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MOTIVATION IN PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

THE CALL OF PUBLIC SERVICE

EDITED BY

JAMES L. PERRY AND ANNIE HONDEGHEM

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OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

First published 2008

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Motivation in public management : the call of public service / edited by James L. Perry
and Annie Hondeghem.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN–13: 978–0–19–923403–5

1. Civil service–Personnel management. 2. Public administration–Management. 3. Employee motivation. 4. Motivation (Psychology) I. Perry, James L. II. Hondeghem, Annie, 1960–

JF1601.M68 2008

352.6–dc22 2007049369

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services Ltd., Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Biddles Ltd., King's Lynn, Norfolk

ISBN 978–0–19–923403–5

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

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Preface

We undertook this book on motivation in public management because we are deeply committed to values of the academy and public service. From our perspective as scholars, we see this book as satisfying our curiosity and adding to a stock of knowledge about human motivation. Our interests in motivation are a natural extension of our interests in managing people in organizations. The motivation of staff and stakeholders is a crucial variable in creating high performance organizations. Our interests grow from paths established by many notable scholars, among them Max Weber, Henri Fayol, Mary Parker Follett, and Chester Barnard. Despite the considerable power of previous research, motivation remains a 'big question' in public management; some might call it a major puzzle yet to be assembled. This is certainly one factor that contributes to our curiosity.

The bulk of our knowledge concerning motivation in the public sector is based on theories that originate from and are tested in market settings. Although scholars have occasionally pointed to the distinctive character of the motivations of those in public service, it was not until the 1980s that specific theories and empirical research emerged in public administration. In 1982, the terms 'public service motivation' were first used as a way to express the specific motivation associated with public service. We like to think of 'public service motivation' as an individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society. In this sense, public service motivation can be found among individuals in the public domain—governments and public benefit organizations—and the private sector.

Our interests in linking 'motivation'—an object of our academic values—with 'public service' speaks to our commitments to improving collective action and the status of those seeking to improve the public sphere. We try to approach these commitments with objectivity, but we also have a passion for these commitments as human beings and as citizens. It is our hope that this book advances the several values to which we are committed.

PURPOSE

Many scholars have contributed research since the term public service motivation was first used. We believe it is fair to characterize this research as diffuse, emanating from different disciplines, research traditions, and world views. Most of this research was done in the United States, but in recent years research on public service motivation has started in Europe, Asia, and Australia. After 25 years of research—the bulk of which occurred in the last decade—we thought the time had arrived to take stock. What do we know about public service motivation; what are the gaps; and how should we proceed given recent developments in theory, research, and practice? Thus, the broad purposes of this book are to review research and to identify how we translate theory to practice so that practitioners can learn from the research on public service motivation.

AUDIENCE

This book's primary audience is scholars. We hope it will stimulate research by scholars in public management and administration and also enrich their teaching. We also believe that this book can bridge gaps between public management and other disciplines, such as organizational behavior, psychology, economics, sociology, and political science. All are concerned with questions of motivation, but they use different assumptions, languages, and theories. We are convinced that we can learn from each other and hope this book will contribute to interdisciplinary learning.

Although scholars represent our primary audience, this book is also meant for professionals in public and private organizations. So far, existing research on public service motivation has told us little about how to 'manage' public service values. This book gives practical recommendations as to how practitioners can use public service values to improve performance in the workplace. This point is of special importance as the public sector is entering a new period after new public management. Some ideas from the new public management movement have been very useful in modernizing the public sector, but others have fallen short of the reform rhetoric, and still others have simply been dysfunctional. One of the basic premises of new public management is that all human behavior is based on self-interest and that incentive systems in organizations should start from this assumption in order to enhance performance. In this book, we use a more balanced view of human behavior and the functioning of organizations. People are selfish *and* altruistic, and organizations need to use intrinsic as well as extrinsic incentives to motivate employees. An overemphasis on one worldview leads to imbalances, which are detrimental to people and organizations. This is especially the case for public organizations, as they have more complex and diffuse goals based on communal or public values. Reformers in the public sector therefore have a need to take into account findings from research on public service motivation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is a genuine collaborative effort, bringing together scholars, professional staff, and country representatives around common interests and goals. We took the first step in developing this book when we met, and were joined by Wouter Vandenabeele, in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 2003. The Belgian contingent had arrived seeking advice on research on public service motivation in Europe. If 'institutions do matter', a public service–motivation construct embedded in American institutions only—where the construct first took root—was difficult to conceive as transplanted into a European context. Funding was subsequently secured from the Belgian National Fund to conduct research on public service motivation in Flanders. The funding served as a foundation for the research program of the Study Group on Public Personnel Policies of the European Group of Public Administration (2004–6), which stimulated several European scholars to conduct research in their own countries. When Jim Perry was granted a fellowship by the Research Council of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven during the academic year 2006–7, this lent an extra impulse to proceed with research in Europe and to start a transatlantic dialogue on public service motivation. This book is the first result of this transatlantic dialogue: ten scholars from the United States, and ten from Europe, have contributed to this book. We believe this is just a first step in a promising intellectual journey.

Even at this early stage of the journey, we owe a debt of gratitude to many. Our main debt is to the contributors to this book, who gave the best of themselves. They delivered their drafts on schedule and took seriously our editorial comments and advice—often during several iterations of their submissions. We also thank participants in two conferences, the Third Transatlantic Dialogue at the University of Delaware in May 2007 and the Academy of Management Annual Conference in Philadelphia in August 2007, at which versions of the chapters were presented. We are especially grateful to Professor Adam Grant from the Kenan-Flagler Business School at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Dean Boas Shamir from the Faculty of Social Sciences at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem for their comments on draft chapters and for serving as stimulating discussants at the symposium on public service motivation in Philadelphia.

We are also indebted to several organizations and their staff. Oxford University Press, especially David Musson and Matthew Derbyshire, saw the book's potential and gave us the license to execute our plan. Our respective academic homes, Indiana University and Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, provide stimulating academic environments for research and financial support for international exchanges. We thank our colleagues, especially Geert Bouckaert and Roger Depré, director and former director of the Public Management Institute, for their vision and inspiration, and Wouter Vandenabeele for his help and for representing the next generation of scholars in the field.

We also appreciate Dawn Ollila's expert, timely, and reliable editorial assistance. Three staff at the Public Management Institute, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven—Anneke Heylen, Inge Vermeulen, and Annelies Vanparijs—gave us excellent support in all facets of what book projects demand.

Last, *but not least*, we thank our families. For them, it was a real sacrifice to live with two academicians who had to finish a book during the summer holidays. Thanks for your patience and support.

James L. Perry
Annie Hondeghem

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Tables

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Editors' Introduction

James L. Perry and Annie Hondeghem

The motivation of public servants has long been a topic of public concern, debate, and scholarly interest. To be reminded of its longevity, one needs to look no further than Woodrow Wilson's (1887) essay, 'The Study of Administration'. Wilson, a future president and civil service reform leader in the United States, was centrally concerned about the performance of civil servants and how they could be more purposive. Paul Van Riper (1958) reminds us in his *History of the U.S. Civil Service System* that the concern for motivations was hardly new. The obsession American commentators had for performance had been borrowed from similar traditions in France and Germany (Bekke & van der Meer, 2000)—dating back over a century (de Tocqueville, 1859; Weber, 1922)!

Recent developments give motivation of public servants new salience and prominence. One development is what Don Kettl (2005) terms the 'global public management revolution' driven by governments' search for continuously higher levels of productivity, service orientation, and accountability. Kettl argues that one of the strategies of the global public management revolution, marketization, brings market-style incentives to government as a means for rooting out the pathologies of its bureaucracy. Marketization brings with it a new public service bargain (Hood & Lodge, 2006) that assumes market mechanisms will help change the behavior of government managers, which implicitly is understood to be unresponsive and insufficiently motivated. From a motivational perspective, public administration traditionalists perceive the new public service bargains as large-scale abandonment of the incomplete contracts (François, 2000) on which governing bodies have relied for so long and that assume a disposition of public servants to act for a higher purpose.

Another development, one closely related to the global public management revolution, is public loss of confidence and trust in government (Chanley et al., 2000; Nye et al., 1997; Van de Walle, 2004). Beginning in the 1970s, citizens became increasingly disenchanted with what government delivered—and often failed to deliver. The reasons for public disenchantment are complex, but many see better performance by government (Yang & Holzer, 2006) as an antidote.

Diminished trust and confidence in government brought with it an onslaught of attacks on civil servants that called into question the motivations of civil servants and the control systems that direct them. Beginning with civil service reforms in the United States, bureaucrats increasingly came under fire for their unresponsiveness and poor performance (Brehm & Gates, 1997; Campbell, 1978; Savas & Ginsburg, 1973). 'The current system provides few incentives for managers to manage or for employees to perform' (Campbell, 1978, p. 101). In the long run, however, the attacks on public servants and the reforms the attacks precipitated initiated a dialectic that continues today. Motivational schemes like performance-related pay (Ingraham, 1993; Marsden & Richardson, 1994; Perry, 1986) that were imported from the private sector beginning in the late 1970s have frequently failed when transplanted in the public sector.

A final development, given impetus by the others and growing directly from the dialectic referred to above, is increasing attention to the merits of bureaucracy as a political and normative order (Olsen, 2006). Johan Olsen (2006) argues that after the wave of public management reforms that have swept the world, scholars should consider revamping the way they think about bureaucracy. Olsen suggests that the fashion of the recent past has depicted bureaucracy as obsolete. He believes that the cyclical nature of democratic politics will again shift and bureaucracy will return to favor. In anticipation of this cyclical turn, Olsen argues that we begin to separate our attention from the rhetoric surrounding bureaucracy and reconceive of it instead as an institution, not merely an instrument, and take into account the political and normative order of which it is a part.

The intersection of these developments helps account for the growth of scholarly interest in public service motivation. But what is the nature of the construct?

DEFINITIONS

A starting point for developing an understanding of public service motivation is the motivation concept, a pivotal concern of modern organizational research. Its centrality to modern organizational research also helps to account for the diversity of definitions. We prefer, following Perry and Porter (1982, p. 29), to conceive of motivation broadly as the forces that energize, direct, and sustain behavior. This definition is very similar to Pinder (1998), who describes motivation as internal and external forces that initiate work-related behavior, determining its form, direction, intensity, and duration. Although motivation is often studied in the context of work, we prefer not to limit the scope to 'work' only, in part because the forces themselves are not bounded by tasks alone, but involve environmental forces, the work itself, and individual needs and motives.

PUBLIC SECTOR MOTIVATION VERSUS PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION

Before we define 'public service motivation', it is useful to draw a distinction between it and 'public sector motivation'. People are motivated by many different considerations to work for and in government or, more broadly, the public sector, which includes not only general governments at all levels, but public corporations and other quasi-public entities that are subject to control by governments. The public sector has traditionally offered some strong extrinsic motivators that might attract people to the public sector, such as security of tenure, the career perspective, and pension systems (Hondeghem, 1990). Research in Europe (Van Raaij et al., 2002; Vandenabeele et al., 2004), for instance, has found that one of the most attractive aspects of today's public sector is 'the quality of life'. People have the impression that the public sector has more advantages in terms of flexibilities in combining work and family life, opportunities for learning and development, and so on. These 'specific' motives for working for and in the public sector lie outside what we mean by 'public service motivation', which refers generally to motives associated with serving the public good. Thus, we conceive public service motivation as a type of motivation in the public sector, but it does not cover all motives in the public sector. Public service motivation may also transcend the public sector, that is, characterize motivations in other arenas of society that involve pursuit of public good.

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION

The meaning of public service motivation varies across disciplines and fields, but its definition has a common focus on motives and action in the public domain that are intended to do good for others and shape the well-being of society.

Altruism

Sociologists and social psychologists who study altruism do not, as far as we know, use the term public service motivation to refer to the phenomenon. Piliavin and Charng (1990) observe that altruism has traditionally been defined in terms of costs, but they argue that motives should be central to its definition. They write, 'We have chosen to adopt a largely motive-based definition of altruism as behaviour costly to the actor involving other-regarding sentiments; if an act is or appears to be motivated mainly out of a consideration of another's needs rather than one's own, we call it altruism' (p. 30).

Although those who study altruism do not associate it with public service motivation, economists have connected the concepts. Public service motivation has been used by economists as 'code' for altruism, meaning the willingness of individuals to engage in sacrificial behaviors for the good of others without reciprocal benefits for themselves. Patrick François titled his 2000 study ' "Public Service Motivation" as an Argument for Government Provision'. What François (2000) meant by public service motivation was employees providing 'effort out of concern for the impact of that effort on a valued social service' (p. 275). In his research on public servant motivation and policy design, the economist Julian Le Grand (2003), after reviewing relevant literature, including research about public service motivation, concludes that 'it is hard to dispute the view that altruistic motivations are prevalent among the providers of public services' (p. 35). Thus, economists have fairly consistently equated public service motivation with altruism.

Prosocial Behavior

Organizational behavior scholars group behaviors that might be construed as altruistic under the rubric of prosocial behaviors. Unlike some economists, organizational behavior scholars do not use public service motivation and, in fact, seldom use altruism to refer to motivations in organizational, especially work, contexts. Their preferred term is prosocial behavior, which encompasses a broad category of behaviors. Brief and Motowidlo (1986) define prosocial behavior in organizational settings as

> behavior which is (a) performed by a member of an organization, (b) directed toward an individual, group, or organization with whom he or she interacts while carrying out his or her organizational role, and (c) performed with the intention or promoting the welfare of the individual, group, or organization toward which it is directed. (p. 711)

Brief and Motowidlo not only note that this definition is quite broad, but that others have suggested narrower definitions, usually involving reference to an actor's motives. Walster and Piliavin (1972), for instance, suggest that the definition includes that the act is voluntary and without expectations of return.

A recent review (Penner et al., 2005) suggests an organizing framework that is helpful for identifying domains where the prosocial behavior research informs research on public service motivation. Penner and colleagues distinguish among micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of research. Micro- and macro-level perspectives are the most germane for public service motivation research. Micro-level perspectives, which attend to the origins of prosocial behaviors and the etiology of individual differences, are clearly relevant for understanding the origins and individual variations in public service motivation. Penner et al. associate the macro-level with prosocial actions in social units such as groups and organizations. The meso-level, which looks at helper–recipient dyads in specific situations, seems less relevant to the construct domain we associate with public service motivation, especially given the settings on which meso-level research has focused historically. The meso-level research does help, however, to illuminate specific public service situations, among them behaviors of emergency responders and, in general, citizen–public servant relations.

Institutionally Grounded Behaviors

In fields such as public administration and political science, public service motivation has become the preferred term used to refer to motivational differences in public services. It represents mechanisms unique to public institutions that energize and direct behavior. Perry and Wise (1990) initiated research about public service motivation to formalize what they observed was, *de facto*, a long-standing assumption about public service. Quoting Elmer Staats (1988), former comptroller general of the United States, they noted that many public administration scholars believed in a public service ethos that set public servants apart from counterparts in other institutions. Perry and Wise (1990) therefore defined public service motivation as 'an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations' (p. 368). They identified a typology of motives associated with public service that included rational, norm-based, and affective motives. Perry (1996) later developed a measurement scale that reduced the typology of motives empirically to four dimensions: attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest and civic duty, compassion, and self-sacrifice. The measurement of public service motivation is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

In a subsequent analysis of public service motivation and government effectiveness, Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) offer a more global definition of public service motivation. They associate the construct with altruism in referring to public service motivation as a 'general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind' (p. 20). The Rainey and Steinbauer definition is similar to Brewer and Selden (1998, p. 417), who defined the concept as 'the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful . . . public, community, and social service', emphasizing its behavioral implications and applicability beyond the public sector.

The most recent effort to define public service motivation emanates from the research of Vandenabeele (2007) in Europe. Vandenabeele (2007) defines public service motivation as 'the belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate' (p. 547). The primary departure of this definition from others is the addition of values as a component of institutional identity. The stress on institutions also led to an expansion of Perry's measurement scale with a fifth dimension labeled democratic governance, including traditional bureaucratic values such as access to and continuity of public service and accountability (Vandenabeele, in press).

In this book, we do not seek to arrive at a single definition of public service motivation. We are instead interested in synthesizing what we know from distinct research traditions. We believe the commonalities that research traditions share are more important than disciplinary differences for understanding public service motivation. At the same time, we believe it is helpful to be explicit about our understanding of what we mean by public service motivation. We construe public service motivation as referring to individual motives that are largely, but not exclusively, altruistic and are grounded in public institutions. The role of public institutions is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

WHY SHOULD WE CARE ABOUT PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION?

Although many scholars who study public service motivation do so for their intrinsic interest in the phenomena, we believe it is important at the outset to answer an instrumental and pragmatic question: So why should we care about public service motivation? The answers, of course, differ according to whether you are a scholar or a manager, a citizen, or a politician. We believe the construct sits at the divide between many important issues in public and organizational life and, therefore, justifies the attention we and others give it. We look at three of these intellectual divides, involving models of human nature, organizational incentive systems, and institutional designs. These divides may blur and not be conceptually distinct in practice, but they provide a useful way to organize our discussion. They are:

1. the nature of 'human nature': rational versus other-regarding actors;
2. appropriate organizational incentive systems: individualized versus collective incentive structures; and
3. responsive institutional designs: new public management versus collective designs.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN NATURE

A fundamental and enduring issue in the social sciences is the basic assumptions we make about human nature. These assumptions are the result of critical masses of evidence at a given time in history, but also the product of what is fashionable. The central assumption about human nature in early management theory was what Douglas McGregor (1960) later popularized under the label Theory X, which assumed that people disliked their work and responsibility and opted for security. Beginning with intellectual landmarks such as Anthony Downs's *Inside Bureaucracy* (Downs, 1967) and William Niskanen's *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* (Niskanen, 1971), bureaucrats were painted quite consistently as rational *and* self-interested. Given these assumptions, scenarios about bureaucratic behavior depicted bureaucrats as budget maximizing, self-aggrandizers incapable of discerning and pursuing the public will.

Scholarship about the depiction of bureaucrats as self-aggrandizers took a turn with the publication of Charles Goodsell's *The Case for Bureaucracy* (Goodsell, 1985). Goodsell's book, which he intentionally characterized as a polemic, took issue, in the first instance, with criticisms of bureaucratic performance. His general point was that—at least with respect to much criticized U.S. bureaucrats—public organizations were far more efficient and effective than the public, scholarly critics, and others acknowledged. Drawing upon a body of survey, evaluative, and anecdotal evidence, Goodsell built the case for a positive view of bureaucratic contributions to U.S. society.

About the same time as Goodsell's counterattack on the criticisms of bureaucracy, other scholars contributed alternative perspectives about fundamental human orientations (Brehm & Gates, 1997; Etzioni, 1988; Monroe, 1998). Amatai Etzioni, for instance, argued that social and behavioral science research was at least as strongly supportive of what he called a 'we' perspective as it was the 'I' perspective popularized by public choice economics. Theoretical and empirical research about non–self interested motivations has accelerated in the past decade.

This book re-engages the debate about human nature. The contributors review a significant body of scholarly research, much of it from the last two decades. Thus, the book speaks directly to classic assumptions and debates about human nature.

EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATIONAL INCENTIVE SYSTEMS

A second practical issue this book seeks to illuminate is the debate about appropriate organizational incentive systems. In some respects, organizational incentive systems are built on our views about human nature. If we are inclined to believe that people are self-interest maximizing in all that they do, then we are likely to construct incentive systems that take advantage of this human instinct and simultaneously protect against dysfunctions associated with it. In contrast, if public servants are general altruists, then we will be inclined to rely on them to do good at all times.

Public organizations, the people that populate them, and the environments in which they operate are indeed more complex than the simple models used to depict them. We also know that organizational incentive systems are not solely the product of rational choice, but also spring from institutional processes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Thus, the challenges that managers and leaders face not only in selecting the right incentives, but in finding and maintaining the right mix among them are daunting.

Regardless of the influence of collectively rational institutional or, for that matter, irrational processes, we believe it is important to put our current assumptions and organizational practices under the lens of empirical research and theory. We are repeatedly reminded about the transformation of long-standing formal structures such as civil service (Bekke et al., 1996; Kellough & Selden, 2003). We believe attention to research about public service motivation can help us to be more intentional about our choices, even if many of them are influenced by powerful external forces.

RESPONSIVE INSTITUTIONAL DESIGNS

The third divide we seek to bridge is between differing visions of institutional design. As we noted at the outset of this chapter, we are in the midst of a global public management revolution (Kettl, 2005). We agree with Olsen (2006) when he characterizes the revolution as a struggle over institutional identities and institutional balances. The most frequent comparison is between bureaucracy and managerialism—what many refer to as the new public management (Dunleavy & Hood, 1994; Hood, 1991).

One concern frequently expressed about this revolution is whether the assumptions that underpin it will become self-reinforcing and self-fulfilling (Gregory, 1999). We believe this book can contribute perspective about implications growing from our choices about institutional designs.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

We have organized this book into four parts. Part 1, 'Foundations of Public Service Motivation', discusses the historical and scientific contexts in which public service motivation has developed. In chapter 1, 'History and Persistence of an Idea and an Ideal', Sylvia Horton establishes that the idea has a long history, but has not been formally articulated and studied under the rubric of public service motivation until recently. She demonstrates that public service motivation is a direct descendant of what philosophers and others have called the public service ethos. She also demonstrates that public service ethos differs across regimes, but that they share common elements. She questions whether 'new public management' will lead to a new ideal of public service and whether this will still motivate public servants.

Although rational choice theories have dominated social science, chapter 2, 'Interdisciplinary Foundations of Public Service Motivation', reviews the rich scientific support for public service motivation. Michael Koehler and Hal G. Rainey show how theory and empirical research in fields as varied as sociobiology, sociology, psychology, organizational behavior, economics, and political science have converged to suggest that public service motivation is a plausible and useful direction for research.

Chapter 3 translates the different strands of theory and empirical research into a dynamic theory useful for explaining motivation for different contexts and behaviors. In 'Behavioral Dynamics: Institutions, Identities, and Self-Regulation', James L. Perry and Wouter Vandenabeele use several streams of research, including institutional theory, identity and self concept-based processes, and psychological theories of self-regulation, to develop a theory of public service motivation.

Part 1 concludes with a look at methodological issues associated with studying public service motivation in chapter 4. Bradley E. Wright looks carefully at fundamental methodological issues confronted in past and future research. He offers insights about conceptualization, measurement, and research design. He formulates research challenges in making causal claims about public service motivation, its antecedents, and consequences.

Part 2, 'Exploring the Antecedents, Correlates, and Outcomes of Public Service Motivation', looks at relationships between public service motivation and concepts that are potentially related to it. Because public service motivation is conceptualized more broadly than traditional models of work motivation, the content of part 2 takes up a variety of diverse antecedents and outcomes. Sanjay K. Pandey and Edmund C. Stazyk initiate the discussion in chapter 5, 'Antecedents and Correlates of Public Service Motivation'. They assess research evidence about the precursors of public service motivation—including socio-demographic factors, social institutions, and organizational dynamics—that contribute to nurturing or extinguishing public service motivation. They look at diverse correlates such as reward preferences, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction.

The first outcome associated with public service motivation addressed in part 2 involves choices about organizational membership, which is considered from both organizational and member perspectives, in chapter 6. In 'Recruitment, Attraction, and Selection', Peter Leisink and Bram Steijn look at the theory and research about attraction and selection and seek to relate public service motivation to existing frameworks of person-environment and person-job fit.

The outcomes that are perhaps of greatest interest to public managers are discussed in chapter 7, 'Employee and Organizational Performance', in which Gene A. Brewer reviews research about both micro and macro outcomes that have been linked to public service motivation.

Anyone familiar with citizen expectations for public service knows that they are interested not only in performance but also in ethical conduct. Chapter 8 synthesizes what we know about antecedents of ethical conduct and what we can learn about it for public service motivation. Jeroen Maesschalck, Zeger van der Wal, and Leo Huberts also place the construct of public service motivation in a broader framework of public values and organizational ethics.

Part 2 concludes with a review and analysis of public servant behaviors in extra-organizational contexts. In chapter 9, 'Behavior in the Public Square', David J. Houston assesses whether public servants behave differently than their fellow citizens with respect to what might be considered public regarding and philanthropic acts and seeks to explain the differences.

As the historical and contextual discussion in chapter 1 emphasizes, public service motivation is a construct of broad relevance. The construct is relevant in multiple sectors and across many nation states. Part 3 presents comparative analyses that flesh out broader implications of the construct. Chapter 10, 'Not a Government Monopoly: The Private, Nonprofit, and Voluntary Sectors', explores the consequences of public service motivation across sectors. Trui Steen inquires about what influence high public service motivation has on people who work in nonprofit and commercial settings. She also explores the differences in public service motivation within the public service.

In chapter 11, 'International Differences in Public Service Motivation: Comparing Regions across the World', the comparative perspective is extended internationally. Wouter Vandenabeele and Steven Van de Walle give particular attention to variations in the content and measurement of public service motivation across nations. Based on data from the International Social Survey Programme, they analyze the differences in public service motivation in 38 countries and link it to their historical and institutional contexts.

Part 4, 'The Future of Public Service Motivation', ties together themes of theory, research, and practice about public service motivation. Chapter 12, 'The Normative Model in Decline? Public Service Motivation in the Age of Governance', assesses the relationship between motivation and changing models of governance. Donald P. Moynihan examines changes fostered by the new public management, particularly financial incentives and the use of performance measures as a form of control, and increased reliance on contracts to deliver public services.

Chapter 13, contributed by Laurie E. Paarlberg, James L. Perry, and Annie Hondeghem, offers cogent advice and ideas about how to translate theory into practice. The motivational literature on extrinsic rewards carries extensive prescriptions about their application. 'From Theory to Practice: Strategies for Applying Public Service Motivation' offers a coherent set of ideas for building motivational systems based upon theory and research associated with public service motivation. We conclude, in chapter 14, with an agenda for future theory development, research, and applications for public service motivation. We offer a research agenda intended to advance our understanding of public service motivation and simultaneously facilitate improvements in professional practice.

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Part I

Foundations of Public Service Motivation

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1

History and Persistence of an Idea and an Ideal

Sylvia Horton

Public service has several meanings. First, 'the public service' refers to people employed by governments to carry out the administrative functions of the state; second, a public service refers to a service authorized and funded by government. Third, a public service can also refer to any service provided to the public. Finally, public service can refer to the motivation of people who feel a sense of duty or responsibility for contributing to the welfare of others and to the common good of the community or society.

Public service, in the first sense, can be traced back to the ancient Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, and Roman civilizations (B. Chapman, 1959), but these are normally distinguished from the public services or bureaucracies which emerged with the creation of 'states' in sixteenth-century Europe. As the role and functions of these states and their governments grew, so did the public services they provided and the size and powers of their bureaucracies. Services to the public, however, have always been provided by nongovernmental organizations including voluntary organizations (free) and private businesses (for profit).

The growth of government services gave rise to concerns about the people who were recruited to exercise public power. This led to principles and ethical codes of practice designed to manage the recruitment of public officials and to guide their behaviors and motivation. Because of the many changes taking place in government and public administration today, public service motivation has reappeared as a major issue.

The aims of this chapter are threefold: first, to trace the idea and ideal of public service motivation over time; second, to examine contemporary ideas of public service across political regimes; and third, to identify some contemporary issues of public service ethics that are focusing our attention today.

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION—THE IDEA AND THE IDEAL

The *Ideal of Public Service* by O'Toole (2006) crystallizes a major difference between traditional and new approaches to the study of public service motivation. Traditionally the focus was on public service as an ideal, a worthy thing to do, and a prescription of behavior expected of 'public servants'. Today we are more interested in using empirical research to discover *why* people enter and remain in the public service and whether the assumptions underlying earlier theories are correct. But first we must answer this question: What is the idea and ideal of public service motivation and what are its origins?

