of separating attraction-selection from socialization. The design has also ensured that a number of third variables have been kept approximately constant (e.g., the influence of general labor market conditions). As such, the aim of the analytical framework and research design has first and foremost been to prioritize internal validity and generalize theoretically rather than empirically. The time-span between the two rounds of panel data is 1-2 years, which in line with previous studies in the social sciences (Cooper-Thomas et al., 2004: 53; Oberfield, 2010; Wanous, 1992: 189) has proved to be an important period for detecting PSM developments upon labor market entrance. Nonetheless, more rounds of panel data (and among other professions) would be very interesting in terms of examining long-term consequences of successful PSM socialization (or the opposite). Will the 'reality shock' and corresponding drop in PSM continue? Or is a new and more stable level of PSM established?

Since the panel survey studies have targeted the entire populations of Danish physiotherapists and social worker students (class from 2010) and because all the interviewees (to the widest extent possible) have been randomly selected, attention to the external validity of the dissertation's findings has, however, not been thwarted. Moreover, other cross-sectional survey and interview data including a wide range of work tasks and professions also assume important roles in the dissertation. Using these different data, the main

results with respect to the importance of a fit between individuals' PSM and the work environments of sector and task are largely consistent. When we consider expanding the results to other areas of public service than the investigated health and social services it is, however, also important to note whether it is public service delivery that can be distinguished from public sector delivery. The dissertation has used rather narrow definitions of both concepts in order to isolate the impact of the work task and sector environments for PSM dynamics. Remarkably, the results still show considerable and interesting differences in PSM despite this conservative setup. Including more diverse forms of organizing public service delivery such as the non-profit sector could perhaps have implied more striking differences in PSM dynamics, but this would most likely have violated the criteria of comparable work tasks across sectors – at least in a Danish context. Furthermore, it is important to be aware that the professions used for in-depth interview and panel studies in this dissertation all have physical contact with the users of the services and they (almost) all belong to the semi-professional occupational groups (i.e., they have a medium level of specialized, theoretical knowledge and firmness of intra-occupational norms, Andersen, 2005; Etzioni, 1969). Since the analyses in Kjeldsen (2012a) indicated that there might be less sector variation in PSM among the publicly and privately employed nurses than among the lower professionalized nursing assistants, it is likely that this variation will be even smaller among higher professionalized occupational groups such as physicians or dentists (Andersen, 2009; Andersen & Pedersen, 2012).

Finally, with respect to the external validity of the results in institutional contexts outside the Danish, the theoretical framework and arguments rest heavily on the international PSM literature and they have not been developed specifically with Danish public service provision in mind. Danish public service provision is, however, very comprehensive and the vast majority of public services are delivered in publicly owned organizations. This implies that it is relatively more likely to find a Danish public sector job that satisfies one's need for exercising PSM compared with the structuring of public service provision in countries with Continental welfare state regimes and Anglo-Saxon welfare state regimes. This is partly tested and confirmed in the paper 'International Differences in Pro-social Motivation and Job Satisfaction' (Kjeldsen & Andersen, forthcoming). Therefore, one should be cautious with expanding the results to other countries than the Scandinavian. Still, many of the dissertation's results resemble those of previous studies in the U.S. This includes PSM's lack of explanatory power in predicting actual sector of employment (e.g., Lewis & Frank, 2002; Wright and Christensen, 2010) and the qualitative descriptions of the social workers' values and motivation (e.g.,

Blau, 1960; Dias & Maynard-Moody, 2007; Oberfield, 2010). Specific issues of external validity depending on the different types of data are discussed more thoroughly in the dissertation's articles.

5.4 Advantages and pitfalls of having public service-motivated employees

Besides contributing to the existing research on PSM, an important purpose of this dissertation is finally to consider how the results on PSM dynamics contribute to issues of interest to managers of public service-providing employees and politicians deciding on the structure of public service provision. In other words, what are the practical implications of the dissertation's results? Does knowledge and advantage of dynamics of employee PSM constitute a hidden potential in public service provision? And which pitfalls can prevent the harvesting of such benefits?