> The idea is that those in official positions of public authority regard the interests of the whole society as being the guiding influence over all public decision-making, that their personal, or class or group interests are to be set aside when making decisions, and that they are public servants purely out of a perceived duty to serve the public. (O'Toole, 2006, p. 3)

This idea has permeated history. It can be found in both Plato's *Republic* (trans. 1941) and Aristotle's *Politics* (trans. 1946). The essence of the idea is that a public servant sets aside his personal interest because he sees it as his duty to serve his community. It is a higher order of commitment than to family, tribe, or self, which must be subordinated to the interests of the community. Aristotle realized that it was probably unrealistic to think that man, being a selfish animal, could do that, but as an ideal it would have both inspirational and motivational force. Plato's guardians were also 'ideal' public servants. He prescribed a special type of education and a monastic existence, without personal possessions or family connections, for all guardians, but the elite—his philosopher kings—would only reach that position after a continuous period of study up to the age of 50. For Aristotle, education was also the necessary foundation for his ideal—a 'good man' serving the 'common good' aspiring to the 'good life' in the 'good state'. O'Toole argues that the 'ideas' and 'ideals' of Plato and Aristotle 'laid the foundations for all subsequent considerations of the common good and public service' (2006, p. 20). But it is evident that the ideas of Confucius had as profound an influence on thinking throughout the Eastern world, especially in China, Japan, and Korea.

The medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas also argued that politics, as a practice (public service), implied a moral responsibility to act in the common good. His argument was that man could only achieve his spiritual, political, and economic well-being within society and it was the role of rulers, as God's representatives on earth, to bring that general well-being about. For Aquinas, 'virtue' meant setting aside personal interest in the pursuit of the common good and this should be the role of all rulers. Those who were not virtuous would fail in their duty to the common welfare and also to God.

With the Enlightenment came the rejection of religious faith and its replacement with reason. Singling out Rousseau from a number of philosophers of the era, his greatest contribution to the idea of public service was his distinction between the personal, corporate, and general will. Rousseau asserted that there would be conflicts between these three interests but rulers must uphold the general will. He acknowledged that there were group interests within society and that all individuals were self-interested but although this was a natural state, it was possible to distinguish between individual and group interests and to arrive at the general will, which is more than the sum of its parts. He argued that it was the duty of those committed (motivated) to the public service of the state to discover that general will and to act in its interest. 'The general will alone can direct the forces of the state and in accordance with that end which the state has been established to achieve—the common good' (Rousseau, trans. 1968, p. 69).

Rousseau had a profound influence on other philosophers including Hegel, Marx, and the English Idealists. Among the latter, T. H. Green is credited with being responsible, in part, for the philosophical and ethical outlook of the people who came to dominate the British civil service (O'Toole, 1990). Green's philosophy was based on the view of man as a social animal who is also conscious of being an end in himself, with a drive to 'self-actualize. He can only do this, however, within society and only if other men are doing it too. The common good, therefore, is the mutual harmony of all men in society seeking to fulfill their own potential. The role of government, and especially of public administrators, is to facilitate this 'common good'. Like Plato and Rousseau, Green saw public servants as the guardians of the common good with a duty to pursue it.

These philosophers adopted a view of society as something more than the sum of its parts. One philosophical school, however, based on methodological individualism, started from the position that the basic unit of analysis should be the individual and that the way to derive the 'common good' or the 'public interest' was to start from the self-interest of individuals. Jeremy Bentham, the father of English Utilitarianism, argued that 'the community' is a fiction. The interest of the community is simply the sum total of the individual interests it comprises. For all utilitarians, the role of government and administrators was to enable individuals to pursue their self-interest and to remove the barriers impeding that. The principle to guide governments and public servants should be the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Public service was still perceived as serving the public interest or common good but not as a reified abstraction but by enabling people to pursue their own self-interest in the belief that this will result in maximum social welfare.

Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, was a moral philosopher who offered a bridge between naturalism and utilitarianism. His view of society as a natural order locates him in the first school, his views on individuals in the latter. In the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, he argues that human conduct is naturally driven by six motives: self-love, sympathy, the desire to be free, a sense of propriety, a habit of labor, and the propensity to exchange or trade (Roll, 1954). Given these motives, man is the best judge of his own best advantage and left to himself he will not only attain his own best advantage and balance his motives but also further the common good. There is a link, however, between Smith's idea of sympathy and public service motivation. For Smith, sympathy is the effective cement of society and comes close to what we call compassion and empathy. It enables people to place themselves in the situations of others and to make moral judgments about what should be done. Young's interpretation of Smith is that 'where the moral sentiments operate properly, the political culture will be characterized by public virtue, a desire on the part of the political agents to promote the common good . . . and the public welfare' (Young, 1997, p. 178). Smith argues that this can be achieved through moral education and the perception of economics as a public good.

The American philosopher John Rawls (1971) is an advance on Smith with his ideas about distributive justice developed in his *Theory of Justice*. Rawls demonstrates why people should obey governments and what should guide the actions and decisions of governments and public servants. All decisions should be taken applying two principles. The 'liberty principle' requires that the state upholds the basic rights and freedoms of individuals; the 'difference principle' is conditional upon the state ensuring first, that there is a basic equality of distribution of resources to meet essential needs, and second, that there is equality of opportunity to access all other resources. Once these conditions are established, then the application of the 'difference principle' ensures that decisions can only be justified if they result in the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society, thus ensuring that the common interest will be served. This modified utilitarianism follows clearly in the tradition of Bentham and Smith.

In *Political Liberalism*, Rawls (1993) introduces the idea of public reason or 'the common reason of all citizens'. This is an overlapping consensus between citizens holding different views of 'the good' but agreeing on the principle of 'justice as fairness' consisting of the two criteria outlined in his earlier work. Operating within such a consensus public officials would be guided by those principles at all time and so be committed to the 'common good'.

Another link in this chain of historical inheritance is that between classical utilitarianism and contemporary public choice theorists. Public choice theory is an ideologically laden view of democratic politics using economic tools to analyze political behavior. It was essentially a reaction to the growth of the state and the 'myth' that government was benevolent and concerned with the public interest and the common good. Starting from the assumption that all individuals are self-interested utility maximizers, public choice theorists set out to demonstrate that governments are not benevolent but self-interested and frequently malign. Also, individual bureaucrats are not altruistic guardians of the public interest or loyal implementers of government policy but self-interested individuals motivated by 'salary, perquisites of the office, public reputation, power, patronage . . . and the ease of managing the bureau' (Niskanen, 1973).

Left to the economic market with its open access, competition, and the price mechanism, individuals would be free to choose how to maximize their own utility and therefore the result would be in sum total the maximum social utility or welfare or the maximum public interest.

Paradoxically, while public choice theorists claim the pursuit of self-interest leads to generally benign and beneficial results in the private economic market, it produces nothing but pathology in the public political market. This is largely because there is no cash nexus between the individual bureaucrat or politician and the public and there are free riders and organized special interests that introduce imperfections into the political market. The pursuit of self-interest, by bureaucrats, results in the expansion of government and an oversupply because bureaucrats have a monopoly of information about the production function and inflate the demand for and the cost estimates for public goods and services. Politicians 'buy' votes with promises they cannot deliver on and are captured by special interests rather than acting in the general public interest.

Tullock's (1976, p. 27) modified view of the political market, however, is that although bureaucrats seek to improve their own utility, 'their utility . . . is partly based on their immediate ability to consume goods and partly on their appreciation of good things happening to other people. In other words, they are partly selfish and partly public interested'. Downs (1967) also argues that although bureaucrats are motivated by self-interest, they may also have broader motivations such as pride in performance; loyalty to a program, department, or government; and a wish to best serve their fellow citizens. These theorists concede that bureaucrats can be public service motivated and altruistic, although that will not be their only motivation.

Weber does not fit neatly into this chronology because he was a social theorist writing at the beginning of the twentieth century. His contribution, however, to the ideas on public service and public service motivation has been profound. He is widely acknowledged as the 'father' and protagonist of bureaucracy because he saw it as a technically superior form of organization based upon a legal-rational basis of authority. His 'ideal' bureaucracy was the supreme embodiment of rationality applied to the problem of organization. While aware of its potential dangers, Weber saw bureaucracy as a way of controlling the exercise of public power through hierarchy and rules and regulations and ensuring efficiency through specialization and merit-based appointments. Weber (1978) traced bureaucracy to the development of democratic forms of government and the rule of law and his 'ideal' was an ethical domain in its own right. Although each bureaucracy would have its own ethos, including principles and ideals and codes of conduct, individual bureaucrats would be committed to the bureau, uphold and apply its rules and regulations, be accountable to superiors, and internalize its values and ethics.

It is clear from this brief and selective survey that the concept of public service is well established in the history of political and moral philosophy mainly as a prescriptive or idealistic idea—a higher calling, an unselfish activity, a duty and responsibility of the good citizen that individuals are motivated to perform. Contemporary public-choice theorists have challenged that idea and its association with altruistic motives claiming that politicians and public servants, like all humans, are self-interested and motivated only by a desire to maximize their utility. For Weber, the architect of the 'ideal' bureaucracy, the behavior of bureaucrats is externally driven and contingent on the structure and culture of public organizations but will be internalized as a result of socialization and osmosis. Public service cultures, therefore, consist of ideas, values, and practices that motivate and fashion individual and collective behaviors. We now consider the extent to which public service ideals or ethoses have been implemented in public service regimes.

PUBLIC SERVICE REGIMES AND THEIR PUBLIC SERVICE ETHOS

Public service ethos has been defined as 'the sum of ideals which define an overall culture in the public service' (OECD, 1996, p. 14). If public service ethos is an ideal it is inevitable that the actions and behaviors of public bureaucrats may fall short of the prescription. Therefore, it is important to curb their powers and control their use. Today, states are founded on constitutions, which distribute governmental powers between constituent institutions; and public services have a legal basis, which specifies their rights and responsibilities, status, and terms and conditions of service. Many legal frameworks also include codes of ethics, which proscribe and prescribe the behaviors expected of public officials and provide standards against which their behaviors are judged. The development of codified ethical standards is a recent phenomenon but implicit ethical codes of practice have evolved along with the growth of public bureaucracies.

Today the public sector ethos and the ethical frameworks, within which public officials are expected to operate, include behavioral traits, loyalty to the organization and its goals, a commitment to public service, and accountability through and to political authorities and the law. Although these and other features are common to Western state bureaucracies, each regime system is unique, with its own values that are the result of contextual factors, including history, culture, and type of political system. However, where the constitutional and political systems have been derived from a common core, closer identities can be found. The following section will examine three political regime types, which encompass most of the OECD countries: the British and Commonwealth Westminster model, Continental European models, and the U.S. model.

The British and Commonwealth Westminster Model

The United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada are based on the Westminster model with its constitutional monarchy, parliamentary system, limited separation of powers, and a permanent career civil service loyal to the government of the day. Civil service recruitment is merit based and the service has a relatively high status traditionally commanding the trust of politicians and the public. Allegiance of civil servants is to the British monarch or her representative as head of state. Once personal servants of the Crown, they are today answerable to the government.

The British public sector ethos has served as a cultural and ethical framework for civil servants and public officials throughout the twentieth century, and in addition to providing a guidance function, it is claimed to have a motivational aspect (R. Chapman, 1997). It has never been rooted in statute, unlike the Continental European states, with their strong traditions of legalism and administrative law. Its core characteristics include partisan neutrality, anonymity, and accountability to and through ministers. Originally dominated by a group of general administrators drawn from an exclusive social and educational elite, the civil service developed a strong culture and esprit de corps. It was characterized by trust, honesty, integrity, team spirit, mutual respect between civil servants and politicians (normally drawn from the same backgrounds), and loyalty to the service and the government of the day.

This ethos was never formalized in law but maintained through tradition, education, socialization, and self-discipline, and it was disseminated through exemplary behavior.

The values, identified with this public sector ethos, gradually permeated lower levels of the civil service and local government (Pratchett & Wingfield, 1994). Until the 1980s the perception of the public service was that it consisted of public service-motivated individuals who entered it to serve a common good (R. Chapman, 1988). These included the new welfare professionals, who had a vocation to serve the public and were also guided by professional values that emphasized disinterested service. There was a high level of trust between the government, public servants, and citizens and the values of impartiality, fairness, and justice were expected and widely believed to be true (Plant, 2003).

A similar public sector ethos developed in former dominion Commonwealth countries but it is significant that it was not so easily embedded in the former British colonies in Africa and Asia because it did not evolve out of their history or culture. In these countries, tribal, community, and family loyalties override those to the state or nation; forms of corruption are endemic; and there is a low level of trust between civil servants and the public (Bongmba, 2006; Chikulo, 2000; Transparency International, 2007).

Continental European Models

The patterns found in Continental Europe differ in significant ways from those of the British group. First, all the countries of Continental Europe emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries out of revolution or war and their political regimes are based on written constitutions. Although German-speaking countries are described as *Rechtsstaat* systems and French-speaking countries as Napoleonic systems, there are many parallels in the development and content of their public sector ethoses. *Rechtsstaat* literally means a state in which 'political authority is based on, governed by and bound by the law' (Farnham et al., 2005). Highly formalized bureaucratic structures are regulated by administrative law and dominated by administrative lawyers. This guarantees the efficient and effective functioning of the state. Although it is generally associated with Germany and Austria, Finland, the Czech Republic, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, all display some or all of the *Rechtsstaat* characteristics.

Napoleonic systems are also based on administrative law, which regulates all administrative procedures and is applied through a system of administrative courts headed by the Conseil d'État. The hallmark of the Napoleonic model, however, influenced by Rousseau's concept of the general will, is the perception of the state administration as an autonomous entity separate from and above civic society but protecting and serving the public interest (general will). The role of public servants in *Rechtsstaat* systems is also associated with serving the state and organizing state power. Historically, in Germany, the welfare of the king, the state, and the people was perceived to be one (Dorn, 1931), and public servants were part of the patrimony of the king and owed their allegiance to him. But by the nineteenth century, *Fürstendiener* (the king's servants) had become *Staatsdiener* (public servants), and their rights and duties and relations with the state were fixed in public law (Derlien, 2003). So, in both system types, the state is perceived as serving and ensuring the welfare of the people.

Napoleon's legacy to France includes the merit principle, the *grandes écoles* where *fonctionnaires* are trained, and the *corps* to which they subsequently belong for life. Unlike the *Rechtsstaat* and Anglo-Saxon systems, France favors technocrats, rather than lawyers or generalist administrators, to service the state. This technocracy is loyal not to the government but to the state, which remains the symbol of the sovereign French people. The French administrative system is elitist and hierarchical and structured into higher and lower corps. *Rechtsstaat* systems display some of these characteristics with rather rigid boundaries between higher civil servants (*Beamte*), executive-level officials (*Angestellte*), and low-level officials (*Arbeiter*), but because of the federal structure there is less centralization.

In both systems there is great emphasis on due process and the law is codified, prescriptive, and comprehensive—leaving very little discretion to officials. Recruitment to public services throughout Europe is based on open competition, merit, and rigorous entrance examinations. However, partisan allegiance penetrates the public service in *Rechtsstaat* systems. In Germany, this reflects the need for politicians, during postwar reconstruction, to ensure that public officials were sympathetic to the reinstated democratic ideology and political objectives. Today, in the United Germany and other *Rechtsstaat* systems, political appointees are expected to be loyal to the government of the day, but the majority of civil servants do not change with the government and they are loyal above all to the law, the constitution, and the 'public interest'. There is no clear subordination of public servants to politicians in France as many public servants enter politics. They are, however, generally committed to an active state, which delivers public services to the community based on equality and efficiency.

Although there has been a separation of state and church in most European countries since the French Revolution, traditional Catholic values have influenced the strong sense of community and responsibility for others represented in their complex local government systems and also in the welfare role of the state. The French attitude toward the state and its officials is ambivalent. They look to the state to provide for them although they fear its pervasiveness and resent its intrusion into their privacy. Liberty, equality, and fraternity are the fundamental values that fashion their expectations and are central to the French public sector ethos. Similarly in *Rechtsstaat* systems, there is a strong emphasis on the welfare role of the state and many constitutions confer welfare rights on individuals. In the Netherlands, however, because of the influence of the Protestant religion, there is more emphasis on individualism and community than on collectivism and the state.

All Continental European systems have a public service ethos. In Germany and Austria, there is a *Beamtenethos* with which public servants, at every level, identify. It consists of ideals and values relating to the rule of law, partisan neutrality, impartiality, equity, secrecy (rooted in the constitutional principle of *Amtsverschwiegenheit*), public welfare, the balancing of divergent social interests and stakeholders, maintaining stability during political change, and focusing on the public interest (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006, p. 101). The Netherlands also bears some of the characteristics of this *Beamtenethos*, although tempered by its more individualistic culture (Hondeghem & Vandenabeele, 2005).

Similarly, in France there is great importance attached to impartiality, respect for the law, the principle of equality, and a welfare orientation (Hondeghem & Vandenabeele, 2005). The difference is perhaps the low esteem in which politicians are held unless they are members of the *corps*. Other countries that bear the hallmarks of a Napoleonic system are Belgium, Luxembourg, Spain, and to a lesser extent Switzerland, which has a complex mix of German, Italian, and French influences.

The U.S. Model

Because of the revolutionary origins of the United States and its rejection of autocratic rule, distrust of government is a core element of its political culture. This differentiates it from Continental Europe, where the state is seen as a source of welfare, and other Anglo-Saxon countries with less collectivist cultures but expectations of welfare state provision. All Anglo-Saxon countries are common-law systems in contrast to the Roman law-based systems of Continental Europe.

The U.S. Constitution enshrines the principles of limited government, federalism, and the separation of powers designed to curb and prevent the abuse of public power. It is predicated on the theory that all men [*sic*] have fundamental inalienable rights, which can be arrived at by right reason and the role of government is to secure those rights. The rights are set down in the Constitution, which is used to both exclude and justify government actions (Rohr, 1989). All civil servants take an oath to uphold the constitution. As there is no sovereign body in the United States, conflicts can only be legitimately resolved through the courts and by reference to the fundamental law—the Constitution.

The original federal public service grew up based on political patronage (Van Riper, 1958). It was influenced by the founding fathers' ideal of public servants as men of character and competence. With the growth of political parties a 'spoils system' developed at state and local levels of government, and supporters of political parties were rewarded with the spoils of office. Linked to republican ideas of equality and that any man can govern, it was well entrenched by the 1860s. The merit principle, however, slowly took hold as the disadvantages of the patronage system became clear. The system that gradually emerged was the revolving door in contrast to the career systems of Western Europe. There was no security of tenure for public officials who were recruited to a particular job and a specific organization rather than to 'the service'.

Following Woodrow Wilson's (1887) historic essay arguing for the separation of politics and administration, new values including loyalty to the people, devotion to democracy, and efficient government were layered on the traditional ones of loyalty to the Constitution and the law. The 'ideal' civil servant was now seen as opting for public service because of a concern for public welfare and willing to put policy above party. Holding public service in great esteem, he would take on the mantle of public stewardship. He would also be patriotic, desire security, and be content with a modest income (Van Riper, 1958). The reformers wanted to attract men of integrity and morality and with public service motivation as well as the skills to operate efficiently.

The public service had no great appeal in the United States and lacked status because of the anti-government culture until Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal. This saw many educated people enter the federal government as it assumed a more interventionist role although there was still no federal service. The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 created a federal Senior Executive Service aimed at coordinating the work of the many federal government departments and agencies but it failed to replace the traditional system of fragmented recruitment to posts, departments, and agencies. There is no esprit de corps in the U.S. federal civil service, as there is in the European services. Loyalty still seems to be to the department or agency, and commitment is to the policy or the service being provided to the public rather than to the government.

There is no agreement on what the public sector ethos is in the United States or whether it acts as a motivational force. One view is that it is based upon respect for the Constitution, the flag, the rule of law, the rights and freedoms of all individuals, and a belief in the residual role of the state in providing for social welfare (Volcker, 1989). Fox (1994) describes it as 'procedural utilitarianism'. The Volcker Commission produced evidence that public service motivation was low and public service ethics far from 'ideal'. A second Commission Report (Volcker 2003) indicated that the problem remained.

There is a great deal of public service activity outside of government and state organizations in the United States. However, motivation within government, never strong, has been weakened in recent years.

Summary

Every public service regime has its own unique public service ethos that reflects fundamental values, beliefs, and ideals held by politicians, public servants, and the public about that regime. Each ethos is embedded in its own specific institutional and historical context and culture. However, there are many common elements that can be identified across regimes, which reflect parallel developments of state and political systems. All countries in the Western world today are liberal democracies and claim to be bound by the rule of law. They have written constitutions (except the United Kingdom) that set down the powers of government and the rights of its citizens. They are all welfare states, although social welfare traditions vary reflecting diverse balances between individualism and collectivism. Every public service operates within a system of laws, rules, and regulations designed to direct and control the exercise of public power, although there are major differences between the Roman law-based systems of Continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon common law-based countries. Furthermore, the perceived role of the state explains to a large extent the type of senior public servants—technocrats, lawyers, or generalists—that dominate the services.

The OECD (1996) identified the following core values among its member states: integrity, honesty and probity, objectivity and impartiality, selflessness, respect for human dignity, respect for the rule of law and due process, protection of the vulnerable, accountability, openness, and responsiveness to government. Some of these values span recorded history; others can be identified with modernity, liberal democracy, and the growth of rational legal-based administrative systems. Today, new values are appearing, including efficiency and risk taking. Efficiency first appeared as a core value in the United States in the 1880s but, coupled with risk taking, it is now being asserted in both Anglo-Saxon and European systems.

PUBLIC SERVICE ETHOS

Ethical standards are grounded in specific administrative systems, so changes in one are likely to lead to changes in the other. It is no surprise, therefore, that the transformation of administrative systems into managerial and entrepreneurial ones since the 1980s have seen changes in ethical standards too. In the new regulated states with their quasi markets, senior civil servants are seen as entrepreneurs involved in strategic management to ensure competitive advantage, efficiency, effectiveness, and value for money in the delivery of policies and services. New criteria of public service are emerging that do not sit comfortably with the traditional public sector ethos of many states nor with the identities that public servants have of themselves (Horton, 2006).

By managerializing public services, government reformers are politicizing them. By seeking to control through targets and performance indicators, they have removed many of the procedural rules and regulations within which public power, exercised by public servants, has been traditionally contained and bounded. Good governance is not simply about delivering services but about maintaining stability and order; integrating and facilitating the welfare of society; and, at the top level, advising and warning politicians. Accountability to the market is not a substitute for political accountability and a strong administrative system that can act as the guardian of the constitution. The new public management reformers or modernizers are attempting to change the roles of civil servants and what Weber called their 'life orders'.

This explains the call for new ethical frameworks for today's public managers and entrepreneurs. Public servants are using their power and their legitimacy to fashion that change and in the process hybrid identities and ethoses are emerging. Whether these new identities and values will motivate people to want to become public servants in the future remains to be seen. As Du Gay states:

> The function of officials . . . cannot be exhaustively defined in terms of achieving results with maximum economic efficiency, value for money or best value. There is a host of other obligations and responsibilities imposed upon state officials . . . (including) loyalty to those who are politically responsible, sensitivity to the complexity of the public interest, honesty and fearlessness in the formulation and provision of advice. . . . They have ethical responsibilities of a state interest or public interest kind that are more complex and onerous than those required simply to meet the bottom lines of management. (2000, p. 144)

Here we return to debates about an ideal and the need for an ethical code of practice, which guides and signals and polices the actions of public officials in the real world.

Public sector ethics has been on the political agenda of the OECD since the 1990s and there has been a concerted effort to re-establish a new consensus on values and ethical principles to guide public officials' relationships with politicians, clients, and other officials and regain public trust (OECD, 2000). Some countries (e.g. United Kingdom, Portugal, and New Zealand) have established new ethical codes and others (e.g. United States, Germany, and France) have incorporated their ethical codes into public law. Although traditional bureaucratic ethics are perceived as too narrow, there is no agreement on what new ethics and which values should guide the behavior of public servants in the future nor how these values can be operationalized (Maesschalck, 2004).

This chapter has examined the idea of public service and the ideal public servant from Plato to Rawls. It has demonstrated that some key values exist today across a range of political regimes, although each regime has its own distinctive public service ethos. Osborne and Gaebler (1992) identified the challenges facing governments today in terms of how to promote competition between service providers; empower citizens to have control over bureaucracies; managerialize civil services; focus on missions, goals, and outputs; use the techniques and practices of the private market sector; and finally mobilize public, private, and voluntary organization to solve wicked social problems. All OECD countries have responded to these challenges although their trajectories vary (Farnham et al., 2005; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). The implications of adopting this new paradigm of entrepreneurial governance or new public management, clearly has far-reaching implications for public service ethics since the ethos governing the conduct of state bureaucrats and that governing business leaders are different. Weber warned against 'any attempt to establish commandments of identical content across "life orders"' (Du Gay, 2000, p. 8), and yet this is exactly what the initial advocates of the new paradigm have sought to do; to transform mandarins and bureaucrats into risk-taking, enterprising, problem-solving, output-driven managers; and to import economic market values into political systems. This is changing the image and identity of the public servant and blurring the distinction between the public and the private sectors of society. The question is what will be the 'ideal' public servant and whether that image will motivate people to enter public service.

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2

Interdisciplinary Foundations of Public Service Motivation

Michael Koehler and Hal G. Rainey

The concept of motivation to engage in public service has received attention in the public administration literature for years, but often unsystematically. Because the topic should be central to theory and practice of public management, as well as management in other settings, it needed more careful analysis. The work of Perry and colleagues (Perry, 1996, 1997, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990) began this process, and recent articles in major journals have continued it (e.g. Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Wright, 2007). In addition to these contributions, social scientists from fields other than public administration have analyzed topics relevant to public service motivation, so the review reported here consults these other sources and their concepts. Much of the work from public administration has centered on Perry's scale, has supported the viability and value of the scale, and has reported meaningful relations to other important variables. In developing the scale, Perry and colleagues reviewed literature from fields other than public administration. Our purpose here is to contribute to this effort to look outward to learn from research in related fields.

This review will show that contributions from other fields offer important insights. Various authors, for example, make the point that altruistic motives, and motives to serve group and community interests more than immediate self-interests, are normal and necessary in human behavior; they are not irrational, self-destructive, or socially destructive as some theorists assume. The review also identifies other issues for scholars, such as the challenge of balancing self-interested motives with altruistic, group, and community-regarding motives, and balancing extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. The issues relate to theoretical and practical challenges in analyzing and applying public service motivation, such as the challenge of enhancing the connection between pay and performance, while still encouraging service-oriented motives.

The contributions from other fields suggest that public service motivation should be regarded as a distinctive concept not readily encompassed by the theories and concepts from the fields summarized in this chapter. The contributions from other fields, moreover, often provide little guidance about important related matters, such as why individuals would vary in levels of altruism and collective orientation, and in their choices about how to express and pursue these motives. Hence, they do not answer questions concerning why one person would have a higher level of service-oriented motivation than another, and why a person chooses certain avenues for service-oriented motivation, such as government service or service in particular policy areas. At the same time, these other perspectives show that service-oriented motivation is a complex and multi-faceted concept. Many different dispositions, such as patriotism, moral obligation, obligation to society, or familial influence, influence the concept to varying degrees. Nevertheless, while it may be difficult to develop a simple unifying theory of service-oriented motivation, the literature suggests common characteristics among persons engaging in service-oriented behavior. It also suggests the possibility of categorizing the various subtypes of motives, building on the work of Brewer et al. (2000). Such a categorization would support the development of service-promoting incentive systems that are specifically customized to the unique motivational needs of each of the various subgroups. In these and other ways, the review provides insights for future analysts, but also raises important challenges.

SOCIOBIOLOGY

One place to look for clues to the basis for behaviors relevant to service-oriented motivation is in the evolutionary process. Sociobiologists study the development of social behavior through biological evolution—the maximization of fitness to survive and to produce offspring. Sociobiologists investigate the social behaviors of species, from insects to mammals, and have proposed theories concerning the development of human social behaviors as consequences of the evolutionary process.