Recent years' flourishing research in PSM has been about finding new ways to handle the challenge of keeping public service providers motivated to perform cost-effective and high quality services. Researchers have proposed that the motivation of public service providers should be seen as a means to limit agency problems rather than treated as a source of these (Gailmard 2010; Moynihan 2010). Problems of adverse selection and moral hazard, where public service providers shirk instead of work for the public, can possibly be limited by having public service-motivated employees. They understand the mission of public service provision and when they experience that this is fulfilled in their jobs, it gives them with a feeling of achievement and compensation for their effort. Hence, hiring public service-motivated individuals allows public service-delivering organizations to 'staff themselves with dedicated, talented individuals at lower cost than they would be able to if PSM did not exist' (Gailmard, 2010: 39).

Some of the studies in the dissertation indicate that such advantages of public service motivated individuals are perhaps doable. For example, some nurses describe how they spend extra time and effort on preventive health care (e.g., giving patients information on non-smoking courses when they are hospitalized for a hip operation), nursing assistants who say that they pay attention to excessive use of disposable equipment, and social workers who state that they are very engaged in finding alternative solutions to improve public service delivery within the tight budgetary restrictions (analyses in Section 4.3 and Kjeldsen, 2012a). If such advantageous behaviors are in fact real, then public service-motivated employees are also suited for limiting

free-rider problems (Francois & Vlassopoulos, 2008: 26). This is the case when the employees care about the level of service provided, and their rewards for exerting effort with respect to this also hinge on their own contribution to the project; in other words, this the case when we are dealing with act-relevant knights (Le Grand, 2003: 361). An example from the dissertation is precisely the social workers (and health personnel) with high levels of policy making PSM who describe that they put forward ideas for improved service delivery and volunteer to sit on committees on service improvement projects. This likely saves public service organizations some costs of, for example, expertise development.

The results from the dissertation have shown, however, that these potential advantages of public service-motivated employees are not only utilized through ex ante attraction-selection processes into public service-providing jobs and organizations – they are also (or even rather) promoted when individuals select into public service-related professions (Kjeldsen, forthcoming), and while they are employed in the public service organizations (Kjeldsen, 2012c; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, forthcoming). In the social worker study, we saw that peer discussions and supervision from team managers on how to handle value and resource dilemmas are crucial factors for PSM socialization processes to take place as this helps the employees see through the often very complex situations and setups for public service provision so that they feel they can still help others and contribute to society despite the sometimes suboptimal circumstances (analyses in Section 4.3). In a study of values management, Paarlberg and Perry (2006) arrive at similar results after studying implementation of values systems in eight work units at a Department of Defense installation. Moreover, they show that organizations cannot influence the values and motivation of employees by formal presentations, top-down processes of creating new 'visions' and 'missions' and distribution of 'laminated cards'. Paradoxically, this is often how management tries to align strategic values of the organization with employee motivation and behavior. Such instrumental attempts to enhance employee PSM is at odds with the ethos- and public values-laden nature of PSM and can produce completely opposite effects than intended. Employees will sense that their PSM is not promoted for its (moral) value, but rather as an instrument to achieve performance. This may cause frustration and reduce motivation – especially if the values promoted are not within the employees' zone of existing values (Paarlberg & Perry, 2006; Paarlberg et al., 2008; Steen & Rutgers, 2011).

But is employee PSM always a positive thing which public service organizations should strive to enhance? The dissertation has concentrated on identifying and explaining dynamics of PSM in relation to job choice and its ef-

fects on work attitudes such as job satisfaction and turnover intention. But it is also relevant to ask whether PSM translates into desirable behaviors towards users and citizens. If this is not the case, then the PSM of public service providers might be of less concern. Although employee behavior towards service recipients has not been the main focus of the dissertation, the qualitative approach has provided rich descriptions of employee self-reported behavior. As already mentioned, the interviewed public service providers have given many examples of how they believe that they exert effort to benefit others and society and in general the dissertation's results clearly contest that their motivation and behaviors are just 'a myth of service altruism' (Lipsky, 1980: 71 referred in Chapter 1). However, the dissertation's analyses have also shown that many other (more extrinsic) motives and objectives are at play, and the interviewees give examples of cases where their PSM has – according to them – caused them to make some choices that contradict rules and priorities of their principals, which can be deemed costly to the larger public. In that case PSM is not a hidden potential but rather a hidden cost, which can be advanced as a critique of the PSM literature since it rarely directs attention to such downsides.