The work of sociobiologists such as E. O. Wilson (2000), Trivers (as cited in E. O. Wilson, 2000), and de Waal (1996) provides a concept of altruism based in reciprocity. E. O. Wilson (2000, p. 117) defines altruism as 'when a person (or animal) increases the fitness of another at the expense of his own fitness'. Sociobiologists study how altruistic acts, which run counter to the drive to maximize fitness, develop in the process of natural selection.

Trivers (as cited in E. O. Wilson, 2000) developed the concept of reciprocal altruism to account for the conflict sociobiologists saw in the idea that an animal would sacrifice its own fitness for another's. In human populations, because humans have the capacity to remember and feel moral obligation for acts of altruism, there is a benefit to performing acts of kindness, if the beneficiary might return the gesture with an act of altruism at some point in the future. Within a population, a network of obligations of reciprocal altruism would increase the genetic fitness of the individuals and the population overall. In humans, social consequences, guilt, and moralistic behavior discourage cheating; and self-righteousness, gratitude, and sympathy encourage reciprocation.

De Waal (1996) found evidence of reciprocal altruism in populations of monkeys, apes, and other animals. He observed behavior in groups of monkeys and apes that maintained an environment that promotes survival and reproduction, through minimizing disruptions to the social fabric of the group and avoiding physical harm to other members. He terms this behavior 'community concern'. In his view, morality cannot exist without reciprocity. A biological basis for reciprocity in animals suggests that human morality also has a biological foundation. The understanding and regulation of morality, moreover, sets humans apart from other animals. Humans hold the strongest moral endorsement for activities that benefit the collective welfare of society, extending beyond the individual's familial and social group.

Reciprocal altruism and community concern in the evolutionary survival process could be considered low-order motivational foundations for service-oriented motivation. If, as E. O. Wilson, Trivers, and de Waal theorize, people have developed altruistic behaviors as a survival mechanism—finding cooperation more beneficial to the goal of personal preservation than self-interested behavior that may isolate the individual from the group—then it follows that behavior that seeks to benefit the greater community and is motivated by feeling the need to give back to society may reflect these sociobiological bases of behavior. In this theoretical perspective, altruistic exchanges between individuals have an aggregate benefit for the group.

EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY

Evolutionary psychology also incorporates evolutionary theory as an explanation for altruistic behavior. Although similar to sociobiology, evolutionary psychology extends beyond the biological motivations of altruism that constitute the core of sociobiology. It focuses on 'psychological mechanisms that cause individuals to coalesce into functionally organized groups' (Sober & Wilson, 1998, p. 194), and analyzes how behaviors that develop through individual initiative interact with the process of selection to adapt to the group environment.

Employing the concept of group selection, Sober and Wilson (1998) make an argument for the evolutionary superiority of groups with large numbers of altruists. In evolution, individuals with the most selfish attributes have an advantage over those who sacrifice themselves for altruistic ends. On the group level, this advantage diminishes. Groups of individuals with more selfish members experience intragroup competition, weakening the group. Groups with more altruistic members cooperate and develop a stronger group with a reproductive advantage over less altruistic groups, and an increase in the number of altruistic individuals versus selfish individuals. A more altruistic group, however, experiences some selfish, free-riding behavior by group members that perpetuates some selfish traits within each group. These traits still benefit the group in certain ways, such as promoting the group's defense from physical attack. This conception of group selection forms the basis of Sober and Wilson's argument for the evolutionary development of altruism.

Talbot (2003, 2005) describes sociability as a 'fundamental aspect of "human nature"'. Humans have 'social instinct(s)' which often create a wide range of paradoxical (or contradictory) pairs of behaviors. One such pair often incorporated in the study of evolutionary psychology is 'altruism and selfishness'. Using the group fitness selection principles of evolutionary psychology, Talbot theorizes that groups that employ paradoxical behavior, adapting actions as needed to fit the circumstances of each situation, will succeed in the struggle for survival. A group must engage in various levels of both altruistic and selfish behaviors to survive. The paradoxical nature of the behavior allows the group both to innovate and to adapt for the benefit of the group, making the paradoxical group evolutionarily superior over groups that employ one of the contradictory behaviors but not the other. Thus, Talbot makes a case for altruistic behavior and other prosocial behaviors as necessary for group survival.

Evolutionary psychologists' theories of altruism and its evolutionary benefit move beyond the sociobiological concepts of reciprocal altruism and its motivational requirement of obligation repayment. Sober, Wilson, and Talbot conceptualize altruism as a self-sacrificial behavior that may not be repaid on the individual level, but benefits the entire group, conveying indirect benefits to the individual. Groups with altruistic individuals survive and perpetuate the characteristics.

DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

Developmental psychology studies the progressive psychological changes that manifest as a person progresses through life. Theorists in the field developed frameworks of stages of psychological development, starting from birth. The behaviors in these stages build upon the behaviors developed in prior stages. Consequently, the behaviors developed in childhood and adolescence influence behaviors that develop in adulthood, such as prosocial behaviors. Some researchers identify prosocial motivation that can develop in the adulthood stage, at a point where a person analyzes her or his role in society, and focuses on the greater good and an enduring contribution to society.

Erikson (1980, 1997) referred to this motivation as 'generativity'. Generativity is, in part, the development of ideas, products, and offspring that will benefit the next generation. In the case of individuals who have 'special and genuine gifts in other directions' (Erikson, 1980, p. 103) or for other reasons do not focus their generative energies on offspring, they may 'apply this drive . . . to other forms of altruistic concern and of creativity, which may absorb their kind of parental responsibility' (Erikson, 1980, p. 103). By 'other directions', Erikson means talents that are not suited for the upbringing of offspring but instead are more usefully employed in the greater society. Actions driven by such extra family–oriented generativity benefit persons other than close relations and/or benefit the greater society. Individuals who develop a strong state of generativity care about those products of their generativity.

Generativity develops in the seventh stage (adulthood) of the developmental life cycle conceived by Erikson. He divides the psychosocial (personality) development of persons into eight stages: infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age. At each stage, the person confronts a psychosocial challenge such as basic trust versus basic mistrust, intimacy versus isolation, or generativity versus stagnation, among others. If at each stage, the 'syntonic potential', or normal psychosocial behavior (the first in the dyads), 'outbalances' the 'dystonic potential' (Erikson, 1997, p. 80), or abnormal psychosocial behavior (the second in the dyads), then the person attains the psychosocial strength for that stage. The strengths developed in prior life stages, such as 'hope and will, purpose and skill, (and) fidelity and love' (Erikson, 1997, p. 67) determine the quality of generativity in each individual.

Kohlberg (1984) also incorporated the categorization of developmental stages to craft a theory of psychological development focusing on morality. Moral development, according to Kohlberg's theory, involves progressive changes in the structure of a person's moral judgment. These changes occur in sequential stages that are universal across cultures when unique cultural values are eliminated from consideration. Each stage builds upon the prior stage and can only begin after the prior stage is complete, and progression is not necessarily correlated with age, as it is with Erikson's stages.

Behavior that reflects positive concern with the state of the social environment begins at stage 3: Interpersonally Normative Morality. Stage 3 falls within the second level of moral development—the conventional level. At this level, the importance of maintaining and supporting the social order is paramount. Expectations of standards of moral conduct in stage 3 originate from the individual's family, group, or nation. The influence of personal relationships regulates behavior. The norms of behavior at stage 3 emphasize altruistic or prosocial roles. Reciprocal exchange is based on fairness, assuming a 'do unto others' character for the first time in the development progression, inculcating the recipient with feelings of gratitude, loyalty, and/or duty to reciprocate.

Stage 4: Social System Morality also falls under the conventional level of moral development. In stage 4, a person's moral perspective transcends personal relationships and focuses instead on the community. At this stage, the informal norms of behavior of stage 3 are codified to preserve an unbiased and congruent nature. Reciprocity at this stage becomes an accepted social norm. The individual derives a feeling of 'duty, obligation, or debt to society' (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 632) from the perceived benefits of participation in society.

Stage 5: Human Rights and Social Welfare Morality is the most advanced stage of human development observed by Kohlberg. Stage 5 represents the first stage in the final level of moral development, the postconventional, autonomous, or principled level. The moral principles of this level stand on their own authority, independent of collective validation by groups and the individual's affiliation with these groups. At stage 5, the inception of 'a "society-creating" rather than a "society-maintaining" perspective' (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 634) occurs. In this stage, morality focuses on preservation of the fundamental, universal values and rights that make up the foundation of a moral society and on the promotion of social welfare. Certain prerogatives are considered uninfringeable and persons feel obligated to uphold these rights despite potential conflict. From the social welfare perspective, social institutions, rules, or laws are judged based on the enduring consequences for individual or group welfare. At this stage, reciprocity can entail the exchange of both tangible and intangible 'equivalents' (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 635). Such an exchange could include making a personal sacrifice to help promote the improvement of society in exchange for the perceived benefits of membership in society.

These theories from developmental psychology include concepts such as generativity and social morality that reflect potential aspects of service-oriented motives. Following the developmental psychology theory outlined above, behaviors, such as those that seek to improve the character, equity, and function of society, are the product of highly developed psychological motivations, which manifest themselves only after lower order psychological development levels have been achieved. The quality, strength, and durability of service-oriented motivation would be the product of the psychological characteristics developed by the individual in earlier stages. Developmental psychology theory supports the idea that individuals can show varying levels of service-oriented motivation, due to their individual psychological development processes.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Psychologists studying social interaction have developed theories about extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. Extrinsic motivations respond to incentives external to the individual's response to the task itself, while intrinsic motivations derive from interest and engagement in the actual work involved in the task. Most analysts of service-oriented motivation classify it as an intrinsic motivation, yet it may also have extrinsic influences. Hence, the analysis of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation has relevance for the analysis of service-oriented motivation.

Self-determination theory, developed by Ryan and Deci (2000a, 2000b), is the 'investigation of people's inherent growth tendencies and innate psychological needs that are the basis for their self-motivation and personality integration, as well as for the conditions that foster those positive processes' (Ryan & Deci, 2000b, p. 68). The theory proposes that social environments have direct effects on individual motivation and personality development. It focuses on the conscious control (self-determination) the actor has over various behaviors, and how inputs from the social environment affect levels of control. Research regarding this theory has isolated three psychological needs—competence, autonomy, and relatedness—which affect self-motivation and mental well-being. When these needs are met, motivation and well-being improve.

A sub-theory of self-determination theory, organismic integration theory, categorizes the different forms of extrinsic motivation and specifies the environmental determinants that advance or impede the management of these behaviors. The sub-theory's categorization organizes motivational types in sequence according to the extent to which they originate from within oneself (are self-determined). For this sub-theory, the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is important. Intrinsic motivation, as defined by Ryan and Deci (2000a), motivates an activity because the individual derives interest or enjoyment from it. Extrinsic motivation, in their view, motivates engagement in an activity that leads to results distinct from personal interest or enjoyment. In the sub-theory's context, 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.

Organismic integration theory identifies two categories of extrinsic motivation that originate in part from within the individual. 'Regulation through identification' has a weak locus of self-determination. An individual within this category identifies with and supports an action or the value it conveys, magnifying the personal importance of the action and creating a state of perceived autonomy from other external influences. However, according to self-determination theory, some of these identifications may be isolated from the individual's values on the whole, therefore not reflecting the individual's overall values, weakening the self-determined character of the resulting action.

The other category of extrinsic motivation, 'integrated regulation', has self-determination qualities similar to those of intrinsic motivation, but seeks an outcome other than personal satisfaction. This form of extrinsic motivation manifests when the individual has evaluated the identifications developed in the 'regulation through identification' category and has brought these identifications into agreement with his or her previously held values or needs. If the three psychological needs—competence, autonomy, and relatedness—are also satisfied in conjunction with the action, the extrinsic motivation of this action can mirror the personal commitment and authenticity of an intrinsically motivated action.

A second sub-theory of self-determination theory, cognitive evaluation theory, focuses on the characteristics and factors that govern intrinsic motivation. For intrinsic motivation to be strong, the decision to engage in the action must be autonomous, that is, not influenced by sources other than the individual's own preferences. In addition, the feeling that performing an action has enhanced the individual's perception of his or her competence consequently results in an increase in intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is also affected by social environments. To the extent that an individual perceives that the social environment pressures him or her to engage in certain actions in a way that decreases the autonomy of the decision to engage in the action and reduces the competence felt from performing the action, intrinsic motivation is also reduced. Research (Deci & Ryan, 2002) has shown that tangible rewards for intrinsically motivated actions can reduce intrinsic motivation if they reduce the perceived autonomy of the decision to engage in the action.

The identification of categories of extrinsic motivation, 'regulation through identification' and 'integrated regulation', which exhibit qualities of self-determination very similar to that of intrinsic motivation, raises the likelihood that service-oriented motivation may possess both intrinsic and extrinsic qualities. Scholars have noted that intrinsic motivation may be too narrowly defined (Shamir, 1991). Self-determination theory indicates that extrinsic motives may exhibit intrinsic qualities as levels of personal control increase. These types of extrinsic motives may foster and support service-oriented motivation, such as in situations in which the individual is working toward a greater, intangible goal that does not promise immediate gratification.

Piliavin and her collaborators' development of role identity theory (Grube & Piliavin, 2000) adds another valuable contribution to the study of how social psychology impacts motivation in public service. The individual derives role identities from the different positions which he or she holds in each of their various networks of social relationships. Each position defines the role—relationships and behavioral expectations—that the individual occupies in the corresponding social network. These roles can be incorporated into the individual's identity, becoming a part of his or her perceived self. Thus, a role identity unique to each network can be created and the conglomeration of these identities makes up the whole of the perceived self.

Piliavin et al. (2002) studied the effect of role identity on two types of prosocial actions, volunteering and 'principled organizational dissent'. Regarding volunteering, they found that perceived expectations of behavior held by persons with social influence over the individual affects the decision by that individual to become a volunteer. The characteristics of the volunteer organization (such as reputation) and the quality of the volunteering experience have on the individual's volunteer role identity influence the level of volunteer effort.

Principled organizational dissent includes protest actions (such as whistle-blowing) that a person carries out in an organization to change a situation that contravenes the person's perceived moral, ethical, or social standards. If an individual establishes a general role identity about his or her purpose in an organization and this role identity comes into conflict with a more specific role identity defined by a position in the organization, the conflict can motivate principled organizational dissent behaviors, aimed at bringing the specific role expectations into congruence with the general role expectations.

These social psychologists show that the role that the individual plays in social networks influences service-oriented motivation. Both intrinsic and extrinsic motives may stimulate prosocial actions, with self-determination of paramount importance to maintaining motivation levels. The level of autonomy and self-determination that an individual feels in his or her role as a contributor to society affects the extent to which that person feels motivated to contribute. As discussed below, the wrong forms of extrinsic motivation may reduce the individual's perception of self-determination and result in decreased intrinsic motivation. A lack of equivalence between individual perceptions of role and organizational expectations of role may result in an attempt to assert some level of self-determination over that role, resulting in dissent actions with the purpose of righting perceived wrongs to society.

Social psychologists have also analyzed the influence of empathy on altruism. Batson et al. (2002), for example, report evidence that empathy for an individual or group enhances altruistic behavior.

ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

The relevant research in organizational behavior draws on social psychologists' insights about social interaction and the management of social dynamics within an organization, and especially the characteristics of an organization or of a person that motivate individual service-oriented behavior that benefits the organization. This positive activity by organization members is not mandated and may not be rewarded, but still creates useful outcomes for the organization.

Organ coined the term 'organizational citizenship behavior', defining it as 'individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and in the aggregate promotes the efficient and effective functioning of the organization' (Organ et al., 2006, p. 3). This is prosocial and/or pro-organizational behavior that benefits the organization, making it distinct from prosocial behavior between individuals.

Organ and his colleagues break organizational citizenship behavior down into seven categories, two of which—helping and civic virtue—follow closely the theme of self-sacrificial behavior. Helping involves voluntarily providing assistance to others to solve work-related problems and promote workplace harmony. Civic virtue, a construct developed from the work of Graham (1991; as cited in Piliavin et al., 2002; as cited in Konovsky & Organ, 1996), encompasses employee behavior related to perceived citizenship responsibilities to the organization as a whole. This behavior includes the desire to contribute to the governance of the organization, to maintain and improve the function of the organization, and to monitor the welfare of the organization, without the potential for reward and possibly at the risk of personal loss. Organ et al. (2006) regard this behavior as similar to that of citizens of a nation who perform civic service in recognition of their membership in that common collective.

Rousseau's (1995) work on psychological contracts in organizations incorporates the theme of reciprocity between the individual and the social collective. The organization member and the organization create reciprocal obligations as each derives benefit from the other. These social contracts are unwritten and the terms are contingent on the unique situation. The values governing these contracts reflect the values and norms of the greater society. Such psychological contracts have important implications for analysis of service-oriented motivation; such contract development may relate to a psychological contract of reciprocity between an individual and his or her nation. An individual may feel obligated to offer civic service as to compensate his or her country for benefits received as a citizen.

Research on organizational citizenship behavior and psychological contracts, however, usually does not address individuals' orientations toward the clientele, community, or polity outside the organization. As one might expect, researchers investigating organizational behavior tend to concentrate on organizations, and not on the general public or the public interest. An important consideration for research concerns how organizational citizenship behavior in a particular organization and psychological contracts with an organization relate to service-oriented motivation. Such topics have by no means been ignored or overlooked by organizational behavior researchers. Some decades ago, Buchanan (1974, 1975) reported findings of lower levels of organizational commitment among a sample of federal government managers, as compared to an equivalent sample of managers in private firms. He interpreted this difference as reflecting greater difficulty on the part of the public managers in perceiving the impact of their efforts on their organizations' accomplishments; hence they experienced low fulfillment of their motives to serve the public and the public interest.

Grant (in press) reports evidence that employees in service organizations often have difficulty recognizing their contributions to the greater society. Clarifying this connection, through interaction with persons benefiting from their work, increases employees' service motivation. Grant's results illustrate the importance of designing jobs in service organizations to expose employees to the prosocial impacts of their efforts.

ECONOMICS

Many economists explain self-interested behavior as a rational choice an individual makes to improve his or her well-being. Some economists view self-sacrificial behavior as irrational and find such behavior difficult to explain in economic terms. Yet such behavior is observed in all types of interactions between individuals. Some researchers, however, have sought to explain self-sacrificial motives from an economic perspective.

Frank (1988) contends that emotional commitments can encourage unselfish behavior by creating a benefit for both the individual and society. His commitment model theorizes that generous behavior builds emotional commitment between individuals and also develops a positive reputation for the benefactor based on a network of long-term emotional connections within the community. This positive reputation generates both tangible and intangible benefits for the humanitarian in the community. The behaviors that create a positive reputation are not easily feigned in that people tend to be perceptive enough to eventually detect such deception and will often punish it. Therefore, an individual is motivated to engage in altruistic behaviors honestly in order to reap the benefits that an enhanced reputation would deliver and to avoid the penalties that dishonesty would elicit.

Frey (1997a, 2000) developed a theory of motivation crowding effects, building on earlier work by social psychologists. This theory posits an interaction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation that relates to the economic model of price and supply. Drawing on Deci and Ryan's definitions of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (discussed above), Frey theorizes that if sources of extrinsic motivation exert too great an influence on the motivation for performing an action, the pressure can 'crowd out' the intrinsic motivation for performing the action. The result may be that the actor reduces the quantity (or supply) of the activity that he or she was willing to perform intrinsically. This behavior results from the perception that extrinsic influences are controlling the situation, which weakens the individual's level of self-determination related to the activity and/or hampers the individual's self-esteem related to the perceived value of the activity. The perceived loss in value reduces the intrinsic motivation attached to the activity and therefore the individual reduces the effort devoted to the activity. At a certain increased level of compensation, the influence of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation reaches an equilibrium and the quantity of the activity ceases to fall and begins to rise as extrinsic motivation becomes more dominant. At this point, the 'crowding-out' effect ends and quantity rises with compensation.

In addition to creating a crowding-out effect, extrinsic incentives can create a 'crowding-in' effect. If the incentives are perceived as supportive, therefore increasing the individual's self-esteem about the act, the individual will feel that the choice to perform the act is more self-determined (more in their control). In this situation, sources of extrinsic motivation influence the individual to perform an action while at the same time, and contrary to the 'crowding-out' effect, these sources 'crowd in' or increase intrinsic motivation to perform the action. The result is a compounded motivational effect that can be encouraged by carefully developed extrinsic incentives.

Frey cites evidence of these effects in the public sector (Frey, 1997b; Frey & Jegen, 2001). The fact that many public sector employees work for lower salaries than they could expect in the private sector may reflect a higher level of intrinsic motivation in these individuals, indicating that they perceive that their work efforts contribute value to society. Evidence of the crowding-in effect is found in a study of Swiss cantons that showed the greater and more direct involvement that citizens have in their democratic institutions, the 'higher (their) level of civic virtue' (Frey, 1997b) as indicated by reduced incidences of tax cheating. This crowding-in of intrinsic motivation is fostered by a framework of government that gives citizens as direct an involvement in the process of government as possible, conveying trust in the citizenry and increasing their perceived levels of self-determination. Le Grand (2003) contends that many incentive systems in public organizations aggravate the crowding-out problems that Frey discusses, and argues that incentive systems need configurations that are better able to avoid the crowding out of intrinsic motives.

François (2000) provides what appears to be the first formal economic model of public service motivation. The model posits the circumstances under which public sector organizations can gain greater employee effort, as a result of public service motivation, than a private sector organization can typically induce. In a public sector organization, as contrasted with a private sector firm, a public service-motivated individual can 'credibly commit' (François, 2000, p. 277) effort to service provision if he or she knows that output would fall if his or her effort declines. In the private sector, such commitment is not possible because the incentive for effort is profit maximization. The individual is motivated to exert effort by the potential for loss of profit, not by the intangible value of the service to the public, as in the public sector.

François postulates from his models that private sector incentives and management techniques can negatively affect employee effort motivated by public service and are therefore not always suitable for implementation in the public sector. He identifies three situations in which private sector incentives negatively affect public service motivation. If employee effort complements other nonlabor inputs, if the public service motivation of some employees is not high enough to ensure that they will compensate for other employees' tendency to shirk work effort, or if the cost of adjusting the labor or nonlabor inputs to alter the level of service output are either too high to afford or too low to have a significant impact.

Although self-sacrificial behaviors seem inconsistent with many economists' assumptions about utility maximization, the psychology of self-sacrificial behavior provides theorists with an exchange mechanism to explain the motivation for such behaviors. Even if the work or outcomes of the work do not convey a direct benefit to the actor, the personal value the individual derives from the work or the outcomes provides incentive to motivate the actions. Psychological and/or emotional connection to public service actions may drive the actors to continue to perform them, despite the obvious lack of economic incentives.

SOCIOLOGY

Sociologists also provide valuable insights. Etzioni (1983, 1988), for example, questions the view that self-interested economic motives dominate human behavior. Instead, he argues for a broader sociological perspective that includes the seemingly competing values of cultivating strong communities and of individual advancement through self-interest. In Etzioni's view, economic self-interest, or the '*I*' perspective, is affected by how committed to and grounded in their community the individual is, and by how strong their emotional and moral foundation is, that is, the '*We*' perspective. This interaction draws its basis from the philosophical tenets of deontological ethics, that is, the ethics of duty or moral obligation.

Civility, in Etzioni's view, has an impact on self-interested behavior that the Public Choice and neoclassical economic schools of thought usually overlook. Civility, 'the individual's moral commitment to shared concerns' (Etzioni, 1988, p. 56) is made up of three parts: commitment to adhere to laws, regulations, and norms; a commitment of some effort to public affairs; and a commitment to allot some portion of time and effort to service to the public (Etzioni, 1983, p. 92). He contends that individuals are under the influence concurrently of two products of socialization, the pursuit of gratification and moral obligation. Gratification is the motivating force of the '*I*' perspective and moral obligation is the motivating force of the '*We*' perspective. The character and extent of these influences on behavior are contingent on individual personality, the nature of society, and the influence of history. Gratification and moral obligation affect the other and in turn both shape behavior to different extents subject to the influence of varying social environment conditions. Thus, based in part on the character of each individual's socialization into society and existing social conditions, the weight of influence of the '*I*' perspective relative to that of the '*We*' perspective influences the individual to behave in a more self-interested or a more prosocial fashion. Persons with a more influential '*We*' perspective are more likely to engage in prosocial behavior. Etzioni believes that the '*We*' perspective can be strengthened as an influence on behavior if it is valued and promoted by society.

Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) also delve beyond the self-interested rational choice models of economic motivation to create a blended sociological model of motivation that includes the influence of emotional attachments and social norms, in addition to the utility calculations of rational choice. They refer to the emotional attachments that individuals develop with other persons or groups as 'affective bonding' and actions governed by societal norms of moral and ethical behavior as 'normative conformity'. The combined effect of rational, affective, and normative motivations influences an individual's aggregate motivation to contribute effort or resources for the benefit of a collective action organization. A collective action organization is a group of like-minded people who have joined together to pursue a common goal. These motivations can apply to almost any size and type of organization, from a small group that comes together to enjoy a hobby to large national or international organizations, such as the Red Cross. The greater the level of each motivation, the greater the likelihood that the individual will decide to join a collective action organization, will choose to remain active in the organization, and will contribute a high level of personal effort and resources to the organization.

According to Knoke and Wright-Isak's theory, the three categories of motivation—rational choice, affective bonding, and normative conformity—can be promoted by the incentive systems employed by collective action organizations. Knoke and Wright-Isak developed a typology of eight such incentive systems, cross-categorizing each with the type of motivation that it affects: utilitarian (rational choice), normative, or affective. Organizations can customize a combination of these incentive systems to appeal to the predispositions of their members and foster higher levels of motivation. Normative and affective incentives fall within the concept of motivation emphasized in this chapter. Normative incentives can include such societal values as civic duty, moral obligation, or contributing to the improvement of society. Affective incentives are a product of the emotional connection between the individual and the persons and groups in the community to whom he or she is bonded.

The field of sociology introduces the higher-order psychological concept of moral obligation into the argument for the motivation behind prosocial behavior. Morality derives from awareness by the individual that he or she is a part of the greater society and therefore has emotional, social, and psychological connections to other people. These connections exert an influence over the behavior of the individual, setting generally accepted standards by means of laws, regulations, or norms. The strength of connections bonding the individual emotionally and psychologically to society and other persons, combined with the feelings of obligation to moral standards, both of which compel the individual to perform acts of service to society, encompass motives that can be considered components of a service-oriented motivation construct.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Among political scientists, Monroe (1996) argues that prosocial behaviors are related to, but distinct from the concept of altruism. Clarifying this distinction allows the differences between altruistic and self-interested behavior to be more clearly defined. She characterizes altruism as 'behavior intended to benefit another, even when this risks sacrifice of the welfare of the actor' (Monroe, 1996, p. 6). Monroe developed this definition from the critical analysis of theories of behavior that incorporate altruism and from her own collection of interviews with persons who had undertaken such altruistic acts as rescuing Jews from the Nazis or other acts that endangered personal welfare.

One's connection to society, especially the connections between self and others, is the most important factor in altruistic behavior, according to Monroe. Altruists feel a powerful link to others based on their 'shared humanity' (Monroe, 1996, p. 234), a feeling which has been incorporated into the altruist's identity, compelling him or her to offer help to those who require assistance. Although many theories try to incorporate self-interest into the explanation of the motivation behind altruistic behavior, Monroe charges that these theories fall short in their explanations of the character of altruism and altruistic behavior. Performing acts that incur some ancillary benefit to the actor do not qualify as altruistic in her definition. Instead, emotion and other behavior often characterized as irrational (i.e. not self-interested) play a strong role in the motivation of altruistic acts.

James Q. Wilson (1993a, 1993b) also finds the self-interested model of human behavior inadequate. He argues that people have a 'natural moral sense' (J. Q. Wilson, 1993a, p. 1) or principles which should be employed to evaluate the merits of acts born of free will. The particular characteristics of this moral sense vary from person to person, but general principles exist. The motivating force of moral sense is weak, but it is a fundamental part of human nature. Wilson construes the existence of this moral sense from examples of behavior that seem to run counter to self-interest, such as voting, charitable contributions that engender no recognition, evidence of lower crime rates than would seem to be likely given the risk of capture and punishment, and the care of children. Children themselves have the innate predisposition from birth toward prosocial behavior and developing social connection with other persons. This predisposition corresponds with the development of the moral feelings of sympathy, fairness, and duty. These sentiments can by themselves motivate altruistic behavior. The general moral sense, built with the influence of sympathy, fairness, and duty, is a large piece of the foundation of social order.

J. Q. Wilson emphasizes sympathy, fairness, and duty as three components of the moral sense, that can function independently or in concert as motivators of altruistic behavior. Sympathy is 'the human capacity for being affected by the feelings and experiences of others' (1993b, p. 30). Sympathy can motivate altruistic actions seeking to relieve the distress of others. It functions as both a motive and a social norm. Fairness is the equitable, just, and impartial treatment of all parties in a judgment or consideration. The standard of what qualifies as fair treatment varies from society to society and culture to culture based on local expectations, but the general principles put forth in the definition above prevail as the foundation of fairness throughout. Altruistic behavior has been shown to be motivated at times by the desire to preserve, establish, or re-establish a standard of fairness in a situation. Duty is 'the disposition to honor obligations even without hope of reward or fear of punishment' (J. Q. Wilson, 1993b, p. 100). Duty can entail such actions as voting in elections even though a single vote is not likely to alter the outcome on its own, or coming to the aid of a crime victim. J. Q. Wilson (1989, p. 156) identifies a sense of duty as a motivating force behind the desire of public sector workers to do their jobs and perform at high levels, despite bureaucratic disincentives or lack of financial incentives.

The connection of individuals to society and the choice to perform acts to benefit society without reward is the basis of the study of altruistic behavior in political science. The desire to contribute comes from the ingrained motivation to bring unbalanced situations into a state of perceived balance or harmony. Instances of injustice or feelings of obligation disturb the harmony and balance between individuals and in society as a whole. Altruists are motivated by emotion, social norms, and other reasons to strive to restore harmony and balance, despite personal risk and little chance of reward. The desire to create harmony and improve society is analogous to motives that can drive individuals imbued with service-oriented motivation.

CONCLUSION

The research reviewed in this chapter covers a wide range of disciplines, spanning from those that focus on basic biological instincts to those that idealize the pinnacles of human development. Despite the broad scope of these contributions, none of the research, nor all of it combined, satisfactorily encompasses the broad complexity of public service motivation. Nevertheless, public management scholars can gain important insights from each of the contributions. For example, altruistic motives, and motives to serve and support a larger group, community, or polity in ways that appear to sacrifice rational self-interest are not abnormal or irrational. They are often normal, natural, and necessary to the functioning of human collectivities. Many humans have motives deriving from a sense of obligation to society and to other humans and human collectivities, of the need for social and emotional connectivity, and of desire for balance or harmony in the common environment. Such motives have evolutionary origins, and origins in the needs of groups of humans and animals.

These points may appear obvious, but stand in sharp contrast to perspectives that heavily emphasize the roles of 'rational' individual self-interest as dominant in decisions about group participation (Olson, 1965). They also contract sharply with perspectives that deride collective action and normatively promote individual initiative as overwhelmingly superior to collective action (e.g. Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Shlaes, 2007). This contrast relates to the practical implications of the points, in spite of their generality. Those seeking to promote public service motivation can point more confidently to its natural origins and its essential nature. In fact, the research cited in this chapter supports the conclusion that it is the inherent nature of people to want to provide benefit to others, a premise critical to the public service motivation construct. Theoretically, these points emphasize the degree to which perspectives that emphasize 'rational' individual self-interest maximization actually propose oversimplified theories of human motives and behavior, and of the human condition in general.

Another insight from these contributions emphasizes the challenge of balancing different motives and rewards for those motives, such as balancing self-interest with more altruistic, overtly self-sacrificial, and collectivity-regarding motives. Groups need both self-interested behaviors and behaviors that maintain the group's function and contribute to achieving its common goals in ways that depart from individuals' immediate self-interest. Within themselves, humans have to balance self-interest with more public and collective interests. Obviously, we would not expect a human service worker to work full time in service to economically disadvantaged clients for absolutely no compensation. As this example suggests, a related challenge, both practically and theoretically, involves managing the balance between extrinsic and intrinsic rewards, and the issues of 'crowding out' and 'crowding in'.

While providing general insights about these issues, the contributions covered by this review do not address matters important to the understanding of public service motivation. Evolutionary and group dynamic origins of altruistic motivations, and discussions of a 'We' orientation versus an 'I' orientation do not clarify the sources of variation among individuals in levels of such motives and orientations. They do not clarify why individuals would choose different objects, targets, and avenues for such motives. They do not help with the questions of why some individuals would choose government service as a means of satisfying public service motivation, while others might do so through nonprofit organizations, or voluntary action, or some combination of these avenues. This in turn raises the theoretical and conceptual issue of how broadly we should conceive public service motivation, and the empirical issue of how broadly individuals making career and work behavior choices conceive it. That is, does public service motivation only encompass government service, or does it include philanthropy, volunteering, service with a nonprofit organization, or even forms of service in a business firm? Perry & Wise (1990), in a frequently quoted definition, associate public service motivation with service via governmental institutions, but later research on public service motivation has sometimes involved civic service volunteers. The open-ended nature of the discussions of altruism, community and group orientation, and related topics reviewed here suggests the appropriateness of a broader conception of public service motivation that encompasses other settings besides government service.

In addition to the variation of levels of public service motivation and of motives to perform public service-related acts by individuals, the literature reviewed in this chapter also suggests that public service motives and behavior will vary across societies, cultures, and nations. Local social norms and unique cultural traditions may have a strong effect on the influences of public service motivation, the character and goals of the public service-motivated actions, and the commitment of the members of each distinct society to public service-motivated behaviors. The values of collectivism and individualism have varying levels of cultural influence from society to society. The influence of these values should have an effect on the character of public service-motivated behaviors. In support of this observation, Kohlberg indicated that unique cultural values have an effect on the universality of his conception of the stages of psychological development. Social psychology emphasizes the impact of social environments and behavioral expectations on motivation. Sociology highlights the impact of societal norms of behavior on prosocial actions. Wilson points out that conceptions of social norms, such as fairness, vary from society to society. Initial research about how such differences influence public service motivation has been carried out by Vandenabeele et al. (2006). They find that conceptions of public service motivation in the United Kingdom and in Germany vary depending on nation or region. Thus, one unresolved issue related to the development of public service motivation theory is the effect of local social and cultural norms on conceptions of public service motivation and on public service-motivated behaviors.

Why individuals vary in levels of public service motivation and in choice of outlets or targets for such motivation relates to questions about other sources of variation. The developmental psychologists emphasize stage of life and stage of moral development as determinants of generativity, sense of moral and societal responsibility, and other motives relevant to conceiving and studying public service motivation. Life stage and stage of moral development do not provide clear predictions for level and type of public service motivation. For example, Erikson's ideas about life stages could be interpreted as implying that younger people will not have developed the level of societal and moral commitment that older persons will have, thus excluding youthful idealism from candidacy for high public service motivation. Still, the developmental perspectives point to the importance of dynamics over time in influences on public service motivation. Buchanan (1974, 1975) interpreted his results as suggesting that idealistic individuals enter public service, only to become discouraged in large, complex public bureaucracies that cause their commitment to public service to wane. Research on 'burnout' of human service professionals has sometimes led to similar conclusions—that human service professionals experience a waning of altruistic service motivation due to discouragement (e.g. Cherniss, 1980). Sometimes the individual's organization is the source of this discouragement, because the individual's commitment is to the more general public or to recipients of the services, rather than to the organization itself. Where the organization imposes constraints, such as the proverbial 'red tape', it may impede public service motivation. Hence, the limits of the otherwise valuable organizational citizenship behavior and psychological contracts research, in providing insights about the relation between an individual's orientation to the employing organization, on the one hand, and to public service, on the other. Hence, also, the value of more research on relations between organizational orientations and public service motivation.

The influence of the organization in turn relates to the challenge of balancing public service motivation with self-interest, and balancing extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. Some of the conclusions of the literature on these topics could be interpreted simplistically as an admonishment to avoid emphasizing extrinsic rewards such as pay (which can also have intrinsic effects, of course) because such an emphasis will lessen intrinsic motivations, such as public service motivation. Some of the loudest complaints, however, leading to the efforts to implement performance-based pay systems in governments in the United States have come from the public employees and managers themselves. They have complained that when they perform well, they are not paid better than those who do not—in one example, referring to those who do not perform well as those who are 'barely breathing' (Thompson &

Rainey, 2003, p. 36). The challenge, as Le Grand (2003) and others point out, is to design sensitive incentive systems that reward performance without inhibiting public service motivation, but we need much more analysis of how such systems can be designed. In this regard, a careful reading of the Ryan and Deci's analyses of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations provides suggestions for both theory and practice. In emphasizing the importance of self-regulation in intrinsic motivation, and in pointing out that external influences in the form of supportive comments (as opposed to more constraining behavior controls) enhance intrinsic motivation, they point to feasible alternatives. Analyses of a very large sample of respondents to a survey of U.S. federal employees indicate that where respondents report that their leaders engage in more supportive and encouraging behaviors, and where the same respondents report a sense of 'empowerment', they express higher levels of public service motivation (Park & Rainey, 2007). Such evidence suggests that even within the allegedly rule-ridden context of government agencies, leaders can adopt supportive and empowering orientations that coincide with suggestions that Deci and Ryan would probably make about how to encourage intrinsic motivations such as public service motivation.

In the ways we have discussed, the contributions reviewed here provide general insights about the nature of public service motivation, but also leave many unanswered questions that need attention from researchers. At the same time, as noted, the contributions point to some very specific theoretical and practical challenges, and offer some fairly specific alternatives for addressing those challenges.

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3

Behavioral Dynamics: Institutions, Identities, and Self-Regulation

James L. Perry and Wouter Vandenabeele

Our goal in this chapter is to develop a theory of motivation that serves as an alternative to rational choice theories that are influential in research about motivation. It seeks to embed motivation in organizations in a larger context. That motivation is, at least in part, tied to context has been argued persuasively elsewhere (Perry & Porter, 1982; Rainey, 1979, 1983). The theory developed here builds upon prior efforts (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2007) to articulate a theory of public service motivation.

The theoretical framework joins two streams of social science research that simultaneously energize and inform our effort. One research stream focuses on what has traditionally been encompassed under the rubrics of altruism and prosocial behavior—helping and other forms of other-regarding behaviors. Koehler and Rainey reviewed this literature in chapter 2. The second research stream involves institutions and particularly institutional explanations of social and organizational behavior. An institutions-conscious theory of motivation in organizations may be a prelude to a new paradigm of motivation, one with both fuzzier lines between organization and society and more heterogeneous assumptions about human behavior.

Rational choice models may explain and predict certain behaviors quite successfully, but they are unable to explain many behaviors with which we are familiar from public service (DiIulio, 1994).[1] John DiIulio has argued this position persuasively:

> My central argument . . . is that what is captured by the rational choice approach to bureaucracy is much less interesting and important than what is missed. In particular, rational choice theories cum principal-agent models help to explain why bureaucrats shirk, subvert, and steal on the job. But they have little to say in the presence of bureaucrats who strive (work hard and go 'by the book'), support (put public and organizational goals ahead of private goals), and sacrifice (go 'above and

beyond the call of duty') on the job. In effect, they explain why bureaucrats maximize budgets but not why they protect the public's money as if it were their own; they explain why bureaucrats fight for turf but not why they cooperate willingly with co-workers; they explain why some bureaucrats invest in learning ways of beating the supervisory system but not why many others routinely expose themselves to grave psychological stresses and physical dangers for the sake of doing the job right. (1994, p. 281)

By thinking about motivation in more global terms rather than in terms of discrete behaviors reframes the question from the classic 'Are bureaucrats lazy?' to more positive questions, for example, 'How are bureaucrats able to persist in the face of low rewards and a hostile environment?' thus shifting the focus from 'Why do bureaucrats do what they should not do?' to 'Why do bureaucrats do the things they should do?'

Our effort to construct a theory of public service motivation proceeds in three stages. We begin at the level of institutions and how motivation has roots in institutional content. The mediating forces between institutions and individual behavior are the self-concept and its constituting identities. We conclude our presentation of a theory of public service motivation with an explanation of the psychological dynamics that govern individual behaviors, themselves embedded in public institutions and institution-sensitive self-concepts. This sequence corresponds with our theory of public service motivation, summarized in Figure 3.1.

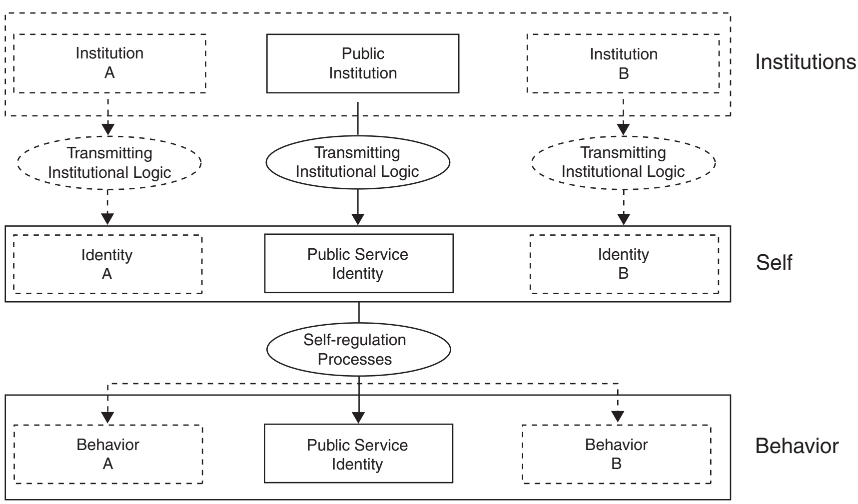

Figure 3.1. Summary of the motivational framework

STARTING WITH INSTITUTIONS

Scholars have formally studied motivation for almost 100 years and the literature is among the largest in the social sciences. An intermittent critique of this literature is that it is grounded in a limited range of institutions. In the early 1980s, Perry and Porter observed that 'the literature on motivation tends to concentrate too heavily on employees in industrial or business organizations' (1982, p. 97). In the 1990s, Shamir (1991) criticized motivation theory for its individualistic bias and its inattention to either moral obligation or to values as conceptions of the desirable.[2] Individuals are conceived to be rational maximizers, largely following the neoclassical paradigm dominant in economics and psychology. A recent reflection by Kelman (2005) notes that a void exists in knowledge of many issues involving organizational behavior research that are either more important in public than in private contexts, or arise almost exclusively in the context of public institutions.

One avenue for rescuing motivation research from this context void is to embed it, in the first instance, in institutional explanations. Although the meaning of institution has varied over time and by discipline, Steven Krasner observes that two interrelated characteristics are shared by most institutionalist perspectives: 'the derivative character of individuals and the persistence of something—behavioral patterns, roles, rules, organizational charts, ceremonies—over time' (Krasner, 1988, p. 73). Scott (2001) similarly contends that many common elements are found in the bulk of institutional theories: social structures, stability, norms, rules, values, and ideas. Put simply, institutions can be understood as social structures infused with values and rules. These values and rules are embedded across societies in religion, family, and other social structures.

Theorists contend that institutions not only identify and constrain behavioral alternatives, but they may also model individual preferences (March & Olsen, 1995). This means that institutions directly and indirectly influence motives guiding individual behavior. March and Olsen (1989) contend that institutions serve to standardize individual behavior. This standardization takes the form of people behaving in ways they are 'supposed' to act.[3] They attribute this to 'the routines, procedures, conventions, organizational forms and technologies' around which actions are constructed and which refer to 'beliefs, paradigms, codes, cultures and knowledge' (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 22). Hughes (1939), Scott (1987), and Friedland and Alford (1987), among others, point to the centrality of institutions in defining social values. These spheres and belief systems, what Scott (1987) refers to as institutional logics, are central to defining values and a repertoire of behaviors available to individuals. March and Olsen (1989) describe this as the logic of appropriateness.

As such, it is opposed to a more self-interested perspective based on rational anticipation and calculation of the consequences of action, which March and Olsen describe as a logic of consequence.

Public as an Institutional Logic

The view that government and, more broadly, the public sphere are major sources of value has a long intellectual history. Benn and Gaus (1983) document the depth to which public–private distinctions have been important in Western liberal societies. Although 'public' is what Benn and Gaus term a complex-structured concept and the status of what we have historically ascribed to public has lost its prescriptive status in recent years,[4] we believe the core of what is meant by public remains an important organizing device for institutions.

As Benn and Gaus (1983) illustrate, the meanings of public and private play out in most societies along three dimensions: access, interests, and agency. Societies are prone to institutionalize communal or public interests and how they differ from private interests. They are also inclined to distinguish public space and access to it from private. This distinction may extend to agents, whose behavior can be associated with either self or action on behalf of the community.

The three dimensions of publicness are themselves complex, but underlying them are commonalities that are central to public institutional logic. One of these commonalities is the *normative* character of public and private. We may use public and private in descriptive ways, but they are in the first instance normative distinctions. Benn and Gaus write, 'they [publicness and privateness] necessarily presuppose norms, and any application of them will be contextually related to some particular norm' (1983, p. 11).

A second commonality that helps to define public institutional logic is the idea of *community*.[5] Political philosophers from John Dewey (1991) to Robert Putnam and colleagues (1993) assert that community or some form of collective interest is organic to the notion of public. Dewey (1991) defined public in terms of externalities where the interests of private citizens (including corporations) affect the interests of a larger collectivity or community. In *Making Democracy Work*, Putnam et al. (1993) asserted the importance of emergent social relations that give rise to various forms of community.[6] March and Olsen offer one of the most forceful statements about the centrality of community in institutional theory:

> Virtually all institutional theories of politics give importance to the idea of community. Humans (or their institutions) are seen as able to share a common life and identity and

to have concern for others. Either what is good for one individual is the same as what is good for other members of the community, or actions are supposed to be governed by consideration of the community as a whole. (1995, p. 36)

Among modern theorists, Max Weber (1946) developed one of the most extensive and detailed cases for a public institutional logic in the realm of public service in his 'Politics as a Vocation', which presents a sociological argument for the origins and logic of public service. This case for a public logic was taken further by other scholars who claim that public institutions operated according to different logic than private enterprises (Dahl & Lindblom, 1953; Lindblom, 1977). Public institutions were said to aim for a set of democratic and societal values which are distinctly different from the more managerially oriented private sector (Raadschelders, 2003). Among these values, impartiality, legality, integrity, justice, transparency, and accountability are the most cited ones (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2000). Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) extend this list from values aimed at interactions among citizens, politicians, and administrators to values associated with making a contribution to society, such as altruism and public interest.

Mechanisms for Transmitting Public Institutional Logic

It is in the public content of institutions in which public service motivation has it origins. But even if there is a distinct public institutional logic, we must ask how these logics are transmitted from the institutional level to the individual level and how they are transmitted across time. Social science research[7] suggests several mechanisms that are overlapping, but conceptually and theoretically distinct: socialization, social identification, cultural preferences, and social learning.

By means of socialization, institutions are maintained and distributed among their members or participants. For a detailed description of the process of institutionalization, Scott (2001) relies on Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Through the phases of externalization, objectification, and internalization—and by means of mechanisms of control—individuals are socialized into institutional membership. The most important element of Berger and Luckmann's theory is that socialization takes place by identifying with significant others, and eventually acquiring a new social identity as a member of the institution. The idea of internalization is used by Ryan and Deci (2005), who assert that identities become internalized if the environment satisfies the basic psychological needs of the individual.[8]

Very much linked to this approach is the idea of social identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). A number of related theories (social identification theory, social identity theory, identity theory, and self-categorization theory) are based upon this idea of social identification. As people tend to classify themselves in terms of social categories, an identity is formed (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). As a consequence, people are more supportive to the institutions they embody, they may internalize institutional values, norms, and attitudes, and the institutional structure may be reinforced. This effect will be stronger in organizations that have a strong common understanding about the organizational mission and values (DiIulio, 1994; Mintzberg, 1983). In contrast, in organizations where individuals are tied to subunits rather than to the entire organization, the effect will be less strong.

Another mechanism for transmitting institutional logics is culture (Douglas, 1983; Wildavsky, 1987). Cultural theory gains its relevance as a transmission mechanism because it addresses an issue fundamental to motivation, 'Where do preferences come from?' Wildavsky (1987) criticized both political scientists and economists for the way they explain preferences. Political scientists are likely to claim that preferences are the result of interests people have, but, Wildavsky observed, relying on interests to explain preferences begs the question. He found the way that economists treat preferences equally unsatisfactory. For economists, preferences are exogenous, outside the system being studied.[9]

Cultural theory resolves ambiguity about the source of preferences. In cultural theory, preferences are conceived as 'endogenous—internal to organizations—so that they emerge from social interaction in defending or opposing different ways of life. When individuals make important decisions, these choices are simultaneously choices of culture—shared values legitimating different patterns of social practice' (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 5). Wildavsky, citing March and Olsen (1984), asserts that '[c]ultural theory, by contrast, gives preferences an endogenous political explanation: preferences are formed through opposing and supporting institutions' (1987, p. 5). In the context of transmitting a public institutional logic, this occurs, in part, as people observe how institutions operate along the public–private dimensions of interest, access, and agency. Individual preferences are shaped by how they respond emotionally and cognitively to different legitimated patterns of social practices. Over time these preferences are internalized. Ostrom's formulation is consistent with Wildavsky's conception of cultural identity theory, as she argues that individuals learn norms that influence behavior. She defines norms as 'an internal valuation—positive or negative—to taking particular types of action' (Ostrom, 1998, p. 9). Norms, like preferences, have social roots: 'Many norms are learned from interactions with others in diverse communities about the behavior that is expected in particular types of situations' (p. 9). Research by Youniss and his colleagues (Yates & Youniss, 1996; Youniss & McLellan, 1997; Youniss et al., 1999) support these claims. Drawing upon Erikson's concept of identity, Yates and Youniss (1996, pp. 273–4) argue that youths look to society 'to find a transcendent ideology with sociohistorical validity with which to identify'. Institutions such as churches, schools, and charities give youth clear value alternatives that help them sort among identities in relation to society (Yates & Youniss, 1996). The research of Colby and Damon (1992), Monroe (1996), and others (Hirschman, 1982; Knack, 1992; Omoto & Snyder, 2002) reinforce the findings of Youniss and his colleagues.

A fourth mechanism for transmitting public institutional logics is social learning (Bandura, 1977, 1986; Grusec, 1992), which like the other mechanisms links preference formation to social processes. Preferences or internal standards, that is, the rules by which behavioral decisions are motivated, emanate from society. Observational learning and modeling (Bandura, 1986) are processes through which values and patterns of behavior are transmitted. They are part of a range of social learning that influences individual behavior in organizations. Bandura explains, 'By observing others, one forms rules of behavior, and on future occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action' (1986, p. 47).

Summary

The institutional argument above consists of three elements: institutions as ways for structuring and valuing rule-governed behavior, public content as central elements of institutions, and the need for social mechanisms to transmit institutional content. These elements can be summarized by the following generalization:

Proposition 1:
Institutions define rules that govern a range of permissible and prohibited behaviors for individuals and the value they associate with the behaviors. The public content of institutions will vary across societies and according to individuals' exposure to institutions, whose transmission is governed by several social processes.

The proposition summarizes the logic for public service motivation at a meta-level, but it is not directly connected to individual behaviors. The concepts and generalizations suggest the importance of a logic of appropriateness that takes its place beside a logic of consequence.

SELF AND IDENTITY AS BRIDGES BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR

We noted above that March and Olsen (1989, 1995) identify two general models of motivation, one associated with a logic of consequence and the other with a logic of appropriateness. They (1989, p. 23) suggest that motivational models built on a logic of appropriateness involve the following sequence of decisions: (1) What kind of situation is this? (2) Who am I? (3) How appropriate are different actions for me in this situation? and (4) Do what is most appropriate. Before going deeper into the processes associated with this sequence, we first discuss the concepts of 'self' and 'identity', as they are the linking pins between institutions and behavior. Any motivational scheme tied to a logic of appropriateness gives self-concept or identity a central role, as the second question posed by March and Olsen makes obvious.

The Self as an Element in Motivational Theory

Although self-concept is used occasionally in the motivation literature (see e.g. Leonard et al., 1999; Shamir et al., 1993), it is not featured prominently. Bandura (1977, 1986), whose social-cognitive theory of human motivation gives self-regulation a prominent role, does not endorse the utility of the self-concept construct. But his reason for rejecting the utility of self-concept is that it is typically defined as a composite view of oneself. As Bandura observes, 'A composite self-image may yield some modest correlations, but it is not equal to the task of predicting with any accuracy the intra-individual variability in performance. Self theories have had difficulty explaining how the same self-concept can give rise to diverse types of behavior' (1986, p. 410).

Others contend that the self, as an answer to the question 'Who am I?' is a valuable starting point in motivational research. At mid-twentieth century, Nelson Foote (1951) wrote about identification as an important source of motivation. More recently, Shamir (1991) points to early theorizing by Katz and Kahn (1966) about motivational patterns and self-concept. Shamir writes, 'Katz and Kahn (1966) posited value-expression and self-idealization, which they defined as the motivation to establish and maintain a satisfactory self-concept, as an important motivational pattern in organizations' (1991, p. 411).

Commonly, the self is considered to be the sense people have of themselves or how they look upon themselves. It is an empirical concept that compiles all self-related attributes. This view originates from the works of Cooley (1902), James (1890), and Mead (1934), which used the self as a reflective appraisal of oneself. The many conceptions of self, however, pose challenges to the utility of the conception of self (Coté & Levine, 2002, Leary & Tangney, 2005). On the one hand, a more sociologically oriented movement has a limited and theoretically anchored view of the self. In this vein, it conceptualizes the self as comprising various sets of meanings or identities, attached to social positions one has (Piliavin et al., 2002; Stets & Burke, 2005; Stryker, 1980). On the other hand, a more psychologically oriented movement has a broader view on the self and is more empirically grounded, as it embeds not only positional references, but also other self-related elements as executive functions or the psychoanalytic 'ego' (Coté & Levine, 2002; Erikson, 1968).

Colby and Damon (1992) demonstrate the importance of self-concept in the context of research about moral exemplars. They found that moral exemplars disregarded the costs and consequences of pursuing their moral goals. The exemplars instead were characterized by the moral certainty of their actions because they perceived only one morally right path of action. This led them to disavow their acts as courageous. As many of the exemplars contended, they simply had no choice in the situation. In research contemporaneous with, but independent from, Colby and Damon (1992), Monroe (1996) identified similar individual cognitive patterns.

A study (Brewer et al., 2000) of public service motivation suggests the plausibility of the self-concept component of the model. Brewer et al. found that responses to 40 items associated with public service motivation clustered around four types of individual orientations or identities. They labeled the types samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians. Samaritans empathize with the indigent and underprivileged, but expect recipients of their helping behavior to exert effort on their own behalf. Samaritans feel good as a result of the service they perform. Civic duty and public service are central to the identities of communitarians. Unlike samaritans, however, communitarians have no special connections with the disadvantaged; giving back to the community and society is central. Patriots are prepared to risk significant personal loss in the name of duty and the public good. Humanitarians have a strong sense of social justice and are disinterested in self-gratification. The results of the study suggest that self-concept varies according to an individual's values and identity. More importantly, it suggests the variations in self-concept have motivational consequences concerning public service (Piliavin et al., 2002). This account reveals that there is an important place for self in an institutional approach to public service motivation. However, despite its usefulness, the self remains a complex and fluid concept that is not easy to measure. For constructing a theory of public service motivation, we therefore rely on the concept of identity, whose components are better delineated.