Most clearly, this has been illustrated in relation to the service providers' compassion PSM and user orientation where some of the nursing assistants say that they provide extra services to the patients/elderly citizens with whom they identify and feel are in a particularly unjust situation (or oppositely fail to provide certain services to those they feel do little to improve their own situation) (Kjeldsen, 2012a). The same goes for the social workers who say that they bend the rules (typically in relation to extensions of sickness benefits) if they do not feel that they within the framework of the service and budgets are able to provide the type and level of service they think is needed (analyses in Section 4.4). This indicates that employees with high PSM levels do not necessarily direct their effort toward the objectives decided upon by democratically elected politicians, but rather towards goals which they from a professional or personal standpoint consider desirable (also cf. Andersen et al., forthcoming b). Besides illustrating the tension between different values in public service provision, this shows that public service providers have issue-specific motivation (Brem & Gates, 1997; Maesschalck et al., 2008), which can be a pitfall when many highly public service-motivated (and likeminded) employees are recruited. Linking to the broader public administration literature on street-level bureaucrats, PSM is only one element in the search for a better understanding of the motivation and actions of individual public service providers. To fully explain the variety of behaviors in public service provision (which I have had no intention of doing here), inclu-

sion of factors such as the individual employees' knowledge, skills/abilities, other types of motivation and contextual structures and limitations is thus also warranted (Nielsen, 2011: 351).

Given that employee motivation is mixed, difficulties with utilizing employee PSM for the 'right' purposes could be an argument for trying to target the more extrinsic motivations that public service providers also hold. Relying on traditional bureaucracy an answer could be more monitoring and sanctioning or, inspired by New Public Management, more performance contracts (maybe supported by performance-related pay) to make employees work in line with the desired outcome. This is, however, a much more costly solution with its own type of pitfalls in terms of incomplete contracts and the risk of crowding out the more autonomous motivations such as intrinsic task motivation and PSM (Frey, 1997; Jacobsen, 2012; Moynihan, 2008). Hence, the market model of public service provision cannot stand alone. Instead, I recommend taking better advantage of employee PSM in terms of either supporting it with appropriate socialization tactics as described above or recruitment based on employee PSM profiles that match the desired means and purposes of the job. In line with a point made by Prendergast (2007), an example of this strategy is to make sure that social workers hired for service regulation jobs are in tune with the political objectives and legal framework of such services (rather than selecting those with a strong intrinsic interest in the caring and empathic sides of the job). Another strategy, which deals more specifically with the importance of feeling that the job is useful to society and helps others, is to make sure that the positive consequences of service delivery are visible to the employees – both at the individual level and with respect to larger and more long-term societal consequences. Employees have to feel that their work is meaningful.

Finally a third strategy for utilizing employee PSM and avoiding some of the pitfalls is to deal with it through the institutional structuring of public service provision. Especially the publicly employed nurses and nursing assistants described how their desire and willingness to act pro-socially and exert effort to help others and contribute to society relate to their knowledge that it benefits the public (rather than a private residual claimant) (Kjeldsen, 2012a). This speaks in favor of keeping government-ordered services delivered by publicly owned organizations (see also Francois, 2000; Francois & Vlassopoulos, 2008). In privately owned service delivery organizations, the reality shock experienced by the health and social service personnel is more pronounced, but this seems to be counterbalanced (to some extent) by smaller organizations where, for example, policy making PSM at the local level is better nurtured and because of better opportunities to care for the users at

the one-on-one individual level (analyses in Section 4.4 and Kjeldsen, 2012a). Whether the potential gains from employee PSM can be utilized thus hinges on the purpose of the service and whether it is explicitly linked to the job performed by the individual employee. Public service-motivated employees are not necessarily an advantage to any organization and objectives of public service provision are notoriously multi-faceted. Given these challenges, a first step is to advance the knowledge of individuals' different PSM profiles associated with attraction-selection, socialization and attrition in different public service work settings, which is what this dissertation has contributed to.