Identities as Elements of the Self

Identities are considered to be an important element of the self. The concept of identity developed independently from self-oriented research (Erikson, 1946), but it was later integrated into self-oriented research (Weigert et al., 1986). Therefore, it cannot be interchangeably used with the self. Commonly, three types of identity are distinguished within psychology and sociology. An identity can concern role identity (seeing oneself as holding a role), a social identity (seeing oneself as a member of a group or a social category), or a personal identity (seeing oneself as distinct from others) (Stets & Burke, 2005). A fourth type of identity, relational identity, has recently joined the list of identity types (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Brickson, 2007). In fact, however, most uses of the term identity are forms of social identity, as most authors define identity in terms of a sense of belonging to a group or to a position in a social structure (McCall & Simons, 1978; Stryker, 1980; Tajfel & Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1994).

In an institutional approach to public service motivation, identity is an important mediating variable (March & Olsen, 1989, 1995; Scott, 2001). Like the self, it also provides answers to the question Who am I? However, more than the self, identity is defined in terms of social structure. Whereas the self is an overarching empirical concept and a general sense of oneself, an identity is 'a typified self at a stage in the life course situated in a context of organized social relationships' (Stone & Farberman, 1970, as cited in Weigert et al., 1986, p. 53). Therefore, the concept of identity is a key concept in bridging institutions and individual behavior.

An important issue is the process by which an identity becomes salient (Stryker, 1980) or when a person becomes 'depersonalized' (Turner et al., 1994) or 'individuated' (Abrams, 1994). In such cases, an identity 'takes over' and the individual behaves corresponding to the identity and the cognitive schemata connected with this identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Some scholars contend that these identities are organized in a salience hierarchy (McCall & Simons, 1978; Stryker, 1980). This saliency depends on how prominent or important an identity is in a given situation. The more committed someone is to an identity, in terms of social and personal costs or benefits, the more likely the identity will become salient (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Other scholars describe this process in terms of the fit of an identity to certain stimuli and cognitive accessibility (Abrams, 1994; Oakes & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1994). This is similar to Ryan and Deci's claim (2005) that it depends on the salience of a reference group. This could be peers, leaders, customers, or other interest groups. They add to this that saliency also depends on the desirability of outcomes or the facility of the outcomes associated with the identity.

Proposition 2
In situations where identities invoke the public content of institutions, logics of appropriateness are more likely to govern individual behavior. When the situation does not invoke identities involving public content, then logics of consequence are more likely to govern behavior.

The second proposition addresses an issue central to an institutionally grounded theory of motivation, which is the circumstances that direct individuals toward behavior based on appropriateness or consequence.

THE ROLE OF SELF-REGULATION

Each person is exposed, in varying degrees to various institutional mechanisms that inculcate public institutional logics and internalize public values. Thus, public service motivation will vary across individuals. The consequence is that people will bring different levels of public service motivation with them to their organizations.[10] Those whose identities are consistently and strongly public in character will bring with them an inherent interest in and valuing of public service.

Consistent with the institutional and identity components of our theory, we begin with the assumption that human beings are proactive, growth oriented, and in a dialectical relationship with their environment (Deci & Ryan, 2004). This suggests that individuals and their motivations evolve over time in response to the environments they encounter.

The general framework within which an individual enacts a public service identity is self-regulating, which means that 'in some fundamental respect people do make self-generated choices—choices which are not necessitated by prior events' (Locke, 1991a, p. 151). Several of the motivation theories that we associate with our framework prominently address self-regulation explicitly (e.g. Bandura, 1986, 1991; Deci & Ryan, 2004; Ryan & Deci, 2000), and others (e.g. Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982; Latham & Locke, 1991) use it implicitly. We draw from the class of theories that are classified as self-regulating, but we do not seek to integrate them formally or rigorously. We do believe, however, each theory is compatible with the institutional and identity components we discussed earlier, and they all add their specific focus on the process of self-regulation.

We review below components of four self-regulation theories: social-cognitive theory, self-determination theory, predisposition-opportunity theory, and goal-setting theory. Each theory provides insights and ideas for a theory of public service motivation at different levels of analysis. Each theoretical strand adds new elements, thus combining psychological, social, and institutional elements into our theory of public service motivation and self-regulation. As social-cognitive theory and self-determination theory focus on the psychological processes associated with public service motivation, predisposition-opportunity theory focuses on the interaction between the identity and its social environment, whereas goal-setting theory adds a goal-specific focus to the framework.

Social-Cognitive Theory

Bandura's (1986, pp. 335–89; 1991) model of self-regulation provides insights into how self-regulation may influence cognitions that, in turn, influence behavior. He suggests that self-regulation is a function of three sub-functions, self-observation, judgmental processes, and self-reaction. Some form of self-monitoring is obviously necessary if individuals are to influence their own behavior. But self-monitoring is not likely to influence motivation unless the individual is judging his or her self-observed behavior against a set of internal standards. These standards could originate from social and cultural cues, including evaluative standards modeled by others. The third sub-function in Bandura's framework is self-reaction, which entails creating incentives to respond to one's behavior.

The broader view of the motivational process developed here brings nonconsequentialist options into play. One option involves identifying or recognizing patterns (either consciously or subconsciously) that invoke the pursuit of appropriate or rule-governed courses of action. For example, Bandura (1977, 1986) argues that instead of assessing different actions according to the ensuing consequences, people determine attractiveness of different actions according to how consistent they are to their internal standards. As Grusec (1992, p. 782) puts it: 'People do not behave like weather vanes, constantly shifting their behavior in accord with momentary influences; rather they hold to ideological positions in spite of a changing situation. They can do this because they bring judgmental self-reactions into play whenever they perform an action'. This statement is a clear reference to identities.

Proposition 3:
If the internal standard against which behavior is judged converges with identities grounded in public institutions, then behavior is more likely to be directed by public service motives.

Self-Determination Theory

Another highly developed self-regulation framework is Deci and Ryan's (2004) self-determination theory, which was discussed at greater length by Koehler and Rainey (this volume). It is based on a continuum of motivations, ranging from controlled to autonomous motivation. Ryan and Deci (2005) are also interested in behavior that is associated with different types of identity. On the one hand, identities are acquired because one is naturally interested in the activities these identities bring about. Ryan and Deci consider the behavior linked with these identities to be intrinsically motivated, in their terms 'intrinsic regulation'. On the other hand, one also acquires identities for reasons other than this natural inclination. Ryan and Deci (2005) contend that the internalization of values into an identity, which for them is a source of motivation, is based upon the satisfaction of three basic psychological needs referred to earlier (extrinsic regulation). The extrinsic regulation can be subdivided into categories, based on the continuum described above. They thus distinguish four types of identity regulation corresponding to the four types of extrinsic motivation. In other words, if an environment fosters the basic needs of individuals, the degree of internalization of identities will be higher. More importantly, the effect of this regulation on behavior will be stronger to the extent that the associated identities are autonomous.

Proposition 4:
Public service motives are more likely to direct individual behavior when the public identities on which they are based are autonomous. If the internalization of these public identities is controlled, then public service motivations are less likely to direct behavior.

Predisposition-Opportunity Theory

Knoke and Wright-Isak write that motivation within organizations is based upon three types of motives: rational choice, normative conformity, and affective bonding.[11] They argue that social action 'combines elements of voluntary individual will and collectivism represented by the internalization of social norms' (1982, p. 215). The self-regulation of individual organizational behavior depends on the incentives offered by the organization. Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) developed a typology of organizational incentives based upon all combinations of the presence or absence of each of the three types of incentives, resulting in eight types of self-regulation, from a nonincentive system (i.e. none of the three incentives is present) to a full-incentive system (i.e. all three of the incentives are present). It is only when the incentive systems match individual motivation that commitment to the organization is achieved and results in organizational behavior and contribution.

In terms of public service motivation, this theory states that unless a match between organizational incentives and individual motives is found, no self-regulated public service motivated behavior will occur. In practice, unless a pure utilitarian incentive system is offered, at least some self-regulated behavior will occur. This theory leans toward the ideas of person-environment fit theories (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005), which claims that self-regulation only comes about if a match is made between the characteristics of the individual and the environment (supplementary fit). In general, one distinguishes between person-job, person-vocation, person-organization, person-group and person-supervisor fit. In the case of an institutional theory of public service motivation, person-vocation and person-organization fit seem to be the most apt applications.

Proposition 5:
When organizational incentives correspond to predispositions (i.e. identities), then self-regulation is more likely to occur. Alignment of public identities with corresponding incentives increases the likelihood that behavior will be directed by public service motives.

Goal-Setting Theory

Goal-setting theory does not explicitly refer to self or identity constructs, but it is among the theories that emphasize self-regulation (Latham & Locke, 1991). Goal-setting theory is based upon the idea that motivation is purposeful (Locke & Latham, 1990). The core concept of the theory is goals. These are conceived as 'applications of values to specific situations' (Locke, 1991b, p. 292). Although goal setting theory does provide some indications about how goals are acquired, this is not the central focus of the theory. More attention is devoted to how goals influence individual behavior and performance.

Goal-setting theory contends that people differ in motivation and consequently in performance because they tend to have different goals (Latham & Locke, 1991). The basic components of goal-setting theory are goal content and goal commitment. Goals that are specific and difficult are theorized to increase motivation and performance. The theory focuses on the content of the goal or task one wants to achieve. This part of the theory is general and makes no reference to the value-component of the goal. Goal commitment involves commitment to a goal and its effects on motivation and performance.

Values play an important role here. Commitment is, on one hand, influenced by the individual's self-efficacy, i.e. the belief that people have that they can achieve the goal. On the other hand, commitment is influenced by the belief that achieving the goals depends on the importance of the goal. This last element can be associated directly to institutions and identities, especially given the way Latham and Locke have defined the relationship between goals and values. Therefore, goal commitment will be enhanced by the presence of public identities.

Proposition 6:
Public service goals and commitment to them will be perceived as more important by individuals with stronger public identities.

Summary

The four self-regulating motivation theories offer micro-level explanations of processes grounded simultaneously in institutional, social, and psychological processes. Wright (2004) demonstrates the utility of at least two of these theories for explaining work motivation in a public context. He sampled 385 New York State employees in 11 agencies selected at random. The two theories that he incorporated into his research were goal-setting theory and social-cognitive theory. His model of work motivation, based largely on three variables—job goal difficulty, job goal specificity, and self-efficacy—explained more than 50 percent of the variation in work motivation. Although Wright measured goal attributes but not the social-cognitive component of the model—that is, discrepancies created by individuals' comparing how they perform to how they want to perform—his theoretical explanation employed both theories. In a subsequent study of 807 managers and professionals from a large New York State agency, Wright (2007) looked at the effects of mission valence on job importance. Mission was a significant and substantial influence on job importance. Wright concluded:

> This suggests that the basic framework provided by goal theory can not only incorporate but also support the fundamental assumption of public service motivation: that the intrinsic rewards provided by the nature or function of the organization may be more important to public sector employees than—or compensate for the limited availability of—performance-related extrinsic rewards. (2007, p. 60)

It is noteworthy in Wright's two studies of New York State employees that he draws not only upon conceptualizations from goal-setting and social-cognitive theory, but also he refers to intrinsic rewards, a concept integral to goal-setting theory and self-determination theory. Thus, we believe the four self-regulating motivation theories can be appropriately and productively coupled with arguments based on institutions and identity.

Wright's explanation of a large portion of the variance in work motivation using goal-setting and social-cognitive theory is consistent with Locke's observation that as we move closer toward the antecedents of motivation, 'the less well the theories predict behavior' (1991b, p. 295). Locke goes on to argue that '[a]n obvious reason is that values are farther removed in the causal sequence leading to action than goals and needs are farther removed than values. Prediction of action thus becomes more difficult because the number of intervening processes becomes greater' (1991b, p. 295). Offering advice that can be applied in future empirical research related to public service motivation, Locke suggests that one way to build better value-based theories would be 'to work backward from goal, intention, and social-cognitive theories. It may not be true that needs and values work entirely through goals; there may be subconscious effects of these that do not produce conscious goal setting and yet affect action' (1991b, p. 295). Locke's argument bears a strong affinity to the arguments Knoke and Wright-Isak associate with affective bonding and Shamir ties to expressive orientations.

CONCLUSION

The theory presented here, summarized graphically in Figure 3.1, posits that institutions impart rules and norms for members of societies that shape values and guide them about appropriate behaviors. The rules and norms influence people differently, in part, because the social and cultural mechanisms that transmit institutional content, particularly public content, vary across the society. In a given situation, the information conveyed by institutions will play out according to the salience and consistency of an individual's identities. The identity is the foundation of self-regulated behavior. The likelihood that behavior will be directed by public service motivation depends on the publicness of an individual's identity, its alignment with incentive systems governing the situation, the extent to which the identity is regulated autonomously rather than controlled, and other contextual factors such as goal content and goal intensity.

The logic of the theory corresponds with elements set out by Shamir and colleagues in both his critique of motivation theory (Shamir, 1991) and their articulation of motivational effects of charismatic leadership (Shamir et al., 1993). In their theory of the motivational effects of charismatic leadership, they posit that self-processes mediate the effects of leader behavior on follower behaviors. The self-processes are compatible with what we refer to here as identity-related processes. In particular, Shamir et al. point to social identification and value internalization as core elements of charismatic leader–follower relations. Meindl (1990) and Kerr and Jermier (1978) go one step farther than Shamir and colleagues, in arguing that forces such as social identification and value internalization are likely to influence motivations regardless of the presence of charismatic leader behaviors. Their arguments suggest that behaviors originating from the interplay among institutions, identities, and self-generating choices can produce public service motivation.

March and Olsen assert that political communities, or governments, are ‘based on a shared history and valued way of life, a shared definition of the common good’ (1989, p. 161). It follows that those who seek to manage public affairs have a primary interest in helping to realize this ‘common good’. Such persons are likely motivated by fulfilling obligations, maintaining trust, and obedience to rules. Schwartz (1983) formalized the idea of obligation-based motivation in a theory of deontic work motivation. He borrows the term deontic from the Greek *deonte,* meaning duties. Schwartz turns to the psychoanalytic tradition to formulate a theoretical explanation for deontic motivation. His formulation explicitly contains concepts of the self that are consistent with the general parameters of identity and self-regulation.

Shamir’s (1991) suggestion that motivation theory be more explicit about the domain of its application poses an interesting challenge. To what behaviors or categories of behavior is the theory applicable? In what circumstances or situations is the theory most applicable? What determines whether individuals take consequentiality or appropriateness courses of action? If we categorize organizational behavior into membership, role performance, and episodic task performance (Katz, 1964), then the theory may better explain membership and role-performance behaviors than it does specific task performance. The theory may also be more effective in explaining certain dimensions of the self-concept, for example, the moral dimension may be more readily explained by the theory. By inference, therefore, whistle-blowing and the persistence of behaviors that seem economically irrational are strong candidates for being explained by this theory.

In his version of self-concept theory, Shamir (1991) proposes contextual and individual moderators. With respect to the contextual variables, he argues that the theory will be useful for explaining behavior in weak situations, specifically, where goals or means for achieving the goals are unclear, and external rewards are not related to goal achievement. With respect to individual moderators, Shamir (1991) suggests that the extent to which an individual has a crystallized self-concept, is instrumental or expressive, and is pragmatic or moral will influence the applicability of the theory. Thus, the influence of public service motivation may be highly influential in situations where behavioral rules compete, are weak, or where one’s self-concept is tested—just those situations where public administration scholars have long argued that public service is different (Perry & Porter, 1982; Allison, 1983).

Finally, the theory suggests that behavior has many origins. In addition, an individual's identity and values are significant filters through which motivational processes operate. The individual's identity, however, does not rise fully formed in a vacuum. Individuals are social creatures who come by their values and identities in a variety of ways, including through exposure to institutions and mechanisms of social development.

NOTES

1. Despite their popularity, rational choice theories have their critics, among them Ajzen and Fishbein (1969), Green and Shapiro (1994), Marwell and Ames (1979, 1980), and Rabin (1998). We agree, however, with Ostrom (1991) that rational choice theory is likely to undergo progressive reformation and that it will not be the exclusive theoretical approach to which social scientists turn in the future. We believe one step in the reformation of rational choice theory is locating it within a larger theory of human choice and action. Although we do not resolve the future role of rational choice theory, this chapter is intended to advance logics of appropriateness in contrast to logics of consequence (March & Olsen, 1989) as complements to the more well-developed rational choice approaches. For interesting research that is suggestive of one way in which these logics might be related, see Meglino and Korsgaard's (2004) research on other orientation and its relation to rational self-interest.
2. All together, Shamir identifies five shortcomings of motivation research, its individualistic, rationalistic bias being one. The other four are motivation theory's bias toward 'strong situations' (i.e. 'the importance of clear and specific goals and of reward-performance expectancies for individual motivation', 1991, p. 406), its failure to specify the behaviors to which it applies, motivation theory's conception of intrinsic motivation in largely task-specific, hedonistic terms and exclusion of symbols and emotional expression as outside even the broadest conceptions of intrinsic motivation despite their probable influences on human motivation, and little recognition to either moral obligation or to values as conceptions of the desirable.
3. The fact that institutions dictate how people are 'supposed' to act is akin to what Binswagner (1991) calls conformity. A point we will reinforce later in this chapter is the direction that people receive from institutions still permits volition and cannot be construed as deterministic, which is consistent with the self-regulatory aspect of the theory presented here.
4. The reforms collectively referred to as new public management (Hood, 1991; Dunleavy & Hood, 1994) are but one of the prescriptions that challenge historic presumptions associated with public.

5. As Koehler and Rainey (this volume) point out, the idea of community is prominent in research in sociobiology, evolutionary psychology, and developmental psychology, among other fields. The idea of community may, in fact, persist because of the many sources that reinforce it.
6. In countries such as the United States, some commentators have described the recent evolution of community as a sociological and political entity in pessimistic terms. See, for example, Michael Sandel (1996). This does not alter, however, our view that community is a feature of public institutions.
7. Although we focus on the social sciences, Koehler and Rainey's review (this volume) indicates that biological mechanisms are also involved in transmitting public logics over time. See Koehler and Rainey (this volume) and Caspi et al. (2005).
8. Deci and Ryan (2004) contend that a need for autonomy, a need for competence, and a need for relatedness make up the basic psychological needs in most individuals. Satisfaction of these needs increases the extent which behavior is autonomously internalized.
9. Burt (1982) and, to a lesser extent, Lewin (1996) argue that the failure of economists to create a theory of preference development and formation, which is the natural extension of economists' assumption about the exogeneity of preferences, is an indictment of rational choice theory. Burt contends the weakness of rational choice is 'the extent to which it relies on differences in tastes to "explain" behavior when it can neither explain how tastes are formed nor predict their effects' (1982, pp. 347–8).
10. Although people will bring with them different levels of public service motivation and, given its roots in childhood and adolescent socialization and culture, public service motivation is a relatively stable attribute, an individual's public service motivation is likely to change over time even during adulthood. Pandey and Stazyk (this volume) explore one of strongest influences on public service motivation in adulthood—the effects of organizational socialization.
11. The affective bonding motive used by Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) is similar to the concept of self-expression used by Shamir (1991). Knoke and Wright-Isak define affective bonding as behavior that is grounded in emotional responses to social contexts. By self-expression, Shamir (1991) means that behavior is not goal-directed or purposive, but rather is expressive of feelings and self-concepts. Both Shamir (1991) and Knoke and Wright-Isak's (1982) tie affective bonding or self-expression back to social context or social categories.

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4

Methodological Challenges Associated with Public Service Motivation Research

Bradley E. Wright

Using individual attitudes and values to explain employee behavior is fraught with difficulties. In particular, any such endeavor will face numerous challenges in both measuring the existence/prevalence of the relevant constructs as well as meeting the conditions necessary for making causal claims between them. Confidence in any theory of work-related behavior can only be developed by building a substantial body of empirical work as no single study can fully satisfy the conditions necessary to establish existence or causality. The study of public service motivation is no exception. To identify some of the more immediate challenges that must be addressed, it is necessary to review the current status of the public service motivation literature as a whole. Given the relative infancy of public service motivation research, it should be neither surprising nor disheartening to find that scholars must still address a number of fundamental methodological challenges.

When looking at the public service motivation literature, the extant research has provided stronger empirical evidence for its existence than its consequences (Wright, 2001, 2007; Wright & Pandey, 2005). These limitations in our current understanding of public service motivation are a reflection of the research method challenges scholars face as they work to produce a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. Admittedly, issues of measuring a construct's existence and testing its causal relations are closely intertwined. While reliable and valid measurement provides a necessary foundation upon which to test causal claims, causal tests (predictive validity) can provide some of the strongest evidence that the existence of a construct is being properly measured. That said, these issues will be discussed separately as the first step in testing any theory is to define and measure the existence of its fundamental constructs. By focusing on the interrelated issues of existence and causality, this chapter will discuss some of the challenges associated with public service motivation research and suggest some ways in which these challenges might be addressed by future research.

EXISTENCE: THE CHALLENGE OF CONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT

To establish the existence of a construct, researchers must not only provide a plausible explanation for its existence but also of its nature. To this end, early studies simply conceptualized public service motivation as altruistic work-related values or reward preferences such as the desire to help others, benefit society, or engage in meaningful public service (Crewson, 1997; Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991). Much of this initial work primarily focused on establishing the existence of public service motivation by showing that public sector employees value intrinsic rewards more and extrinsic or financial rewards less (Cacioppe & Mock, 1984; Crewson, 1997; Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991) than their private sector counterparts.

More recent work, however, has offered a more comprehensive conceptualization of public service motivation with a stronger foundation in motivation theory (Brewer et al., 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990). The predominant approach introduced by Perry and Wise (1990) suggests that public service motivation could be derived from three types of motives and the way that they could be grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions: affective, normative, and rational. Building on this conceptualization, Perry (1996) used these three universal human motives to identify four distinct dimensions of public service motivation: attraction to public policy making, public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice. From the rational motive, it was suggested that individuals could be attracted to public policy making as way of maximizing their own needs of power and self-importance or to advocate a special interest that would provide personal benefits. A second motive for public service could be an individual's interest in particular public programs or services due to a 'genuine conviction about [their] social importance' (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 369). Such affective attachment is captured by the compassion and self-sacrifice dimensions that represent service as an emotional response to humankind. The third motive that could be uniquely grounded in public service is an individual's sense of obligation to the society in which they live. Although potentially similar to the aforementioned affective dimensions, this norm-based motive reflects the desire to serve the public interest as a result of feeling a duty to one's government and community. These three motives and four dimensions provide a more comprehensive and theory-based conceptualization of public service motivation than the previous value or reward preference approach which only recognizes altruistic motives for public service without distinguishing between the normative or affective motives and ignoring the possibility that self-interested or rational motives might also exist.

While the various conceptualizations of public service motivation are not necessarily incompatible, each approach has resulted in different operational definitions. In fact, three general approaches have been used by published empirical studies of public service motivation. While the most common approaches involve using reward/need preference measures (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Crewson, 1997; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Gabris & Simo, 1995; Houston, 2000; Jurkiewicz et al., 1998; Karl & Peat, 2004; Lewis & Frank, 2002; Mann, 2006; Posner & Schmidt, 1996; Rainey, 1982; Vinzant, 1998; Wittmer, 1991) or some form of Perry's (1996) multidimensional measure (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Brewer et al., 2000; Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2006, 2007; Castaing, 2006; Choi, 2004; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Karl & Peat, 2004; Kim, 2005, 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999; Perry, 1997; Scott & Pandey, 2005), other studies have measured public service motivation by inferring it indirectly from employee behaviors (Brewer, 2003; Brewer & Selden, 1998; Houston, 2006).

Even greater diversity exists when looking at the operational definitions used by the studies of any one of these approaches. For example, of the 16 published studies[1] using measures based on the Perry and Wise (1990) conceptualization and operationalization (Perry, 1996), only three use the measure in its validated form (Camilleri, 2006, 2007; Perry, 1997).[2] Of the remaining studies, 11 have not incorporated all four of the validated dimensions, with four studies measuring only three dimensions (DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999; Scott & Pandey, 2005), six studies measuring only two (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Choi, 2004; Karl & Peat, 2004; Kim, 2005, 2006), and even one study measuring just a single dimension (Castaing, 2006).[3] Seven of the 16 studies even included items and dimensions in their measures that were originally considered but eventually omitted from Perry's (1996) measure during the validation process (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Brewer et al., 2000; Karl & Peat, 2004; Kim, 2005, 2006; Naff & Crum, 1999).[4] The number of items or dimensions is not the only difference between this subscale and Perry's original measure. Just as important are the differences in how the dimensions are operationalized. Perry (1996, 1997) notes that each dimension captures a distinct and potentially unique form of public service motivation and should be studied independently because they often relate to different variables or the same variables differently. Even so, 7 of the 14 studies with measures of two or more of Perry's (1996) dimensions do not study the effects of each dimension independently but rather collapse these dimensions into a single, overall public service motivation score by simply summing the items of each dimension into an aggregate, formative measure (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Bright, 2005; Karl & Peat, 2004; Kim, 2005, 2006; Naff & Crum, 1999).

This degree of diversity in operational definitions is hardly uncommon[5] and represents both an important strength and weakness of current public service motivation research. On the one hand, confidence in the existence and prevalence of public service motivation has increased because empirical evidence has been found using a variety of research measures and data collection techniques. Unfortunately, such diversity also limits the confidence in the findings and interpretation of any single study. Each operational definition of public service motivation, for example, suggests important differences in the appropriate meaning or number of public service motivation dimensions. Such seemingly minor variations in the operationalization of study measures can have serious ramifications for the research findings and their interpretation (Wright et al., 2004). In fact, inconsistent findings have been found in studies that have employed multiple measures of public service motivation (i.e. Karl & Peat, 2004; Lewis & Frank, 2002). Even studies that use similar indicators but differ in creating formative or reflective measurement models can severely bias parameter estimates and either inflate or deflate relationships (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Thus, such diversity in operational definitions can be thought of as the shotgun approach to research measurement. Like buckshot, a wide range of measures are guaranteed to hit something and, in enough quantity, increases our confidence that the intended target was hit. It does not necessarily follow, however, that all of them hit the same intended target. Without this latter guarantee, it is difficult for studies to advance our understanding of public service motivation by building on the findings of previous studies that used different measures. In fact, a recent analysis of two separate data sets suggests that the correlation between measures of Perry's public service motivation dimensions and commonly used single-item reward preferences were well below the level that would be expected if the measures represented the same underlying construct (Wright & Pandey, 2005).[6] Thus, one challenge facing future public service motivation research is to develop a better understanding of the different public service motivation measures and how they relate to each other. Such information can then be used to help develop and promote a common operational definition that can facilitate a more nuanced understanding of public service motivation.

In many ways, the approach provided by Perry and Wise (1990) seems to have the most promise as it provides a more sophisticated conceptualization of public service motivation grounded in motivation theory. The resulting

24-item four-factor measure (Perry, 1996) avoids many of the weaknesses of other measures[7] by recognizing different motives for public service and using multiple items to assess a broad range of individual values and attitudes related to each motive. Unfortunately, this measure is not without its weaknesses. In particular, both its length and reliance on non-work related questionnaire items can make it difficult to administer in field settings. A second weakness of measures operationalizing the Perry and Wise (1990) conceptualization of public service motivation concerns its psychometric properties. For example, even though Perry (1996) found that a four-dimension confirmatory factor model fits better than a three-dimension model, the evidence was not entirely conclusive as the correlation (0.89) between two of the dimensions (self-sacrifice and public interest) suggested considerable redundancy. Certainly, a three-factor model would be more parsimonious and consistent with the three types of motives (rational, norm-based, and affective) underlying Perry's work. Unfortunately, the strong relationship between dimensions suggests considerable overlap between two of the three types of motives as self-sacrifice represents affective motives and public interest represents normative motives.[8] Other research using the full 24-item Perry (1996) measure (Camilleri, 2006, 2007) has found the internal reliability of the attraction to policy-making measure to be well under the 0.70 threshold of acceptability needed for measures used in predictive validation research (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Such difficulties may explain why so few studies have used Perry's (1996, 1997) four-factor measure of public service motivation in its full form and, in particular, why so many fail to measure self-sacrifice dimension.