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Appendix A
Example of interview guide –
Employed social workers (2nd round)

Briefing:

First of all, I want to thank you for taking time to participate in an interview for the second time. As you already know, the interview will be used in a larger project where I study motivation and career patterns in the public and private sectors, and where I try to map different developments in individual's motivation in the transition from education to labor market.

Remembering the last time you were interviewed, there are probably some of the questions which sound familiar. However, I will ask you *not* to think about the answer you gave last time, but try to answer the questions thinking about how you feel right now. This is very important for the quality of the interview and how it can be used afterwards.

Like last time you were interviewed, I will use some quotes in my articles, but interviewees will not be mentioned by name or workplace. I will record the interview to help me in my further analyses, but others will only have access to an anonymized version of the interview.

Do you have any questions before we proceed?

Theoretical question	Interview question
Information about transition to the labor market:	First, I would like you to explain what has happened since the last time you were interviewed.
What has happened since graduation?	Please tell me a little bit about what you have been doing since graduation?
What is IP's occupation?	- What is your occupation? (service production/regulation? public/private organization?) - Why did you end up doing this? - What did you do to find a job? - Was this your first choice? Why/why not?
Share of PSM and the composition of this motivation compared with other motives and preferences:	The following questions concern your motivation.
	What makes you go to work, even on days when you're really not up for it?
Which values-dilemmas does IP experience?	We are all familiar with situations where we feel that conflicting concerns makes it hard to choose what to do. Do you have examples of such dilemmas from your work day?
	Did you talk to your colleagues/manager about it? What was your opinion? What did they say?

How salient are PSM-related motives? How do instrumental, norm-based and affective motives weigh?	How did you resolve the dilemma? (Decision made from assessment of gains/losses, emotions and/or social norms?)
	Why did you choose to act/prioritize this way? (Considered formal rules, efficiency, own/others' needs, client's well-being, time, resources, professional norms etc.?)
Specific dilemmas:	On the social work union's webpage, I have read about some classical dilemmas which social workers often confront.
Professional knowledge vs. Society/economic concerns	The first example describes a situation where your professional knowledge is in conflict with societal concerns (that is, other citizen's well-being or economic concerns). Do you recognize this dilemma? Can you describe a specific situation? How did you resolve the dilemma?
Professional knowledge vs. Client's interests	
	The second example describes a situation where your professional knowledge about the optimal solution to a problem conflicts with the client's wishes. Do you recognize this dilemma? Can you describe a specific situation? How did you resolve the dilemma?
Client's interests vs. Society/economic concerns	
(use their own examples from the previous question)	
	Is there something about these dilemmas which you would now handle differently compared to when you were still a student? How?
PERSON-ORGANIZATION FIT:	The following questions concern how you feel about your workplace and afterwards there are some more specific questions about your work tasks.
To what extent does IP experience compatibility between her own values and the values and priorities of the organization?	Have there been any activities for you and your colleagues where you can discuss dilemmas in your work and make you feel more comfortable since you started this job? What was that about?
	Which opinions were expressed? What was your role? What did you say? What did the others say? - Did it make you change your mind?
	Were you aware of the organization's values/priorities before you started in this job? Did you think about the compatibility between your own values and the values and priorities of the organization when you applied?
	When do you feel attached to this organization? - Why? Describe a specific situation?
	Do you feel comfortable with the culture of the organization? Why/why not? - When do you feel uncomfortable with this organization?
What is IP's preference for public/private employment?	What do you find particularly attractive by being a [public/private] sector employee? Do you sometimes think about switching sector? When is that?

PERSON-JOB FIT:	Can you describe how a normal work day proceeds?
	What would you say is your core task?
To what extent does IP experience compatibility between her individual needs and the work tasks? ('needs-supply' fit)	When do you feel particularly comfortable with your work tasks? - Why? Describe a specific situation? What can make you feel uncomfortable with your work tasks? - Why? Describe a specific situation?
What is IP's preference for working with service production/regulation?	What do you find particularly attractive by working with [service production] rather than [service regulation]? What situations can make you want to change work tasks?
PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION:	
To what extent does IP express 'public interest' PSM?	Now, I would like to ask some more general questions concerning how you view your personal role as a social worker and in society in general. - Please describe your role in society. - What about your role in relation to the clients? - Which of these roles is most important to you? How do you feel that you as a social worker make an important contribution to society? - Do you feel that it is a duty?
To what extent does IP express 'self-sacrifice' PSM?	What does it mean to you that you make a difference to others through your work? - Also when it means that you have to cancel a private appointment because you have to work after hours? Or when it concerns your own security? - What about when you have to turn down a client's applications/wishes? Have you ever faced a dilemma where you wanted to stay committed to your work while at the same time had to take care of yourself? - Describe the situation. How did you resolve the dilemma?
To what extent does IP express 'compassion' PSM?	Please describe some of the groups of clients/citizens that you encounter in your daily work? Are some clients/citizens who affect you emotionally more than others? – Who? Please describe a specific situation. Do you experience a difference between groups of clients concerning their will to make a personal effort to improve their situation? - How do you feel about that?

To what extent does IP express 'policy making' PSM?	Are you aware in your daily work life that you are/are not member of a politically governed organization? Try to describe your relationship with politics? - How do you feel about the political process of give and take? Do you want to participate in some of the political/managerial processes in your organization? - Why/why not? Have you sometimes participated? Why? Are there other kinds of political work which you participate in, and which make you feel that you have influence on the structure of public service provision? What? Why/why not?
To what extent does IP express 'user orientation'?	What does the satisfaction of the clients mean to you? - How do you arrive at a solution? - Do you feel that if the client is satisfied then the job is done? How important is it for you to involve the clients in your work? - Does it motivate you? What about if the involvement of the client means that you have to compromise with: - Rules? - Professional knowledge?
JOB SATISFACTION	Finally, I would like to ask how satisfied you generally feel in your job on a scale from 0-10? What is most important for this evaluation?
TURNOVER INTENTION	Do you sometimes think about changing job? Why? Where would you like to work/work with what?

Note: IP refers to the interviewee.

Debriefing:

This is all for now. Do you have any immediate reactions to my questions? Do you want to add anything or ask questions?

Thank you again for your participation!

Appendix B
Example of coding scheme from content coding of semi-structured interviews

Material: The qualitative social worker panel (37 semi-structured interviews in total)

Guide to the coding scheme:
- Normal type: Deductive, focused codes from the first round of panel data interviews (also used to code the second round of panel data interviews)
- **Bold type**: Deductive, focused codes from the second round of panel data interviews (only used to code the second round of panel data interviews)
- *Italic type*: Inductive codes added to the coding scheme during the coding process

Main code	Sub-code(s)
Childhood socialization	Parents occupation Parents volunteering Parents influence on choice of education and job Political discussions
Educational socialization	
Daily work motivation	
Job choice	The job choice process Public vs. private sector Prioritization of work conditions *Actual work conditions* Service production vs. regulation *Target groups*
Person-vocation fit	The educational choice process Degree of certainty Time for educational choice Attractiveness factors *Professional boundaries*
Value dilemmas	Societal interests vs. clients' needs Rule abidance vs. clients' needs Economy vs. clients' needs Professionalism vs. clients' needs Professionalism vs. economy

Public values	*Equity*
	Justice
	Coherent services
	Respectful human views
	Holistic approach (balanced interests)
	Preventive care
Public service motivation	Public interest
	Societal contribution
	Societal duty
	Societal role
	Personal contribution
	Compassion
	Empathy and identification
	Client descriptions
	Client's own effort
	'The pity argument'
	Policy making
	Participation as a motivator
	Volunteering
	Union work
	Political awareness
	Self-sacrifice
	Self-sacrifice vs. personal costs
	'Warm glow'
User orientation	Client involvement
	Client satisfaction
	Rejection situations
Person-organization fit	**Value congruence**
	Culture congruence
	Feeling comfortable at the workplace
Person-job fit	**Core tasks**
	Feeling comfortable with the tasks
	Stress
Job satisfaction	
Turnover intention	
Organizational socialization	*Reality shock*