Several studies also highlight the potential difficulties researchers face when using short forms of the Perry (1996) measure. For example, a factor analysis of three-item measures of self-sacrifice and public interest adapted from Perry (1996) found that one item in each measure needed to be reclassified as part of the other dimension (Choi, 2004). Even then, the self-sacrifice measure extracted less than half of the variance from its respective three items. Similarly, when studying health and human services agencies, a four-item measure of compassion adapted from Perry (1996) failed to achieve an acceptable level of reliability (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007) even after dropping the weakest of the four items (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, & Pandey, 2006).[9] This weakness in the compassion measure has been fairly robust across samples and estimation techniques (Coursey & Pandey, 2007; Coursey et al., in press).

In general, this diversity in public service motivation measurement has served us well to date. However, as public service motivation research continues to move away from establishing evidence of its existence toward identifying its antecedents and consequences, this diversity in operational definitions will increasingly limit the ability to replicate and build upon previous findings. As a result, public service motivation scholars will either need to illustrate the equivalency of different public service motivation measures or develop a more appropriate measure of public service motivation that can be used consistently and confidently. Part of this effort should include validation studies to support the use of public service motivation measures across cultures and languages given that an increasing amount of public service motivation research is studying public employees around the world (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle, this volume). Fortunately, there is some evidence that this work and discussion has already begun not only in the United States (Coursey & Pandey, 2007; Coursey et al., in press) but also in Belgium (Vandenabeele, in press) and Korea (Kim, in press). When doing so, researchers should consider operationalizing this four-dimension conceptualization as first-order reflective and second-order formative.[10] While an individual's response to any scale item is preceded (or caused) by their state on the relevant dimension, an individual's public service motivation is determined by the individual's compassion, commitment to public interest, attraction to policy making, and self-sacrifice. In other words, while the items reflecting each dimension may be interchangeable, each dimension provides a unique contribution to an individual's public service motivation. This operationalization not only would account for the low covariance consistently found between attraction to policy making and the other dimensions (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Camilleri, 2006; Coursey & Pandey, 2007; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Kim, in press) but is also consistent with previous findings indicating that each dimension may have different antecedents (Camilleri, 2006, 2007; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997) and consequences (Scott & Pandey, 2005).[11]

RESEARCH CHALLENGES IN MAKING CAUSAL CLAIMS

At its core, public service motivation theory assumes that individuals may be predisposed to 'respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations' (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368). As such, the theory makes three broad testable causal claims. First, it is expected that work in public sector organizations provide greater opportunity to satisfy certain needs than the work in private sector organizations. Second, it is assumed that these opportunities attract individuals with matching needs or values. In other words, public service motivation influences an individual's sector employment choice. Third, that public employees with higher public service motivation will exert greater effort in their work because they find the nature of work itself is rewarding. While others have suggested causal relationships between public service motivation and other work-related constructs such as organizational commitment (Castaing, 2006; Crewson, 1997), organizational citizenship behavior (Kim, 2006), job satisfaction (Naff & Crum, 1999), and public service behavior (Vandenabeele, 2007), many of these specific claims still fall within the more general claims that public service motivation increases employee performance, retention, and public sector employment (Perry & Wise, 1990).

To provide support for these claims, research must satisfy four conditions of causality: plausibility, covariance, temporal sequence, and nonspuriousness. As evidenced in other chapters of this book, two of these conditions have been well supported by existing research. Evidence of plausibility, or the provision of a reasonable theoretical justification for the expected relationships, has been provided by numerous scholars (Paarlberg, Perry, & Hondeghem, this volume; Perry & Hondeghem, this volume; Perry & Wise, 1990). Covariation is a more difficult criterion to meet. While the majority of the empirical studies testing the second causal claim has consistently found public service motivation to be higher in public employees than private sector employees (Brewer, 2003; Crewson, 1997; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Houston, 2006; Karl & Peat, 2004; Posner & Schmidt, 1996; Rainey, 1982), other studies have not (Gabris & Simo, 1995; Karl & Peat, 2004; Lewis & Frank, 2002; Mann, 2006). As discussed above, some of this inconsistency may be due to difference in how public service motivation was measured. For example, students majoring in public service careers were found to have higher public service motivation than business majors when using the typical reward/need preference measures of public service motivation, but no difference was found using a measure of public service motivation summing 14 items adapted from Perry (1996) that reflected multiple public service motivation dimensions (Karl & Peat, 2004).[12] The findings regarding the third causal claim and its expected covariation between public service motivation and measures of employee effort or performance are even fewer in number and less consistent (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Lewis & Frank, 2002; Naff & Crum, 1999; Rainey, 1982). Measurement may play even a more prominent role in these findings as single item reward/need preference items (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Rainey, 1982) do not tend to support this relationship while analyses using a short form of the public service motivation measure do (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Naff & Crum, 1999). That said, meeting the conditions of the final two causal criteria present the greatest challenges to public service motivation scholars and require significant changes in the current approach to studying public service motivation. Each of these two criteria will be discussed separately and in more detail below.

Temporal Sequence: Public Service Motivation Origins and their Implications

Even if sector employment and employee performance does covary with public service motivation, it does not necessarily mean that they are a consequence of it. To determine this would also require knowledge of which occurs first. Unfortunately one important unresolved question regarding public service motivation concerns its origins. Differences in public service motivation across employees and sectors could be a result of attraction-selection-attrition (Schneider, 1987) or adaptation processes (Hall et al., 1975). That said, public administration scholars have tended to view employee motives as inputs 'brought to the work situation' that represent 'the raw materials in the public sector motivational processes' (Perry & Porter, 1982, p. 90) even though there has been some recognition that employee characteristics may be shaped by the organization (Cherniss & Kane, 1987; Guyot, 1960; Perry & Wise, 1990; Posner & Schmidt, 1996; Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991). Unfortunately, the time order of relationship between public service motivation and sector employment choice has remained largely unanalyzed as current research provides little information about when and how public service motivation is developed or even whether it is stable across time and situations. Changing this situation would require overcoming obstacles pertaining to research design and model specification.

The primary obstacle to establishing time order concerns limitations in research design. As is indicative of public administration research in general (Wright et al., 2004), the empirical evidence that public sector employees have greater public service motivation than private sector employees has relied on cross-sectional designs. This has particularly important implications for testing the assertion that public service motivation influences sector employment choice as the data that has been used to test this relationship is only collected after individuals have selected a sector of employment (i.e. Brewer, 2003; Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2006; Posner & Schmidt, 1996; Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991) or study (Karl & Peat, 2004). Therefore, it is important to exercise caution in making causal inferences from this research, as it has confounded the effects of selection, attrition, and adaptation processes. In particular, public service motivation research must make greater use of designs that allow the independent variable to be measured or introduced prior to measuring a change in the dependent variable. Admittedly, this type of research design is hard to construct and even harder to put into practice. Fortunately, ideas for potentially useful designs can be found in research on person-organization fit and value congruence that has also struggled to link individual values and work behavior. While true experimental designs would be difficult given that exposure to the independent variable (public service motivation) cannot be randomly assigned, laboratory studies could still be used to help establish the time order of the independent and dependent variables. For example, after first measuring their public service motivation, research participants could then be asked to respond to a series of vignettes regarding how they would react to situations involving an act of altruism or a choice between hypothetical employers. Similarly, public service motivation's origins and temporal stability could be studied by taking measurements before and after manipulating situational cues (i.e. the presence of red tape or role/value conflict) to see if public service motivation changes or even whether any corresponding changes in public service motivation mediate the effect of these situational cues on work-related outcomes (i.e. employee performance, job satisfaction, or turnover). Several relevant examples of this type of work already exist in the public administration research (Grant, in press; Scott & Pandey, 2000).

Quasi-experimental studies can also contribute to our understanding of the time order. Longitudinal studies, for example, could measure public service motivation levels of individuals prior to selecting public service majors or positions and then track their future employment decisions. Even when studying only public employees, longitudinal designs can help determine how public service motivation changes over time and circumstances.[13] Such designs can also help address the classic nature versus nurture argument or perhaps even provide evidence of reciprocal relationships. For example, laboratory and longitudinal studies have enabled scholars studying work values to provide strong evidence that even though individuals may change their jobs to coincide with their values, some individuals changed their values to conform to their job (Rosenberg, 1957). Still other studies have investigated the stability of work-related values (Ruiz-Quintanilla & England, 1996; Schulenberg et al., 1988) and even the relative importance of traits and environment in determining work-related values or behaviors (Keller et al., 1992; Mortimer & Lorence, 1979).

Even if stronger designs are used in data collection efforts, researchers still face difficulties in determining the temporal sequence between public service motivation and other constructs as a result of inconsistencies in theory and model specification. For example, while some empirical studies have modeled public service motivation as an antecedent of organizational commitment (Castaing, 2006) and red-tape perceptions (Scott & Pandey, 2005), others have tested empirical models with public service motivation as a consequence of organizational commitment (Camilleri, 2006) and perceptions of red tape (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).[14] Such inconsistencies increase the difficulty of inferring the causal time-order condition without additional replication studies that compare the two models. This issue can also be resolved by developing a more comprehensive theory of public service motivation's nomological network that can guide research practice and evaluation. That said, reaching an agreement on the nomological network is not easy and is driven by empirical work. Empirical research on other organizational behavior theories can provide useful ideas regarding research practice but also highlights the potential limitations of these practices. For example, while studies testing alternative causal directions between job satisfaction and organizational commitment can provide guidance on how to compare contrasting models, their frequency and mixed findings also illustrate the difficulties in resolving this issue to everyone's satisfaction (Currivan, 1999; Curry et al., 1986; Farkas & Tetrick, 1989; Vandenberg & Lance, 1992; Williams & Hazer, 1986).

Establishing the temporal sequence between variables is not just of theoretical importance or a requirement of methodological purists. More information regarding when it is appropriate to view public service motivation as endogenous or exogenous factor in our understanding a particular phenomenon is also needed to guide management research and practice. For example, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) show that job tenure has a negative effect on public service motivation. Unfortunately, due to the limitations of the study, this important finding can be interpreted in two very different ways. Public employees with higher public service motivation may be more likely to leave the organization or, alternatively, employee public service motivation may decline over time perhaps as a result of reoccurring discrepancies between what public service employees want to accomplish and what they feel that they are able to actually accomplish in that particular agency. Unfortunately, this is not just a minor difference of opinion because the potential benefits and management strategies associated with public service motivation depend on which interpretation one uses.

Nonspuriousness: Ruling out Alternative Independent Variables

The final criterion of causality is nonspuriousness and requires the research to demonstrate that a relation between two variables cannot be explained by a third variable. There are at least three obstacles researchers must face when attempting to establish that relationships with public service motivation are not spurious: measurement, research design, and model specification. The first two of these obstacles have already been discussed in detail and, therefore, require only brief reiteration here. First, researchers must establish that their empirical tests use valid measures and that their empirical findings are not measure specific. As discussed above, considerable variation exists in the operational definitions of public service motivation used in empirical research and there is also some evidence that some of these measures are not capturing the same underlying construct and that empirical findings vary depending on how public service motivation is measured (i.e. Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Karl & Peat, 2004). Second, the reliance on cross-sectional data collection designs has limited the ability of the existing public service motivation research to rule out alternative explanations for empirical relationships by randomly assigning participants to experimental and control conditions. Instead, researchers must rely on the more fallible methods such as the use of subgroup comparisons and statistical controls. Qualitative studies may be particularly helpful in this regard as they produce richer data allowing for greater depth in interpretation. A mix of qualitative and quantitative longitudinal studies, for example, has been used to provide a more comprehensive and convincing understanding of both the formation and stability of civic identity and behaviors (Youniss et al., 1997). While many of the issues raised in this chapter are relevant to both quantitative and qualitative studies, the latter can rely on triangulation of results from multiple sources (data, investigators, and theories) to rule out alternative explanations (Mathison, 1988; Patton, 2002).

A third obstacle to establishing that empirical findings are not spurious concerns the increasing complexity of analytical tools that researchers must employ to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the role public service motivation plays in the organizational context. Many of the existing studies investigating the consequences of public service motivation have tested for simple, direct relationships between public service motivation and other constructs. When doing so, they implicitly (if not explicitly) assume that employees with public service motivation will find those needs fulfilled by the characteristics of public sector jobs and work environments. Although this may seem like a straightforward assertion, it makes a number of critical assumptions regarding the degree to which employees feel that the job or job setting allows them to operationalize their public service motivation needs (Rainey, 1982). In fact, there is reason to believe that the consequences of public service motivation may be moderated or mediated by other factors. For example, Lewis and Frank (2002) found that education moderates the relationship between public service motivation and sector employment choice with public service motivation only predicting public sector employment for college graduates. Similarly, public service motivation has also been found to only increase public employee commitment and job satisfaction when employees feel that they are making important contributions to an organizational mission with which they identify (Perry & Thomson, 2004; Vinzant, 1998). Other studies have highlighted the need to test for mediating variables (Wright, 2007). For example, the studies that have found that public service motivation influences organizational performance have not fully illustrated the process by which it produces such effects (Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005). This weakness is often more related to the limitations in method than theory. Although Selden and Brewer (2000) used Locke and Latham's high performance cycle (1990) to carefully lay out a series of theoretical interrelationships that explain the mechanisms by which public service motivation (and other constructs) improves organizational performance, their statistical model did not fully capture or test the hypothesized mediated relationships.

Overcoming this obstacle involves two related steps. First, more scholars must recognize the potential complexity of public service motivation's role in shaping work attitudes and behaviors by developing more comprehensive empirical models of the antecedents and consequences of public service motivation. Second, testing such models will require more advanced statistical tools. To test for moderators, for instance, researchers only need to modify some of their current statistical tools by testing for interaction effects in a standard regression model (Jaccard et al., 1990) or conducting subgroup analyses (Lewis & Frank, 2002). Testing for mediating variables, however, can be more complicated. While mediated relationships can be tested using multiple regression, it requires running multiple models and can produce biased estimates (Baron & Kenny, 1986). As a result, more complex analytical tools are often recommended. In particular, structural equation modeling (SEM) provides results that can be interpreted similar to those provided by OLS regression and factor analysis, but has distinct advantages when analyzing mediation effects because the underlying measurement model (or factor analysis) mitigates measurement error which tends to produce biased estimates and the structural model does not estimate the required equations independently (Baron & Kenny, 1986). While SEM is not as easily used and may require training beyond that given in a typical graduate program, a growing number of public service motivation studies already use it (i.e. Camilleri, 2006, 2007; Coursey & Pandey, 2007; Kim, 2006, in press; Perry, 1996; Wright & Pandey, 2005).

Admittedly, testing for mediators and moderators is difficult and often overlooked (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Testing for such relationships, however, will not only add to our understanding of public service motivation but can also help explain inconsistent findings regarding the effect of public service motivation on employee attitudes and behavior (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Naff & Crum, 1999; Rainey, 1982; Wright & Pandey, 2005).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the limitations in our current understanding of public service motivation to identify and offer potential solutions to the methodological challenges scholars face as they work to develop a more comprehensive understanding of public service motivation. In particular, future research should continue to:

- develop a measure of public service motivation that can be used more consistently and confidently or do more to demonstrate the equivalency of different public service motivation measures;
- develop more theoretical and empirical evidence concerning the origins and temporal stability of public service motivation to help determine the degree to which it should be conceptualized as a state or a trait;
- use more sophisticated experimental and quasi-experimental designs that can help address threats to internal validity that have not been adequately addressed by the current reliance on cross-sectional data; and
- recognize the potential complexity of public service motivation role in shaping work attitudes and behaviors by using more sophisticated analytical tools to test for potential variables that may mediate and moderate the relationship between public service motivation and important work-related outcomes.

Of course, any review of research practices in the social science would be remiss if it failed to point out that no research study can or should be expected to satisfy all of the concerns raised. In fact, no single research design will satisfy all the conditions for establishing existence and causality raised here. Even the gold standard of causal designs, the laboratory experiment, is conducted at the cost of external validity and the risk of isolating study variables from potentially important moderating and mediating variables that cannot be so easily avoided in 'real life' situations. While confidence in the existence of public service motivation and any related causal claims can not be satisfied by any single study, it can be significantly increased by a series of studies that build on each other by using a variety of research designs and samples (each addressing different issues raised by this chapter) to replicate important empirical findings. Unfortunately, many of the research challenges raised here highlight weaknesses that are not only characteristic of the current body of public service motivation research but also public administration research in general. While current research practices have served well to establish the existence and potential importance of public service motivation, these very same practices may increasingly become an obstacle as scholars work to produce a stronger, more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon.

In particular, public service motivation research may be well served by increasing the diversity in research data collection and design while simultaneously working to decrease the diversity in the operational definitions of public service motivation.

NOTES

1. Due to limitations of the author, this chapter only includes empirical research on public service motivation published in English. While English-language summaries of some articles could often be found, it was difficult to obtain sufficient detail on the methods and analysis necessary to be included in this review with any confidence.
2. Using all 24 items to measure the four validated dimensions (attraction to policy making, commitment to public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice) as first-order reflective and second-order reflective (Perry, 1996).
3. The most commonly excluded dimension was self-sacrifice (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Castaing, 2006; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Kim, 2005, 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999; Scott & Pandey, 2005); an exclusion often justified by researchers because the high correlation (r = 0.89) between the public interest and self-sacrifice dimension found in Perry's scale development study (1996) suggests that considerable redundancy exists. The second most commonly excluded was attraction to policy making (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Castaing, 2006; Choi, 2004; Karl & Peat, 2004; Kim, 2005, 2006), while only two studies excluded compassion (Castaing, 2006; Choi, 2004), and one excluded commitment to public interest (Karl & Peat, 2004).
4. In many cases this may not result in substantial differences across measures as the most commonly used items not included in Perry's final 24-item measure were from dimensions (i.e. social justice) that Perry determined were redundant with the four retained dimensions (1996).
5. Similar diversity and related challenges can be found in empirical research associated with many common organizational behavior constructs such as the organizational commitment (Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005; Morrow, 1993) and organizational citizenship behavior (LePine et al., 2002; Podsakoff et al., 2000).
6. The correlations between the public service motivation dimensions and the reward preference measures in two data sets ranged from 0.06 to 0.40 with an average correlation of 0.17.
7. The wording of the reward/need preference measures (meaningful public service or benefiting society) can be interpreted in inconsistent (or even incompatible) ways and even encourage social desirability bias (Rainey, 1982). Similarly, indirectly measuring public service motivation from employee behavior is also

limited because it relies upon the dubious assumption that specific individual motives can be easily inferred from behavior.

8. Research that conceptualizes organizational commitment in terms of rational, affective, and normative motives has produced similar difficulties. As a result, scholars have questioned the need for both the affective and normative dimensions noting that even if these dimensions are conceptually distinct in theory, in practice people may treat them similarly (Ko et al., 1997; Morrow, 1983, 1993).
9. This finding was later replicated with a second data set using the same four items (Wright & Pandey, 2005).
10. Recent studies have not only highlighted the important differences between formative and reflective measures but also suggest that many commonly used measures modeled as reflective are more correctly modeled as formative (Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000; Law et al., 1998; Podsakoff et al., 2003).
11. One recent study has suggested other plausible explanations for the attraction to policy making anomaly including that measure's reliance on negatively worded items as well as its emphasis on politics and politicians over policy making (Kim, in press).
12. This was the only published study comparing public and private sector employment using some version of the Perry and Wise (1990) conceptualization of public service motivation.
13. While two studies have used data collected at multiple points in time, neither were able to identify and compare individual-specific responses over time (Crewson, 1997; Lewis & Frank, 2002).
14. While it is indeed possible that reciprocal relationships between these variables exist, none of these studies tested a nonrecursive empirical model.

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Part II

Exploring the Antecedents, Correlates, and Outcomes of Public Service Motivation

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5

Antecedents and Correlates of Public Service Motivation

Sanjay K. Pandey and Edmund C. Stazyk

Systematic research, especially empirical research, on public service motivation is of recent vintage and grows out of a recognition that the public sector motivational terrain differs from the private sector (Perry & Porter, 1982; Perry & Rainey, 1988). Early work recognized that these sector-based differences were related to both organizational and individual circumstances (Perry & Porter, 1982). Put another way, individual proclivities to derive fulfillment and satisfaction from public sector work were expected to vary on the basis of formal and informal aspects of the work environment as well as individual attributes. This belief is the product of a rich tradition in public administration scholarship that has long recognized the presence of an ethic grounded uniquely in public service, which has been expected to lead to the pursuit of government careers and also predispose individuals to derive satisfaction from public sector work (Horton, this volume; Mosher, 1982; Perry & Wise, 1990; Rainey, 1982). It is only in the last 20 years or so that this tradition has given rise to empirical research on public service motivation.

This chapter reviews antecedents and correlates of public service motivation. In presenting this review, however, we shy away from a 'comprehensive cataloging' approach. We believe that an alternate approach—identifying discernible patterns of explanations—is more useful. In taking this approach, we have a comparatively firm basis for our *a priori* beliefs about the causal ordering of antecedents. With respect to the concepts we discuss as correlates, it is not possible to mount definitive evidence and arguments on the nature and direction of causal relationship on the basis of extant research. Our review is based on approximately 50 empirical studies starting with Rainey (1982). It is important to note empirical research on the public service motivation concept has been both reinvigorated and transformed since Perry's reformulation of the concept as made up of four component dimensions, including attraction to policy making, compassion, civic duty/public interest, and self-sacrifice (Perry, 1996, 1997, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990). This is reflected in the increased use of public service motivation measurement scales proposed by Perry (1996); about 15 of the studies reviewed used some variant of measure(s) derived from Perry (1996).

We begin by discussing three categories of explanations as antecedents of public service motivation, namely, socio-demographic factors, social institutions, and organizational factors. While the first category is largely atheoretical, the latter two categories of explanations are rooted in institutional theory (March & Olsen, 1989; Perry, 2000). As correlates, we discuss reward preferences, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. Other correlates discussed in the literature (e.g. performance, organizational and interpersonal citizenship behavior, goal commitment, and mission valence) are addressed in other chapters. After sequentially reviewing the antecedents and correlates, we offer some concluding thoughts.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AS ANTECEDENTS

Socio-demographic characteristics are commonly included in public service motivation studies as control variables in multivariate models (e.g. Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer, 2003; Gabris & Simo, 1995; Houston, 2000, 2006; Kim, 2005; Naff & Crum, 1999). Although limited in number, recent studies have examined the effects of socio-demographic factors as antecedents in a more systematic manner (Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2007; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Perry, 1997). Some of the more robust socio-demographic antecedents include age, education, and gender. On balance, age has a modest positive association with public service motivation. A higher level of education has a positive association with public service motivation. Women consistently score higher on the compassion dimension of public service motivation. For most other socio-demographic factors, however, it is possible to find instances of no relationship, a positive relationship, or a negative relationship with public service motivation. These inconsistencies may be reflective of methodological shortcomings (Wright, this volume). Nonetheless, on balance, the evidence suggests socio-demographic characteristics have some bearing on public service motivation.

Despite evidence on the positive effect of age on public service motivation (e.g. Houston, 2000; Perry, 1997), little explanation has been offered. This is consistent with the usage of age primarily as a control variable in multivariate models. Steijn (2006) suggests older employees, by virtue of hierarchical position and policy/organizational knowledge, are better placed to influence policy decisions. This, however, is not an argument for age causing increased public service motivation. Studies on altruism in elderly and generativity support the finding on positive association between age and public service motivation. According to Midlarsky and Hannah (1989), despite good reasons to expect the relationship between age and altruism to be curvilinear with middle-aged individuals being the most altruistic, the relationship between altruism and age is a linear one with the elderly being more generous. Generativity studies try to understand the role individuals play in shaping the future generation. These studies make the case that with increasing age and attendant life experiences (such as raising children) individuals become more concerned about making lasting positive contributions to society (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; Ryff & Heincke, 1983). This insight of generativity studies is supported in part by Camilleri (2007) who found that individuals with children have higher public service motivation.

If there is one consistent result across most studies on the effect of a socio-demographic attribute, it is that education has a positive association with public service motivation (e.g. Bright, 2005; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999; Perry, 1997; Steijn, 2006). These studies used heterogeneous samples and, therefore, this finding has good external validity. Bright attributes this finding to the 'professionalizing' effect of education. Perry (1997) employed education as a control variable, but in a later study (Perry, 2000) recognized the key socializing role education plays in shaping individual beliefs. Boyte and Kari (1999) offer a similar perspective when they suggest that educational institutions play an integral role in teaching 'practical citizenship'. Indeed, in their historical and institutional perspective, the higher education system is seen as a key component of civil society that informs the relationship between individual and the community and can, therefore, be expected to inculcate public service motivation.

The relationship between different dimensions of public service motivation and gender is mixed (Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2007; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Perry, 1997), except for the compassion dimension. Almost all studies thus far suggest that women show higher levels of compassion. Bright (2005) suggests caring and nurturing—associated with differential gender socialization—makes women more likely to have higher levels of public service motivation. DeHart-Davis et al. (2006) offer a more nuanced perspective on the effect of gender on public service motivation. DeHart-Davis et al. (2006) argue women are likely to display more compassion and men are likely to have higher levels of attraction to policy making and express greater commitment to public interest. The basic argument advanced by DeHart-Davis and colleagues, drawing upon feminist theory, is that traditionally public and private spheres have been separate. Taken together, historical relegation of women to the private sphere, and the prevalence of exclusive 'male' interaction patterns in the public sphere, is expected to produce higher compassion among women and lower attraction to policy making and commitment to public interest. While the finding on compassion is in line with expectations and other studies (e.g. Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2007; Vandenabeele, 2007), the finding on attraction to policy making with women showing higher levels ran counter to expectations and findings by Perry (1997) and Camilleri (2007). DeHart-Davis et al. (2006) draw upon the nature of the organizations sampled (redistributive agencies with limited room for policy making) and 'gender balance' (agencies with significant presence of women) empowering women to behave more like men to explain positive relationship between female gender and attraction to policy making in these agencies.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AS ANTECEDENTS

Among the most commonly asserted conjectures about public employees in the literature is that they have a high level of public service ethic. There is a two-part underlying assertion regarding the role of social institutions: (1) Even before individuals have had the opportunity to be exposed to socialization in a public organization, social institutions have inculcated varying levels of public service motivation; and (2) those with higher levels of public service motivation have chosen careers in public service. Evidence from a number of studies is consistent with this assertion (e.g. Brewer, 2003; Houston, 2000, 2006; Wittmer, 1991).

The important question then becomes which social institutions are responsible for, and how do they inculcate, public service motivation? Perry (1997) identifies a number of social institutions that can shape the development of public service motivation, namely the family, religion, and the profession. In the family context, he hypothesizes that parental relations and parental modeling can play a role in inculcating public service motivation. Religious activity, because of its sustained and deliberate emphasis on the other, is also expected to lead to public service motivation. Professional socialization, a product of the bargain the profession and society agree upon, is expected to foster a service ethic.

In the 1997 study, Perry found that parental modeling, as expected, has a positive impact on public service motivation. The findings on religious involvement are somewhat more complex. Perry found that church involvement had a negative effect on public service motivation. However, respondents who scored higher on a 'closeness to god' measure had higher public service motivation. This suggests religious activity can foster universal and inclusive propensities as well as parochial and insular tendencies. Perry explains the counter-intuitive finding by suggesting that the church involvement measure is reflective of parochial religious commitments and therefore may stand in opposition to universal civic commitments embodied in the public service motivation concept. Perry et al. (in press), in the later study, which focused on volunteerism, found that both parental socialization and religious activity had a positive effect on public service motivation. The primary difference between these two studies was the nature of the sample. While the Perry (1997) study used a broad-based convenience sample, the Perry et al. (in press) research draws upon a sample of volunteers. Moreover, these volunteers were recognized for their civic service by having won either the Daily Point of Light Awards or the President's Community Volunteer Awards. Therefore, for the volunteers—a group that is more civic-service oriented—the universal and inclusive aspect of religious activity perhaps reinforces public service motivation. Indeed, Houston and Cartwright (2007) have found individuals involved in public service occupations tend to report being more spiritual than others.