English summary

Understanding the motivation of public service providers is crucial for how we structure and manage public service provision. This dissertation has focused on a particular type of work motivation among public service providers, namely Public Service Motivation (PSM) and its emergence and development in different public service work settings. PSM describes individuals' desire and willingness to do good for others and society through public service delivery and several – mostly American – studies have shown that it is more prevalent among public sector employees than among private sector employees. Since studies have also shown that employee PSM is linked to positive outcomes such as higher performance, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction, increased awareness of this motivation may constitute a hidden potential in improving public service provision. But for this to be the case, we need to know more about how this motivation is initiated and nurtured: are individual-level PSM differences a result of attraction-selection-attrition or socialization in different public service jobs? And is it really a matter of public sector employment or is it (perhaps rather) a matter of the work tasks performed? The dissertation examines how these dynamics of PSM unfold in the provision of public services; that is, services ordered and/or (partly) financed by government.

Theoretically, the examination of this research question centers on an integration of the Person-Environment Fit Theory with the PSM literature. The central claim is here that PSM-based attraction-selection and attrition in different public service delivery jobs is a matter of achieving a match between individuals' PSM in terms of being able to contribute to society and help other people and the work environment. More specifically, individuals' different PSM profiles are expected to be related to different preferences for work in publicly/privately owned organizations and work with service production/regulation. Second, the environments of these different sectors and work tasks will also affect the employees' PSM, once they have become employed, with possible consequences for job satisfaction and turnover intention.

These PSM dynamics are examined using qualitative interview data as well as quantitative survey data that measures PSM among different occupational groups, who perform similar public service tasks in publicly or privately owned organizations. Most notably, panel data with both pre- and post-entry PSM measures among Danish social workers and physiotherapists provide unique opportunities to separate attraction-selection-attrition from socialization effects. Hereby, the internal validity of the conclusions regarding PSM dynamics is increased compared with most previous' studies relying on cross-sectional da-

ta. Other data have also contributed to a comprehensive examination of the proposed PSM dynamics. This includes a survey with Danish public sector managers, which provides insights into the possible relationships between PSM and subscription to different public values, a survey with students enrolled in different higher educational programs, which provides insights into the emergence of PSM prior to labor market entrance, and a survey with public and private sector employees from a number of Western countries which provides insights into how PSM dynamics unfold in different welfare state regimes.

The analyses show that public/private sector considerations only play a minor role for PSM-based attraction effects concerning public service providers' first job choices, whereas the character of different public service work tasks are more important to such decisions. On the other hand, PSM has a tendency to drop quite substantively when individuals have become employed in a public service job. This is interpreted as a reality shock. This drop is, however, less pronounced among those who enter a publicly owned organization compared with a privately owned organization and there are also variations depending on the service/work task. This indicates that organizations are indeed capable of affecting employees' PSM to form a better match with the work environment of different public services. Those who do not experience that they are able to help others and society in the desired way through their jobs are less satisfied and more inclined to change jobs. However, other preferences such as different types of service recipients, pay, and job security also play a role for public service job choice decisions, and other institutional characteristics such as specific organizational structures also play a role for whether the employees experience that they can help others and contribute to society through their jobs.

These results offer several interesting observations and contributions. First, future studies of PSM dynamics should take the character of the work task into account. This dissertation has pointed to important differences in the PSM of individuals attracted to and working with service production/regulation and belonging to different occupations. Neither public nor private sector organizations are uniform work environments, and PSM is also a matter of 'what you do' meaning that PSM can certainly also be prevalent among private sector employees providing similar public services as the publicly employed. Furthermore, the results with respect individuals' post-entry PSM developments suggest that socialization effects should be incorporated into PSM theory with equal status for explaining employees' different PSM profiles in different work contexts alongside the more investigated attraction effects. Knowledge of these PSM dynamics can be an advantage in the structuring and managing of public service provision in terms of recruitment and how to keep public service

providing personnel satisfied through possibilities for them to act on their PSM. But the dissertation's analyses have also shown that public service providers can have very different conceptions of what the desirable means and purposes of the services are – conceptions that do not necessarily correspond with the politically decided objectives of the services. Hence, employment of public service providers with high PSM levels can also be a 'double-edged sword'.

In addition to this monograph, which offers an independent overview and discussion of central theoretical arguments and empirical results of the dissertation, the dissertation consists of nine articles published in or submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals (four single-authored and five co-authored – see Chapter 1 for an overview).

Dansk resume

Viden om, hvad der motiverer de ansatte, er helt centralt for, hvordan vi bedst kan lede og strukturere leveringen af offentlige ydelser. Denne afhandling fokuserer på en bestemt type arbejdsmotivation, *Public Service Motivation* (PSM), som beskriver individers ønske om og villighed til at gøre noget godt for andre og samfundet gennem leveringen af offentlige ydelser. Mange amerikanske studier har vist, at denne motivation er mere udbredt blandt offentligt ansatte i sammenligning med privatansatte, og da den eksisterende forskning samtidig viser, at PSM har en positiv sammenhæng med performance, jobtilfredshed og engagement blandt medarbejderne, kan bedre udnyttelse af viden om denne motivation derfor udgøre et (måske) uudnyttet potentiale i den offentlige sektor. Før det kan blive tilfældet, er det dog nødvendigt at vide noget mere om, hvordan denne motivation opstår og udvikles i forskellige arbejdskontekster: Er forskelle i ansattes PSM på tværs af sektorer og ydelser et resultat af bestemte tiltræknings-/rekrutterings- og fastholdelsesmekanismer eller organisatorisk socialisering? Og er PSM virkelig mere udbredt blandt ansatte i den offentlige sektor, eller er det snarere et spørgsmål om, hvilke ydelser og arbejdsopgaver vi kigger på? Denne afhandling bidrager med en undersøgelse af, hvordan disse motivationsdynamikker udspiller sig i leveringen af forskellige offentlige ydelser såsom ældrepleje, fysioterapi og indsatsen overfor socialt udsatte.

Afhandlingens teoretiske ramme bygger på en integrering af den hidtidige forskning i PSM med den såkaldte 'Person-Environment Fit' teori. Jeg argumenterer her for, at individers tiltrækning af og fastholdelse i et bestemt job med levering af offentlige ydelser afhænger af etableringen af et match mellem deres PSM og muligheden for rent faktisk at hjælpe andre og bidrage til samfundet i deres aktuelle arbejdskontekst. Mere specifikt så forventes det, at ansattes forskellige PSM hænger sammen med deres ønske om at arbejde i offentligt eller privatejede organisationer, og hvorvidt de foretrækker at arbejde med produktion eller regulering af offentlige ydelser. I løbet af ansættelsen forventes tilstedeværelsen i disse forskellige arbejdskontekster desuden også at påvirke de ansattes motivation via organisatorisk socialisering, hvilket igen kan få betydning for deres jobtilfredshed og fastholdelse i jobbet.

Afhandlingens undersøgelse af disse forventninger anvender både interview og spørgeskemadata til at måle tilstedeværelsen af PSM blandt ansatte indenfor en lang række faggrupper, som leverer samme type offentlige ydelser indenfor offentligt eller privatejede organisationer. Særligt interes-

sante er afhandlingens paneldata med danske fysioterapeuter og social-
rådgivere, som har fået målt deres PSM både før og efter ansættelse i deres
først job. Disse data giver en enestående mulighed for at afgøre, i hvilket om-
fang PSM er årsagen til, at man vælger et bestemt job, eller om det nærmere
er en konsekvens heraf. Dvs. tiltræknings- og rekrutteringseffekter kan adskil-
les fra mulige socialiseringseffekter, hvilket styrker validiteten af afhandlin-
gens kausale konklusioner sammenlignet med tidligere undersøgelsers brug
af tværsnitsdata. Andre data anvendt i afhandlingen inkluderer en spørge-
skemaundersøgelse blandt danske offentlige ledere anvendt til at undersø-
ge sammenhængen mellem PSM og offentlige værdier, en spørgeskema-
undersøgelse blandt studerende på en række forskellige professionsuddan-
nelser anvendt til at undersøge udviklingen af PSM i studietiden, samt en
spørgeskemaundersøgelse med offentligt og privatansatte i en lang række
vestlige lande anvendt til at undersøge sammenhængen mellem PSM og
jobtilfredshed på tværs af forskellige velfærdsstatstyper.