The last social institution Perry (1997) discusses is the profession. Most studies report a positive relationship between professional identification and public service motivation (e.g. DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007). The two studies by Pandey and colleagues use the same database, but employ differing model specifications and two different measures of professionalism. Whereas the DeHart-Davis and colleagues study uses a measure of professionalism that includes indicators of both membership and active engagement with the profession, the Moynihan and Pandey study relies on membership in a professional group as an indicator of professionalism. In both studies, a higher level of professionalism is associated with higher public service motivation.

Professions historically have struck a bargain with society in which they espouse and uphold a code of ethics that puts public interest ahead of personal interest. In return, the profession is accorded autonomy and legitimacy in dealing with specific matters under its purview. The classic example of such a bargain is with the profession of medicine (Friedson, 1970; Starr, 1982); however, increasingly this bargain has frayed for medicine as well as for other professions (Perry, 2007; Sullivan, 2004). Nonetheless, professional associations and activities continue to be important socializing forces reminding members of a profession about their obligations to the public. Two of the more notable American organizations promoting professionalism in public administration, American Society for Public Administration and the International City/County Management Association, have ethical codes that emphasize promotion of the public interest (Perry, 2000). It is worth noting, however, that these organizations cover a small proportion of public servants and the mere presence of a code of ethics within a professional association cannot be expected to translate into higher levels of public service motivation. Instead, professional associations must build or shape their socializing institutions such that members of the profession actively identify with both the association and the ethical code. Indeed, Frankford (1997) makes the case that institutions of professional education and training shape the 'normative constitution' of professionalism. It may, therefore, be necessary to redesign these institutions as well as to sustain connection between educational institutions and working professionals (Perry, 2007).

ORGANIZATIONAL ANTECEDENTS

The importance of organizations in fostering public service motivation has not received much attention. Organizations, however, can play an important role in fostering and sustaining public service motivation, a fact recognized by Perry (1997) when he called for more research on this theme. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) take up Perry's invitation to assess organizational antecedents of public service motivation. Moynihan and Pandey propose a model that takes into account a number of key aspects of work environment to develop a model of organizational antecedents of public service motivation. They identify organizational culture, bureaucratic red tape, the presence of employee-friendly reforms, hierarchical levels, and organizational tenure as key organizational antecedents. All of these factors, with the exception of culture, have a relationship with public service motivation. Given that the study did not use all dimensions of public service motivation, they urge caution in treating the culture finding as definitive.

Such caution is worthwhile especially in light of other studies that show culture as having a positive influence on different work-related constructs. For example, Kaufman's (1967) classic study of forest rangers illustrated how close-knit cultures foster and reinforce a sense of shared commitment among employees. These arguments are mirrored in DiIulio's (1994) study on employees working for the Bureau of Prisons as 'principled agents'. Using different methods, Ellickson (2002) and Steijn (2004), also provide evidence for positive effect of esprit de corps and organizational climate on job satisfaction—a key work-related construct. It is also possible that organizational culture's effect on public service motivation is not a direct one but perhaps one of a moderator or mediator variable.

As expected, bureaucratic red tape has a negative effect on public service motivation and a reform orientation has a positive effect. This result is consistent with emerging evidence about the negative impact of bureaucratic red tape on a range of work-related constructs such as job satisfaction, job involvement, organizational commitment, and role ambiguity (Pandey & Wright, 2006; Pandey et al., 2007). Bureaucratic red tape, as Pandey and Moynihan (2006) point out, represents a triumph of means over ends. Fulfillment of public service aspect of the work can be a valued end, and therefore, this finding points to a key negative antecedent of public service motivation in public organizations. While Moynihan and Pandey (2007) posit bureaucratic red tape as an antecedent of public service motivation, it is worth remembering this is a case in which a bi-directional causal relationship is quite likely. Indeed, Scott and Pandey (2005) argue that those with high public service motivation may have greater ability to cope with bureaucratic red tape and keep working towards public service goals.

Somewhat surprisingly, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) find that organizational tenure has a negative association with public service motivation even after controlling for age. This is a difficult finding to interpret because the explanation is likely a product of long-term interplay between organizational- and individual-level factors (Wright, this volume). One possible explanation is the frustrated service ethic suggested initially by Buchanan (1975). Scott and Pandey build on Buchanan's argument to suggest that large-scale formal organizations can obscure the link between efforts and values outcomes (2005, p. 161). Thus, even though individuals may join a public organization with high idealism, the lack of opportunities to experience valued outcomes firsthand can lead to a damping down of public service motivation.

Moynihan and Pandey (2007, p. 821), in considering a similar finding on work engagement, suggest that organizations should consider ways to 'reconnect long-term members to the organization'. Wright (2004, 2007) has a useful proposal in this regard. Between organizational and public service goals on the one hand and public service motivation on the other hand, stands the day-to-day experience of the job, which can be expected to have a bearing on different types of motivation. Over prolonged periods of time, even challenging aspects of work can become routine and the ability to see connections between a job well done and fulfillment of a public service goal may be challenged. One possible way to address the resultant ennui then is to find means for effectively communicating the importance of the job and its benefits for broader public purposes. Using a series of carefully designed experiments, Grant demonstrates that this is possible. In his experiments, individual employees were made aware of the positive impact of their day-to-day work in the lives of potential beneficiaries (Grant, in press;

Grant et al., 2007). This resulted in greater effort, superior performance, and increased persistence.

Other recent work, building upon Perry (1997) and Moynihan and Pandey (2007), has affirmed the value of organizational antecedents for better understanding public service motivation (Camilleri, 2007). Paarlberg, Perry, and Hondeghem (this volume) provide clear and specific guidelines on how organizations can capitalize on the potential value of public service motivation and make these connections come alive in different organizational activities.

REWARD PREFERENCES

Individual reward preferences are, perhaps, the most commonly examined correlate in the public service motivation literature. The argument here is simple—public service motivation leads individuals to value monetary rewards less than the opportunity to serve others or the society (Houston, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990). This inclination to serve others and society, public service motives by another name, is expected to result in self-selection of such individuals in public organizations (Crewson, 1997; Norris, 2003). Although the evidence supports differential valuation of non-monetary rewards, it is less clear on the value public employees place on monetary rewards.

Rainey (1982) conducted one of the earliest empirical studies on reward preferences. His study was motivated in part by a 'search of the service ethic' (p. 288). Rainey compared differences in reward preferences across employees in public and private organizations. Based on surveys of middle managers in four state and four private organizations, he found evidence in support of a unique public service ethic. However, there was limited variation in the valuation of monetary incentives across sectors. In a study of employees of local authorities in the United Kingdom, Pratchett and Wingfield find that 'allegiance to the public sector is strongest amongst the highest paid categories and diminishes as income decreases' (Pratchett and Wingfield, 1996, pp. 645–6). Those individuals placed in the lowest salary category have the least loyalty to the public sector, and exhibit little or no sector preference. This diminishment, in the authors' opinion, does not reflect sector preferences, but rather indifference among employment choices.

Crewson (1997) sought to build directly upon the work of Rainey by answering two questions concerning reward preferences. He sought to determine whether there were sector-based differences in terms of employee preferences, and also if these differences remained constant over time. Using data from three national surveys and multiple operationalizations of reward preferences, Crewson found that public sector employees had a distinct set of motives. This led him to argue private sector incentive measures cannot and should not be adapted wholesale in the public sector. Instead, the public sector must structure an incentive system that takes public service motivation into account.

Writing from the public economics literature, François (2000) demonstrates that public organizations are better equipped to benefit from public service motivation than the private sector. Delfgaauw and Dur (2006) make similar arguments. These findings have been mirrored, at some level, by Houston (2000). Houston applied Crewson's (1997) measure of public service motivation to conduct a pooled multivariate analysis of 1991, 1993, and 1994 General Social Survey data in an effort, once again, to examine sector differences. He found public employees placed more value on intrinsic rewards such as doing important work. On the other hand, private sector employees were more inclined to value extrinsic rewards such as income.

Alonso and Lewis (2001) examined reward preferences for 35,000 federal, white-collar employees who participated in the 1991 Survey of Federal Employees and the 1996 Merit Principles Survey. Surprisingly, the authors found little evidence for the effect of public service motivation—particularly on the relationship between incentive systems and performance ratings. However, by the authors' own admission, their measures of public service motivation are flawed, which may account for the discrepant findings. On the other hand, Norris (2003) examined data from the 1997 International Social Survey Programme to explore the continued relevance of a public service ethic across a wide range of countries. The study explored the relationship between motivational values and work experiences (as antecedents), and the manner in which these translate into higher job satisfaction and work motivation in public sector employees. Although there were variations across countries, the findings demonstrated the importance of extrinsic reward preferences among these employees. Norris finds these preferences reinforce motivational values and act as a precursor to higher levels of job satisfaction and work motivation. Similarly, Wright (2004) argues both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards are important within organizations. However, organizations may be able to rely on intrinsic rewards to offset limited extrinsic rewards.

For all intents and purposes, the results of these studies, although mixed, point to the notion that monetary incentives cannot inherently be considered a substantial systemic or individual motivator for public sector employees. In fact, several contrary findings exist, suggesting that the opposite is true. Given these findings, two conclusions should be drawn. First, it suggests, intuitively, monetary incentives correlate with the public service motivation concept only insofar as those incentives are appropriately linked to employee performance. Second, the literature also indicates nonmonetary, intrinsic rewards may be as important, if not more, than pecuniary motivators.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT

Organizational action is often tied to the creation of an organizational climate that fosters and sustains an individual's public service motivation. Research along this vein maintains organizational commitment is an important correlate of public service motivation. This approach, at least in terms of public service motivation, is an outgrowth of Perry and Wise's (1990) original categorization of motives and dimensions, as well as a substantial body of literature on organizational commitment from the field of organizational behavior (e.g. Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). Both of these concepts—public service motivation and organizational commitment—are widely viewed as having normative, affective, and rational dimensions.

The first empirical study exploring organizational commitment as a correlate is Crewson (1997). He argues that 'preference for service over economic benefits' should lead to greater commitment to the organization, and, using multiple data sets (General Social Surveys, 1989, 1973–93; the 1979 Federal Employee Attitude Survey; and the 1997 Survey of Electrical Engineers) demonstrates public service motivation is consistently and positively correlated with organizational commitment. He argues this has performance, recruitment, and retention implications that require additional exploration.

Camilleri's (2006) structural equation model on the relationship between certain antecedents, organizational commitment, and public service motivation within the Maltese Public Service further highlights the association between the two concepts. His study examines both affective and normative forms of organizational commitment. The most significant findings in his model are those on the relationship between organizational commitment and public service motivation. He finds public service motivation 'is reinforced and strengthened' by organizational commitment. Moreover, affective commitment appears to be somewhat more important than normative commitment. This leads Camilleri to conclude organizational commitment is a dominant predictor of public service motivation.

Examining affective and continuance commitment, and their association to public service motivation, Cerase and Farinella (2006) come to similar conclusions. They find both correlate with public service motivation. Continuance commitment typically refers to an individual's intention to remain with an organization, and, as the authors argue, suggests in this case that public service motivation can be linked to practical and instrumental reasons for not wanting to leave an organization. However, the findings for affective commitment as a correlate are much higher, and are significant across each dimension of public service motivation.

Finally, Castaing (2006), while surveying three groups of French civil servants, finds evidence of each dimension of organizational commitment to correlate with the public service motivation construct. Of these, affective commitment is the most important. This is followed by normative and then continuance commitment. However, the authors also find ‘it is difficult for public managers to strongly influence affective and normative commitment to the organization by managing the psychological contract of civil servants’ (p. 96). Castaing suggests public service motivation is an antecedent to organizational commitment. This specification conflicts with Camilleri’s (2006) argument. However, it is arguable that organizational commitment—particularly when considered in light of job design and similar factors—can be conceived of as both an antecedent and consequence of public service motivation. Perhaps one way of resolving such conflicts is to elaborate causal models linking public service motivation and organizational commitment, as Vandenabeele (2007) does by including person–organization fit as a mediating variable. Given the evidence from these studies, it seems apparent that an individual’s emotional attachment to the organization is of particular importance to any effort to foster and sustain public service motivation.

JOB SATISFACTION

As with reward preferences, the lineage of studies on job satisfaction as a correlate of public service motivation goes back to Rainey (1982). Although he makes a brief mention of it, Rainey finds that public managers’ response on the measures within his study suggested public service employment may serve as a unique source of satisfaction for public sector employees. Again, Perry and Wise (1990) note the significance of this finding and call for additional studies on job satisfaction as a correlate of public service motivation.

The first major study on job satisfaction as a correlate is Brewer and Selden’s (1998) study of whistle-blowers in the federal civil service. Brewer and Selden (1998) relied on data from the U.S. Merit Principles Survey conducted in 1992. Relying on four measures of job satisfaction, Brewer and Selden find that whistle-blowers report, among other things, higher levels of job satisfaction. The findings lead the authors to conclude whistle-blowers often act in accordance with a theory of public service motivation, and appear to be specifically motivated by a concern for public interest. Naff and Crum (1999) provide additional support for the notion that job satisfaction serves as a correlate with public service motivation. Using data collected on nearly 10,000 federal employees from the 1996 Merit Principles Survey, which included a subset of six measures from Perry's (1996) original public service motivation scales, the authors found a significant relationship between job satisfaction and public service motivation.

Norris (2003, p. 85) takes a somewhat different approach, and examines job satisfaction as a function of value priorities and reward experiences. She compares these along several dimensions, and finds 'all employees desire better financial rewards and conditions of work, yet there is no reason to believe, based on these results, that public sector workers are less satisfied with their positions'. In fact, she further notes public employees are particularly satisfied with their jobs when their work helps individuals and/or contributes to society at large. Comparing means, she also found, despite one's sector choice, job satisfaction was greater among senior officials and managers than blue-collar workers. This leads her to conclude public sector employees are at least as satisfied with public employment as are their counterparts in the private sector.

In a study of Korean public employees, Kim (2005) finds a significant correlation between public service motivation and job satisfaction. Moreover, Kim further finds both public service motivation and job satisfaction increase organizational performance. Similarly, Steijn (2006), relying on data from two surveys conducted by the Dutch Ministry of the Interior, finds a significant relationship between public service motivation and job satisfaction. Finally, Cerase and Farinella (2006), in a study of employees within the Italian Revenue Agency, find a positive correlation between public service motivation and job satisfaction. They argue that this points to the 'distinctive prerogatives of "civil service"'.

On the basis of these findings, job satisfaction appears *primarily* to be a function of an individual's unique wants and expectations. More importantly, these wants and expectations can be linked, at times, to a desire to help individuals and to contribute to society through public sector employment. Indeed, the vast majority of studies indicate job satisfaction is positively correlated with public service motivation (Cerase & Farinella, 2006; Kim, 2005; Naff & Crum, 1999; Norris, 2003; Steijn, 2006). This finding is certainly important insofar as individual attitudes concerning job satisfaction can be affected by the organization and the organization stands to gain or lose as a result.

CONCLUSION

Our review of antecedents and correlates of public service motivation suggests it is a dynamic concept contingent on a variety of nuances and factors, some rooted in individuals and others in institutions, which we have only begun to explore. Although this research has yet to elaborate upon and uncover causal pathways for antecedents and correlates of public service motivation, it does make two key points. First, that it is possible to understand how public service motivation develops in an individual, and, second, that public service motivation makes a positive difference to organizationally valuable dispositions and behaviors. We briefly present promising prospects in studying antecedents and correlates of pubic service motivation.

With respect to antecedents, there are two key questions. First, how can we improve our understanding of the processes by which antecedents influence public service motivation, and, second, how can we make the best use of extant knowledge? Perhaps a good starting point for improving understanding of antecedents is drawing upon institutional theory because the most well-developed explanations for antecedents of public service motivation, even for socio-demographic characteristics, invoke a causal logic that relies on institutional explanations (Perry & Vandenabeele, this volume; Vandenabeele, 2007). Among the antecedents discussed, two of the most prominent are the profession and the organization. A key limitation of making the best use of professional institutions is that much of the public service workforce does not belong to professional organizations. Given the value of professional associations, public organizations may consider supporting professionalization efforts. The salience of organizational influences on public service motivation suggests that organizations can play an active role in reinforcing and sustaining public service motivation.

The correlates discussed in this chapter and other chapters (Brewer, this volume; Steen, this volume) highlight the value of public service motivation. For example, the literature on reward preferences has established public service motivation leads to distinctive reward preferences. The important question then becomes how this knowledge can be used to better design work structures and incentive systems. Part of the answer to this question depends upon our ability to understand the causality underlying these relationships in greater detail. Some emerging research is beginning to propose and account for the complexity of underlying causation linking public service motivation and its correlates (e.g. Vandenabeele, 2007; Wright & Pandey, 2007).

It is also necessary to devote greater attention to the distinct dimensions of public service motivation proposed by Perry (1996) as we explore these causal pathways. Despite increasing use of Perry's public service motivation dimensions, there is often a simplistic tendency to equate distinctive reward preferences with public service motivation. Paying greater attention to these dimensions can be useful. Little is known about the differential value of the four public service motivation dimensions. For instance, do street-level bureaucrats value one dimension, such as *commitment to public interest,* more frequently than upper level management, who may find greater motivation from *attraction to policy making*.

Greater attention to the distinct dimensions proposed by Perry (1996) will also enable scholars to link insights from personality psychology with public service motivation scholarship (A. M. Grant, personal communication, 14 July 2007). A key issue in personality psychology is how personality attributes influence work-related constructs and the workplace. Were we to accept Wright and Pandey's (2005) contention about public service motivation being a key work-related construct, it will be useful to see the manner in which personality attributes get expressed as public service motivation in the workplace. Is the civic duty/public interest dimension influenced by conscientiousness? Does the agreeableness personality dimension determine the compassion dimension of public service motivation?

Finally, there is a need to employ different methodologies, perhaps multi-method designs combining qualitative methods with longitudinal designs, to better understand the temporal dimension of public service motivation. Such studies can help us understand the relative malleability of public service motivation and how quickly and in what ways institutional influences can shape it.

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6

Recruitment, Attraction, and Selection

Peter Leisink and Bram Steijn

Attraction of appropriate applicants is vital for the success of an organization and thus adequate recruitment and selection procedures are an essential element of every good system of human resource management. This is a prevalent view. Cole (2002, p. 172) states, 'If organizations are able to find and employ staff who consistently fulfill their roles and are capable of taking on increased responsibilities, they are immeasurably better placed to deal with the opportunities and threats arising from their operating environment than competitors who are always struggling to build and maintain their workforce'. The importance of recruitment and selection is also underscored by authors who include 'selective hiring' in the bundle of best human resource practices (Pfeffer, 1998). In the synthesis of Delery and Shaw (2001), the performance of an organization is influenced by three employee characteristics: ability, motivation, and empowerment. Recruitment and selection can contribute to providing for the first two of these.

This chapter will look at the importance of public service motivation in recruitment and selection processes, both from an employee and organizational perspective. On the basis of research evidence, we will try to answer the question what importance public service motivation actually has and we will suggest research questions—especially about its relative importance—that are theoretically interesting to look into.

Recruitment and selection are focused on searching for sufficient numbers of qualified job candidates so that the organization can select the most appropriate people to fill its job needs (Beardwell & Wright, 2002; Rynes & Barber, 1990). Motivation is but one criterion among others to assess which job applicants are likely to make the most appropriate contribution to organizational performance. Generally speaking, for organizational performance and thus for appropriate selection, ability is as important as motivation. When studying selection in relation to (predicting) potential for performance, one should also pay attention to Wright's (2001) observation that the humanistic theories that underlie much research on motivation in the public sector may help to explain *why* public sector employment is sought but not *how* a person will actually behave and be willing to exert effort at work to obtain a valued outcome and so contribute to organizational performance.

We begin our examination of public service motivation in recruitment and selection by presenting studies about person–environment fit, as this is the dominant framework in the field of recruitment and selection research. Then we will use this framework to discuss research findings about the importance of public service motivation for employment sector and job choice by job seekers. We will then switch to the employer perspective and use social identity theory to concentrate on the importance organizations attach to public service values in recruiting and selecting employees. In our conclusion, we will summarize the state of the art and suggest questions for further research that we believe could help both to better understand public service motivation in recruitment and selection and to integrate research about public service motivation into the main theoretical perspectives on recruitment and selection research.

THE PERSON–ENVIRONMENT FIT FRAMEWORK

The concept of fit as elaborated in person-environment fit research (see the meta-analysis by Kristof-Brown et al., 2005) represents one of the main perspectives on employee selection and applicant attraction (Chapman et al., 2005; Ployhart, 2006; Sekiguchi, 2007). Ehrhart and Ziegert (2005) regard the fit concept as distinctive for the 'interactionist processing metatheory' in the field of applicant attraction research, next to which they distinguish 'environment processing metatheory' and 'self-processing metatheory'. In this section, we will describe the person–environment fit framework and use it to explain how public service motivation can be important in employee attraction to public organizations. In the subsequent section, which deals with the organizational perspective, we will introduce social identity theory that is part of the self-processing metatheory.

According to Kristof-Brown et al. (2005, p. 281), 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'. The idea of fit has figured in the management literature for almost 100 years (2005, p. 281). However, the fit concept is certainly not a straightforward one, as several conceptual refinements exist. First, Kristof-Brown et al. (2005, p. 288) distinguish between a complementary and supplementary fit. The former occurs when one entity provides what the other wants or needs:

individual skills meet environmental needs ('demands–abilities fit') or individual needs are met by environmental supplies ('needs–supplies fit'). A supplementary fit occurs when the individual and the environment are similar.

Second, four critical domains of person–environment fit are distinguished: person–job, person–organization, person–group, and person–supervisor (2005, pp. 315–16). With respect to public service motivation, the person–job and person–organization fit are most relevant. Person–job fit is 'defined as the compatibility between a person's characteristics and those of the job or tasks that are performed at work' (Sekiguchi, 2007, p. 119) and this is mostly studied from a demand–abilities perspective. Person–organization fit focuses on 'the compatibility between people and entire organizations' (2007, p. 119) and is mostly studied with a focus on supplementary fit, and more specifically value congruence.

Third, these types of fit are related to individual-level and organization-level pre-entry outcomes and post-entry consequences. For this chapter, the former are relevant because these pertain to the situation before the job seeker has entered the organization. These outcomes include variables that are relevant from the employee's perspective, such as applicant attraction and job acceptance, and from the employer's perspective, such as intent to hire and making a job offer (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005, p. 283).

The person–environment fit framework has led to a bewildering number of different approaches, conceptualizations, and measurements. An important one of these is the related, but slightly more focused, attraction–selection–attrition model of Schneider (1987, 2001; also Schneider et al., 1995). This model states that forces within an organization operate to attract, select, and retain an increasingly homogeneous group of employees. Job seekers base their person–organization fit on perceptions of organizational values, and they make job choice decisions based upon these perceptions. People are *attracted* to particular settings and are more likely to stay if they 'fit'. Organizations tend to *select* those people who share their values. Over time, people who do not share the organization's values will leave the organization (thus there is also *attrition*). As a result, organizations will become more homogeneous with respect to their employee composition, which is potentially dangerous as organizations will become increasingly ingrown and resistant to change (Billsberry, 2007). Several empirical studies have shown that employees in organizations indeed become similar over time (Denton, 1999; Schneider et al., 1998).

Some recent studies have linked the framework of person-environment fit to theories about the 'psychological contract'. Rousseau (1989, 1995), in particular, contributed to the growing importance of this concept. She defined psychological contracts as an individual's belief in mutual obligations between a person and another party such as an employer (Rousseau, 1995). Sekiguchi

(2007), noting that person-environment fit literature has very little to say about the *relative* importance of the different types of fit, used the concept to suggest that the importance of person–organization fit differs for various types of psychological contracts. He hypothesized that from an organizational perspective, person–organization fit will be more important than person–job fit when organizations want to hire employees with whom relational psychological contracts are to be formed; and also when they want to hire employees for firm-specific human capital, and employees who are likely to become 'locals'.[1] Relational psychological contracts are different from transactional psychological contracts in that the latter 'contain almost exclusively economic terms whereas relational ones contain socio-economic terms' (Castaing, 2006, p. 86). Also, transactional contracts contain specified expectations about work effort and performance, whereas the details of the exchange are less clear in the relational type (Sekiguchi, 2007, p. 120).

The relation with the person–environment fit framework is that organizations and employees will expect a specific psychological contract during the recruitment process. For instance, employees may be attracted to an organization because they expect and appreciate a psychological contract with specific obligations and rewards. In this respect it is interesting to note that Moser (2005) found that employees who entered the organization through internal recruitment sources experienced fewer unmet expectations compared to employees recruited through external sources.

PERSON–ENVIRONMENT FIT AND PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION: THE EMPLOYEE PERSPECTIVE

In a comprehensive review of the literature on public-sector work motivation, Wright (2001) observes that a fundamental assumption of public-sector scholars is that the characteristics of the public sector employee and work environment are different from the private sector, and that these differences have a meaningful impact on work motivation. Wright (2001, p. 564) notes only indirect support for the assumption of self-selection, involving that individuals sort themselves into employment sectors, as U.S. studies supporting this hypothesis only have examined employees in *post*-employment choice settings. This is a justifiable cause for caution because it points out that findings from research done after an employee chooses a job reflect effects of selection, attrition, and adaptation processes. Nevertheless, we will see that there are some studies that support the notion that public service motivation exists before job entry.

Taking the broader context of public sector motivation, that is, the aggregate of public service motivation and other intrinsic and extrinsic motives that may differentiate public sector workers from private sector workers, what do we know? Clearly, Perry and Wise's (1990) perspective is predicated on differences between employees in the public and private sector that exist prior to their entry into employment. The thesis that public sector employees are attracted to public service by motives that are likely different from those of people who self-select into the private sector is based on a theory of motivation that Perry (2000) has elaborated. This theory shares foundational premises with Shamir (1991) and Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) (see also Perry & Vandenabeele, this volume). For the purpose of this chapter, it is important to recognize that the theoretical premises include that motives have diverse origins, among them rational choice, normative conformity, and affective bonding. Another premise is that motives are developed in social processes, and are regulated to a greater or lesser extent by an individual's self-concept. More concretely, individuals' motives develop as they grow up and are socialized through institutions such as the family, school, and church (see also Perry, 1997). The beliefs, values, and attitudes that individuals develop in prework settings attract them to particular work settings. This process does not stop after work entry and influences from the motivational context in work organizations and other institutions can over time lead to a change of employment sector.

Although Perry and Wise (1990) do not refer explicitly to the person-environment fit framework,[2] they use it implicitly, as can be inferred from their hypothesis that links public service motivation to employer attractiveness: 'the greater an individual's public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization' (1990, p. 370). The notion of fit is represented by the idea that the values public organizations stand for (e.g. 'public good', 'justice', and 'equity') are reflected by the motives of employees seeking public service. In fact, the definition of public service motivation by Perry and Wise captures the notion of fit by explicitly relating public service motivation to 'motives *grounded* [italics added] . . . in public institutions and organizations' (1990, p. 368).

Few studies to date have dealt explicitly with public service motivation and person–organization fit in the field of recruitment and selection, but several studies have given support to the hypothesis of Perry and Wise. A study of factors influencing employer attractiveness to Belgian master students (Vandenabeele et al., 2001, 2004) found that the attraction to a job related to politics and policy making correlates with the preference for an employer in the public sector. Using the U.S. General Social Survey, Lewis and Frank (2002) found that public service motivation clearly is an important factor in why people want to work for the government, whereas Steijn (2006a) found in a sample of Dutch *private* sector employees that those with higher levels of public service motivation are more attracted to future *public* sector employment.