Afhandlingens undersøgelser viser, at overvejelser omkring offentlig eller
privat ansættelse kun spiller en mindre rolle for fysioterapeuter og socialråd-
givere med forskellige PSM profiler på udkig efter deres først job med leve-
ring af offentlige ydelser. Omvendt har deres PSM langt større betydning for,
hvilken type arbejdsopgaver, produktion eller regulering af offentlige ydel-
ser, de er tiltrukket af. Når de først er blevet ansat, viser analyserne af udvik-
lingen i nyansatte fysioterapeuter og socialrådgiveres motivation, at deres
PSM har tendens til at falde ganske betragteligt. Det fortolkes som et reali-
tetschok. Dette fald er dog mindre udbredt blandt de, der har fået et job på
en offentligt ejet arbejdsplads sammenlignet med de, der er blevet privatan-
satte leverandører af offentlige ydelser, og der er også variationer i de nyan-
sattes PSM udvikling afhængigt af, om vi ser på fysioterapeuterne eller soci-
alrådgivere, som regulerer eller producerer offentlige ydelser. Det indikerer,
at arbejdspladserne rent faktisk er i stand til at påvirke de ansattes PSM med
henblik på at skabe bedre overensstemmelse mellem deres motivation og
forskellige arbejdskontekster for leveringen af offentlige ydelser. Medarbej-
dere, som via deres arbejde oplever, at de ikke kan hjælpe andre og sam-
fundet på den ønskede måde, er derimod mindre tilfredse og mere tilbøjeli-
ge til at ville skifte job. Andre præferencer såsom forskellige målgrupper for
de ydelser, man skal arbejde med, løn og jobsikkerhed påvirker dog også
disse dynamikker omkring beskæftigelse med leveringen af offentlige ydel-
ser, ligesom andre kontekstforhold såsom specifikke arbejdspladsstrukturer
også spiller en rolle for, om medarbejderne føler, at de gennem deres arbej-
de kan hjælpe andre og bidrage til samfundet.

Disse resultater giver anledning til flere interessante observationer og bidrag. For det første, kan fremtidig forskning i dynamikkerne omkring PSM med fordel tage betydningen af forskellige typer af arbejdsopgaver/ydelser i betragtning. Afhandlingen har påpeget afgørende forskelle i PSM mellem de, der er tiltrukket af og arbejder med produktion af offentlige ydelser sammenlignet med regulering, og mellem ansatte tilhørende forskellige faggrupper. Hverken den offentlige eller private sektor er enhedsbegreber, og ansattes PSM er i høj grad også et spørgsmål om, *hvad* man arbejder med i sammenligning med, *hvor* man arbejder. Afhandlingen har således vist, at privatansatte også kan have PSM i det omfang, de leverer de samme offentlige ydelser som offentligt ansatte. For det andet peger resultaterne omkring nyansattes PSM udvikling på, at fremtidige studier bør inddrage socialiseringsmekanismer på lige fod med tiltræknings- og rekrutteringsmekanismer til forklaring af ansattes PSM i forskellige arbejdskontekster for leveringen af offentlige ydelser. Viden om disse dynamikker kan være værdifuld i bestræbelserne på bedre ledelse og strukturering af offentlige ydelser ved rekruttering af medarbejdere med de rette PSM profiler og fastholdelse af tilfredse medarbejdere, som oplever, at arbejdspladsen muliggør, at de kan handle på deres PSM. Afhandlingens analyser har dog også vist, at de der leverer offentlige ydelser kan have meget forskellige opfattelser af, hvad det ønskværdige i ydelserne er – opfattelser der ikke nødvendigvis stemmer overens med de politiske fastsatte mål med en ydelse. Derfor kan ansættelse af medarbejdere med høj PSM også vise sig at være et 'tveægget sværd'.

Resultaterne fra alle afhandlingens studier er præsenteret i ni videnskabelige artikler, som er indsendt til eller under udgivelse i peer-reviewede tidsskrifter (en oversigt kan ses i kapitel 1), mens nærværende publikation udgør en uafhængig sammenfatning og diskussion af de centrale teoretiske argumenter og empiriske bidrag i afhandlingen.