These studies measure public service motivation differently, but the findings support the hypothesis that public service motivation is an important factor in employee attraction to the public sector. They can be interpreted using the person–organization fit framework by suggesting that these workers are trying to find a (better) fit between their motives and the values for which the employer stands. It must be stressed, however, that many individuals in the private and nonprofit sector are motivated for public service (Rainey, 1982) or support altruistic work values such as 'doing work that makes a helpful contribution to society makes a difference' (Lyons et al., 2006). In other words, people can also find a fit between their public service motivation and their job or organization *outside* the public sector (Steen, this volume). Basically, if we want to learn more about the importance of public service motivation in employee attraction to particular sectors of employment, comparative research is needed that includes the full operationalization of public service motivation and other work motives, and that differentiates between different sectors.

In the case of person–organization fit, 'value congruence' has become widely accepted as the defining operationalization (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005, pp. 284–5). This notion of value congruence can well be applied to public service motivation as the four dimensions discerned by Perry (1996, 2000)—attraction to policy making, commitment to the public interest/civic duty, compassion, and self-sacrifice—basically refer to needs and values, although this is less evident in the case of 'attraction to policy-making'. Applying the notion of value congruence to public service motivation in recruitment and selection suggests questions as to which categories of employees hold (particular) public service values vital for job selection and to what degree as compared with other work motives, including extrinsic and intrinsic motives.

This leads to the question about the *relative* importance of public service motivation compared to other factors attracting employees toward public organizations. Although research (Chapman et al., 2005) has shown that person–organization fit is an important factor driving employees' attraction to certain employers, clearly other factors are also important, such as perceptions of the recruitment process or recruiter competences (Ployhart, 2006; Rynes & Barber, 1990; Turban et al., 1998). More importantly, public service motivation is only one need among others that employees can seek to fulfill in the public sector. Several findings illustrate this point. Vandenabeele et al. (2004, p. 331), for instance, found that attraction toward the government as an employer is associated with the importance attached to nonpecuniary fringe

Table 6.1. Most important work motive for governmental and educational employees ($N = 3{,}294$)

	Governmental employees (%)	Educational employees (%)
Salary	10	8
Career opportunities	5	4
Work–family balance	12	11
Job content	51	53
Want to help people (public service motivation 1)	7	14
Want to contribute to solving societal problems (public service motivation 2)	9	7

benefits and to equal opportunities. Lewis and Frank (2002, p. 402) suggested that 'job security' in the United States is a more important selling point of public sector employment than public service motives.

So, although public service motivation appears to be relevant for employee attraction to public organizations, it is unclear what its relative importance is. As far as we know, almost no empirical studies have been done to shed light on this important issue. However, from a survey we helped to carry out in April 2007, we have some data about this. 4,146 Dutch public sector employees were asked to choose their most important work motive from six different motives. Two altruistic work motives ('want to help other people' and 'want to contribute to solving societal problems') are linked to public service motivation. Here we present the data for the 3,294 employees within the governmental (national and local) and educational sector.

Table 6.1 shows that public service motivation has high importance for some Dutch public sector workers: for 16 percent of the governmental and 21 percent of the educational employees, it is *the* most important work motive—and it must be added that for even more public sector workers (28%), this motive is second in importance.

Typically extrinsic factors as salary and career opportunities are the most important work motive for a share of employees (slightly) smaller than the share of those for whom public service motives are most important. The findings suggest that for many employees job content is more important than public service motivation. However, further research is necessary, because the two public service motivation items do not cover the whole concept, and it cannot be cancelled out that a broad concept as job content includes (other) aspects of public service motivation.

Of course, it is possible that the results in Table 6.1 are not the consequence of a recruitment/selection effect but of a socialization effect. Therefore, other types of research such as surveys among job-seekers prior to job and organizational entry should be done in order to learn about the causal mechanisms involved.

The person-environment fit perspective in public service motivation studies (e.g. Steijn, in press; Vandenabeele, 2007) is beginning to attract interest and it appears worthwhile to incorporate it explicitly as it can generate interesting research questions. We already outlined that Perry and Wise's definition of public service motivation and their first hypothesis can be interpreted from a person–organization fit perspective. As person–organization fit is only one of four domains of fit, the question rises whether the other domains are also important. Many studies of public service motivation have used an implicit person–organization perspective, but a person–job perspective, while it can certainly be relevant, has been used less often.

It is evident that on the one hand, there are jobs in the public sector—such as IT specialists, secretarial, and administrative jobs—that are identical to jobs in the private sector, while on the other hand, there are jobs that are unique to the public sector—such as civil servants, public prosecutors, and the chief constable. For the former category of jobs a public service motivation fit specific to the job is difficult to imagine, while for the latter category of jobs a public service motivation person–job fit seems natural from the employee perspective. However, one could also argue that, for instance, individuals with an interest in the judiciary have little employment choice other than a public organization, irrespective of their having public service motives. Yet, even for job seekers who hold public service motives, their relative importance in relation to other work motives may well influence the way in which they evaluate a job offer. Employees strive for various types of fit as they have various needs, that is they want to have a job where they can use their abilities (a demand–abilities fit), they also want an interesting job (a need–supply fit), they want to combine their work and family life (also a need–supply fit), and they want to fulfill their public service motivation (value congruence). But in reality, people have to compromise and then the question becomes which fit is the most (or the least) important for them. For some, a public service motivation fit will be a decisive factor in accepting a job offer, for others, this will be only a secondary factor or not a factor at all.

The person–job fit is also of interest in relation to the person–organization fit. Is there, as suggested by Sekiguchi (2007), a trade-off between the two types of fit, or will there be negative effects on pre- and post-hire outcome variables when a person–job fit is lacking? According to the meta-analysis of Kristof-Brown et al. (2005, p. 315) normally a strong relationship between person–job and person–organization fit exists, especially with regard to a needs–values person–job fit and a person-organization fit understood as value congruence. Applying this notion, one could hypothesize that an employee experiencing a person–job misfit with respect to public service motivation will remain unaffected by it, provided (s)he is experiencing a person–organization fit with respect to public service motivation at the same time. Such a situation could occur, for instance, if the organization at large is contributing to a public good, while the individual's job does not do so directly. Applied to recruitment and selection, the question then becomes whether a person–job or a person–organization fit with respect to public service motivation is more important for potential job applicants in the decision to accept a job offer. A logical hypothesis is to assume that job applicants who value public service motivation will be more strongly attracted to a job in the public sector if their need for public service motivation is both matched by the job and the organization, and that this attraction is lower if only one of these two domains fits this need, and poor when both do not match. We know of no empirical studies pursuing these questions and hypotheses regarding the importance of a person–job fit.

In the preceding section, we linked person–environment fit and public service motivation to research on psychological contracts. Recent research in this area can shed light on issues discussed above.

Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2003) are among the first to make the link between public service motivation and psychological contracts. However, in their U.K. study this is not related to recruitment and selection issues, but to the effects of psychological contract fulfillment on organizational commitment and organizational citizen behavior. However, they make an interesting observation: '[a]s public employees may share a common set of values with the organization, they may be more willing to overlook the extent to which their psychological contract has been fulfilled' (2003, p. 222). This observation supports the hypothesis that person–organization fit could be more important for public sector workers than person–job fit. Castaing (2006) conducted a similar study on organizational commitment in the French civil service. Interestingly, he found weak effects of contract fulfillment on organizational commitment, but at the same time found public service motivation had a substantial effect on affective commitment. This led him to the conclusion that '[h]iring individuals with a high public service motivation will, therefore, have an effect on organizational commitment in the French civil service'. However, these studies assume that public employees experience a person–job fit and can fulfill their needs in their job. When this is not the case, as when red tape frustrates employees in achieving their goals (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007), then these employees experience lower levels of public service motivation. Thus, the question as to the relation between person–job and person–organization fits and to the effect of anticipated (mis)fits on the applicant's willingness to accept a job offer remains a relevant issue for further research.

PUBLIC SECTOR MOTIVATION, RECRUITMENT, AND SELECTION: THE ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The preceding section looked at the relationship between public service motivation and person–environment fit from the employee perspective; this section deals with the organizational/employer perspective. Mann (2006), echoing concerns voiced earlier by Rynes and Barber (1990), observes that there are not so many studies on the organizational perspective. However, although empirical research of attraction to organizations tends to focus on individuals' attitudes and behaviors, this research is informative of the organizational perspective.

Rynes and Barber (1990) point out that attraction strategies that aim to increase the quantity and quality of applicants consist not only of recruitment strategies but also of improving the nature of the inducements offered and directing recruitment efforts toward nontraditional applicants. However, this section will concentrate on recruitment strategies.

Today public organizations pay increasing attention to labor market communication and are intent on creating an image in which public service values stand out positively. Examples include the Dutch civil service commercial 'working for the civil service, when you think further ahead', the idea of value-based competencies in the Flemish civil service, and the mission statement of the United Kingdom's Ministry of Defence. The function and effectiveness of such organizational activities can be understood on the basis of studies of applicant attraction, particularly that stream of studies that take a social identity perspective (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

According to social identity theory, individuals tend to classify themselves and others into social categories. Such classification serves a cognitive function in ordering the social environment and enables the individual to locate himself in the social environment. Social identification refers to the perception of oneness with a group. This group identification is a presentation of self and goes along with personally experiencing the successes and failures of the group. Ashforth and Mael (1989) state that people identify with organizations to enhance self-esteem. Dutton et al. (1994) argue that individuals identify with organizations because organizational membership contributes to self-esteem and to acquiring social approval from relevant others.

Social identity theory and the person-environment fit framework come together in the studies of applicant attraction to organizations. Ehrhart and Ziegert (2005) include social identity theory in the 'self-processing metatheory' which groups together theories that hold that self-concept influences or regulates the relationship between perception of fit and attraction. Individuals feel attracted to an organization when they perceive fit with an organization that has an image that they view positively (Turban et al., 1995).

From the point of view of an organization creating a positive image by emphasizing public service values, the study of Highhouse et al. (2007) is relevant. They argue that organizations can send signals, for instance, about the job security they offer or their social concerns, and that the way in which such signals are processed by individuals and result in attraction depends on what they call 'social identity consciousness'. This explains individual differences in the degree to which two types of social-identity needs are dominant: the social adjustment need, or the need to impress; and the value-expressive need, or the need to express (2007, p. 137). They demonstrate that organizational recruitment activities that are intent on creating a particular type of image have differential attraction to job seekers depending on their social-identity needs. More specifically, their empirical studies show that there is a distinctive construct 'value-expression concerns' and that the image of a respectable organization (involving information about social responsibility and family-friendly policies) is attractive to job seekers who are predominantly concerned with expressing socially approved or 'good' values.

Following Highhouse et al. (2007), we argue that public organizations that actively engage in recruitment activities in order to create an image of 'serving the public interest' are attractive to job seekers whose social identity revolves around value-expression or more specifically around public service values. Interestingly, public sector employers in the Netherlands a few years ago worried about their image and feared personnel shortages if the public sector could not succeed in creating a more positive image. For that reason, a study was commissioned to provide insight in the images that individuals associate with the public sector. The study found that the public sector image perceptions compare positively with private sector ones in terms of social engagement, work–life balance, and job security (Van Raaij et al., 2002). Social engagement included the survey items 'do something for society', 'help other people', and 'concern for environment, socially disadvantaged and minorities', and all three items were positively identified with the nonprofit sectors (health, human services, education) and the police, while public administration was identified with 'concern for environment, socially disadvantaged and minorities' compared with the private sector. The research recommended the public employer to use this positive image in recruitment activities. Of course, the limitation of this study is that it examines individuals' image perceptions but not the consequence of actual applicant behavior.

The Dutch civil service ran a television commercial in the 2001–3 period with the slogan 'working for the civil service, when you think further ahead' (Steijn, 2006), which explicitly appealed to potential workers by addressing their 'desire to serve the public interest'. In late 2005 this campaign was renewed, and this time both public service values and pay and employment conditions were addressed. A study by de Vlieg (2006) showed that trainees for the civil service explicitly used public service values in the letters they wrote to motivate their application for a traineeship. This shows that these values are important to trainees.

The Dutch example suggests that public organizations pay attention to public service motivation in recruitment activities, but this tells us little about the importance of public service motivation in selection. The hypothesis we would like to suggest is that public service motivation has little importance in selection, because following Bowen et al. (1991), the emphasis of most selection techniques is on the requisite job-related abilities.

Applying the results of the meta-analysis by Kristof-Brown et al. (2005), it may be expected that when a person–job abilities fit is established in a job interview (the pre-entry context), this will strongly induce the organization's intent to hire the job applicant (2005, p. 306). As the public service values fit is less important than the job demands–abilities fit, this leads to the hypothesis that public organizations will prefer applicants with a relatively lower public service motivation but a high job demands–abilities fit over applicants with higher levels of public service motivation but a lower job demands–abilities fit.

Indeed, following the argument of Moynihan (this volume), there is some evidence suggesting that public service motivation may have become *less* important for public organizations. Hence, it could well be that recruitment and selection practices have adapted to public management reform and have tended to disregard or disrespect public service motivation. Pratchett and Wingfield (1996) illustrated this point in a study about the 'public service ethos' in local government in the United Kingdom by studying the effect of local governmental reform on core beliefs and values of employees. Although they point out that these changes go slowly, it is interesting to note that younger employees and employees with fewer years of service within the public service do less adhere to the public service ethos. This suggests that the recruitment of new employees in combination with the enforcement of new public management-like values is a factor that can help to erode public service motivation in public organizations. A similar conclusion emerges from a study by Hebson et al. (2003), who studied the relationship between public–private partnerships and the public service ethos.

Two observations about selection conclude this section on the importance of public service motivation from an organizational perspective. Mann's (2006) view is that it could be worthwhile from an organizational perspective to recruit and select workers with higher levels of public service motivation, assuming that public service motivation is positively related to performance. The job interview could serve this purpose because as Bowen et al. (1991) indicated, the job interview is a good opportunity to assess a person–organization fit. The problem, however, as Mann (2006) points out, is the measurement for the identification of public service motivation in workers; respondents could easily report socially acceptable answers to interview questions and it is difficult to find specialists who can screen candidates for this trait.[3] Another cautionary note concerns the testing of fit in job interviews. As Kristof-Brown et al. observe, 'Whether fit perceptions are generated based on organization-controlled recruitment materials or a short interview, they are based on very limited information. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that recruiters' perceptions of applicant person–organization fit are more likely to reflect the "similar-to-me" bias than true fit with the organization's culture'(Kristof-Brown et al., 2005, p. 319).

CONCLUSION

At chapter's end, we may seem to have more questions than answers. Nevertheless, we have the beginnings of an answer to the question of the importance of public service motivation in recruitment and selection processes. Most importantly, a main hypothesis of Perry and Wise (1990) is supported by empirical research. There is evidence that individuals with public service motives are attracted to, and more likely to seek, jobs in the public sector when leaving school or when they currently have jobs in the private sector. Public service motives are the most important motive for a substantial share of public sector employees, as it appears from a Dutch study, but for the majority of public sector employees intrinsic work motives are the most significant. About the relative importance of public service motivation for different categories of employees and about the factors underlying the differential importance, not much is known.

Turning to the organizational perspective, we observe a growing interest in labor market communication and the creation of a positive image in which public service values stand out. Social identity theory tells us that individuals' identification with an organization depends on their self-concept and on what this identification contributes to their self-esteem and social approval. There is evidence that public organizations' efforts to create a positive public service image appeals particularly to individuals whose social identity consciousness is characterized by a value-expressive need. So it seems that organizations give increasing importance to public service values in their recruitment activities, but no information is available about the importance of public service motivation as a selection criterion.

In view of the recent emergence of the concept of public service motivation, there is an evident need for more research. An important issue, both from an employee and an organizational perspective, relates to the relative importance of public service motivation. From the employee perspective this is important, because we would like to know how relevant the fulfillment of the need for public service motivation is in relation to other needs. In this respect also differences between categories of workers (and their explanation) are relevant. With respect to the latter, one can raise the question whether public service motivation is an important recruitment motive for all public sector workers, or whether it is more important for some than for others. From the organizational perspective this is important, because we know little about how important public service motivation actually is to public organizations. It is especially relevant to know whether findings of other (non-public) studies, which suggest that abilities are more important than values, are also applicable to public sector organizations. Related relevant questions deal with differences in the importance attached to public service motivation between public organizations (public administration, nonprofit sectors). Finally, it is also important to know for which categories of job applicants and/or jobs public organizations consider public service motivation an important or relevant selection criterion.

A further research topic deals with the consequences of recruitment outcomes. Here, the research on psychological contracts is relevant. If public service-oriented employees expect that their public service needs will be fulfilled by their job or organization, how does the anticipation that this might *not* happen play out in the job interview stage? Does this affect their decision to accept a job offer or the decision of an employer to make a job offer to candidates who have a set of appropriate job abilities?

We have in this chapter extensively referred to the person–environment framework as one of the main theories in the field of recruitment and selection. It is interesting to note that even though Perry and Wise have referred to the attraction–selection framework (a variant of person–organization fit theory), public service motivation is seldom studied from a person–environment fit perspective. We believe that research on public service motivation can be brought further if there is more cross-over of ideas from the main theoretical perspectives. We have included several suggestions in this chapter.

We would like to refer especially to our hypotheses about the relationship between person–organization and person–job fit on the one hand and public service motivation on the other hand. For instance, it is unknown how public service motivation relates to the applicant's perceived person–organization and person–job fit, whether trade-offs between the two types of fit can occur, and what effect a poor fit has on an important pre-entry outcome, namely the decision to accept a job offer. We also want to refer to our suggestion to study how public organizations weigh person–organization fit as measured by public service motivation compared with person–job fits measured by aspects of a demand–abilities fit.

Finally, there are some important measurement issues to consider. In the specific area of recruitment and selection, it is necessary to overcome the limitations of self-reported measures of public service motivation by relating public service motivation to specific instances of professional job behavior. Next, it is also important to study the causality of employee motives (including public service motivation), and employment sector choice by studying school graduates and new entrants in the public sector, and to track employees throughout their careers in public, nonprofit, and private organizations. This calls for longitudinal designs that are difficult to implement, but will greatly further current research.

NOTES

1. Sekiguchi (2007) refers to a distinction made by Gouldner (1957) between employees with an orientation toward the occupation and with little loyalty to the organization ('cosmopolitans') and employees with a much larger interest into the organization they work for ('locals').
2. However, there is a reference to the attraction-selection framework (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 370).
3. Compare Wright (this volume) about the measurement problems related to the public service motivation concept. Paarlberg, Perry, and Hondeghem (this volume), however, will give some suggestions how to deal with this problem in actual practice.

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7

Employee and Organizational Performance

Gene A. Brewer

The relationship between public service motivation and performance is a matter of great interest to scholars and practitioners alike. Scholars are interested in identifying predictable linkages between what drives organizational members and the outcomes organizations produce. Practitioners are interested in finding ways to achieve goals because they are accountable for producing results in public organizations. Public service motivation may thus be a pathway to improved performance. But does the relationship between public service motivation and performance exist in fact?

This chapter assesses the current state of knowledge on the public service motivation–performance relationship and seeks to advance our understanding of it. It begins with a discussion of the theoretical and practical bases for expecting a positive relationship. Evidence from previous research is then reviewed in detail. Implications and suggestions for future research are then presented, and the chapter closes with some concluding thoughts.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL BASIS

A compelling argument about public service motivation is that it is associated with high performance. The economist Patrick François (2000), reflecting on the power of this argument, went so far as to entitle an article 'Public Service Motivation as an Argument for Government Provision'. The public service motivation–performance relationship is thus an important cornerstone of public service motivation theory.

The most important result of public service motivation is its behavioral outcomes, which may include a range of desirable behaviors such as choosing public service-oriented employment, increased job involvement, and organizational commitment, and ultimately higher performance. Brewer and Selden (1998, p. 417) defined public service motivation as 'the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful . . . public, community, and social service', thus emphasizing its behavioral implications and applicability beyond the public sector. Perry and Wise (1990, pp. 370–1) were among the first scholars to posit a positive relationship between public service motivation and performance. Various other scholars have implicitly and explicitly agreed, suggesting that a consensus has formed among those who view the public service motivation concept positively.

The growing strength of this consensus has prompted several scholars to propose that public organizations are higher performers than those in the private sector, and that public service motivation may help make government provision of public services more efficient and desirable than other structural arrangements such as contracting and privatization, which rely on nongovernmental organizations and extrinsic rewards for service delivery (e.g. see Brehm & Gates, 1997; Brewer, 2004; Brewer & Selden, 2000; François, 2000; Perry, 2000; Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999).

Of particular importance is recent research showing that public employees are more likely than average citizens to perform extra-role behaviors such as voting, participating in politics, making charitable contributions, giving blood, and devoting their personal time to worthwhile social causes (Blais et al., 1990; Brewer, 2001, 2003; Houston, 2006). These findings transcend the traditional view of employee and organizational performance, and suggest that some public employees may also be both high achievers and 'good citizens' in a variety of extra-organizational contexts. Indeed, it can be argued that public sector employment places more responsibility on the individual to be ethical and contribute more to society (e.g. Houston, this volume).

In recent years, a growing number of public management scholars have focused intently on empirical research aimed at improving governmental performance (e.g. see Boyne et al., 2006; Heinrich & Lynn, 2000). This research effort is highly salient because good government benefits everyone in the long run. Since existing theory and empirical evidence suggest that high levels of public service motivation can improve employee and organizational performance in government, researchers need to learn more about these linkages. Unfortunately, empirical research on governmental performance is limited (for a review, see Boyne, 2003), and research on the public service motivation–performance relationship is even more scarce.

An important caveat applies here. The performance concept is fundamentally different in public organizations compared with commercial enterprises. For instance, in business firms, individual performance is often considered the same as job- or task-goal performance. Ethical behavior is often considered to be beyond the narrow operational definition of performance that is used for performance appraisals or assessments of organizational effectiveness. That is, ethnical behavior and other organizational citizenship behaviors are desirable but they are considered 'extra-role'. Similarly, most business firms are by necessity more concerned with financial performance than with accountability and achieving equity and fairness in service delivery, at least when compared with most public organizations.

We have far more difficulty specifying 'extra-role' in the public sector. For instance, a strong case can be made that whistle-blowing is not only 'in-role' but that it is also a moral and legal obligation for public employees. Similarly, public organizations must strive to perform well on many different dimensions of performance—some of which may be considered peripheral in private organizations.

One implication is that researchers should strive for broader definitions of public service performance. Indeed, if we frame the discussion around more generalized notions of public service motivation (including altruism and prosocial motivation) and expanded notions of performance (including organizational citizenship behaviors and prosocial organizational behavior such as whistle-blowing, voting, and donating time, blood, and money for the betterment of society), there is much more evidence and support for the public service motivation–performance relationship than the following section suggests.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Does empirical evidence support the assertion that public service motivation is related to performance? I review some circumstantial evidence that seems to support this relationship, and two sets of studies that address the question more directly. The first set provides evidence on employee performance at the individual level of analysis, and the second set provides evidence on organizational performance at the organization-wide or collective level.

Circumstantial Evidence

Several studies have investigated Perry and Wise's (1990, pp. 370–1) prediction that public service motivation is positively related to performance. For example, Brewer and Selden (1998) focused attention on the consequences of public service motivation, linking the construct to a broad range of work-related attitudes and behaviors. In a multivariate analysis, they showed that lowered concern for job security and heightened concern for the public interest were the most salient differences between federal whistle-blowers and employees who observed wrongdoing but did not take action (inactive observers). The authors also found that whistle-blowers reported receiving higher job performance ratings and working for higher performing organizations. They speculated that since public service motivation was shown to be a salient motive for whistle-blowing, and since it was found to be more prevalent among whistle-blowers than inactive observers, the other work-related attitudes and behaviors of whistle-blowers (especially their higher levels of employee and organizational performance) might also be attributed to their higher levels of public service motivation. While suggestive, this logic is partially flawed and inconclusive. Since Brewer and Selden's (1998) research did not probe the linkage between public service motivation and performance directly, the authors were merely reporting on clusters of traits reported by whistle-blowers and inactive observers. Even if the reports of high performance by whistle-blowers were valid, such performance could not necessarily be attributed to public service motivation.

In another study, Crewson (1997) constructed a measure of public service motivation based on Deci's (1975) framework of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. He operationalized the concept as the difference between an individual's service orientation (or preference for intrinsic rewards) and economic orientation (or preference for extrinsic rewards). On this differential measure, Crewson found that public sector employees reported higher scores than those in the private sector. Crewson then examined three types of data sets to answer several other research questions: General Social Surveys (1989 and 1973–93), the 1979 Federal Employee Attitude Survey, and the 1997 Survey of Electrical Engineers. The across-time data showed that public servants consistently ranked 'feeling of accomplishment' higher than private sector employees, and the cross-sectional data sets showed that public service motivation is positively related to organizational commitment but not related to attitudes favoring government growth. Thus, Crewson concluded that a service orientation is real and stable among public sector employees, and that it makes them more productive without biasing their attitudes toward the role of government. He reasoned that such employees would also be high performers. While adding to the corpus of circumstantial evidence, Crewson's study utilized some rather blunt indicators of public service motivation, and it did not focus directly on the relationship between public service motivation and performance. Thus, evidence from his study is of limited usefulness in assessing the public service motivation–performance relationship.

In another well-executed study, Houston (2000) used Crewson's measure of public service motivation to perform a multivariate analysis on pooled 1991, 1993, and 1994 General Social Survey data. Houston found that public employees tended to value intrinsic rewards such as doing important work and having a feeling of accomplishment, while private sector employees tended to value extrinsic rewards such as earning higher incomes and working fewer hours. He, too, speculated that higher performance would be a logical outcome. However, like Crewson, Houston utilized a blunt measure of public service motivation, and he did not probe its relationship to performance directly. Yet he, too, presents evidence that can be construed to support such a relationship.[1]

Additional support comes from studies that focus on the impact of altruism, organizational citizenship behaviors, and prosocial organizational behavior on expanded notions of performance—such as the studies mentioned above that show public sector employees, compared with other citizens, are more likely to vote and donate their time, blood, and money for the betterment of society (Brewer, 2001, 2003; Houston, 2006; Houston, this volume; Kim, 2005, 2006; see also Steen, this volume). A wide swath of organization behavior studies have examined the impact of altruism and prosocial motivation on various types of performance with mostly positive results (e.g. see Baruch et al., 2004; Dalal, 2005; Krilowicz & Lowery, 1996; Lovell et al., 1999; Podsakoff et al., 2000).

Evidence on Employee Performance

Two studies have examined the relationship between public service motivation and employee performance more directly. First, Naff and Crum (1999) examined 1996 Merit Principles Survey data (N = nearly 10,000 federal employees) that included several measures of public service motivation taken from Perry's original instrument. The authors found significant relationships between public service motivation and federal employees' job satisfaction, performance, intention to remain with the government, and support for government reinvention efforts. In light of these findings, Naff and Crum (1999, p. 14) urged researchers to focus attention on the role of public service motivation in the recruitment and retention of federal employees.

Naff and Crum's (1999) findings on performance were not conclusive, however. In the first stage of analysis, the authors created two groups, high and low public service motivation employees, and excluded a number of cases that lay near the breaking point.

Performance was measured via the employee's most recent performance appraisal score (on a Likert scale ranging from 1 = unacceptable to 5 = outstanding) as reported by the employee. A bivariate analysis showed that members of the high public service motivation group reported receiving higher performance appraisal ratings than members of the low public service motivation group. Next, the authors mounted a multivariate analysis. They recoded performance ratings because the variable was heavily skewed toward high performance. The recoded variable was bivariate: 1 (formerly coded 5) = high performers and 0 (formerly coded 4 or below) = all others.[2] The ensuing multivariate analysis was via logistic regression. In this analysis, the effect of public service motivation on performance was gauged while controlling for race, gender, education, age, tenure, grade level, and job type (white collar or other). The results showed that public service motivation exerted a positive and statistically significant effect on employees' self-reported performance ratings. Third, Naff and Crum (1999) held all covariates constant by inserting the characteristics of an 'average federal employee' responding to the survey (i.e. the modal responses on the control variables) and varying only the level of public service motivation. The results showed that a low public service motivation individual would have a 29 percent probability of receiving an outstanding performance rating, compared to a 42 percent probability for an individual with an average level and a 52 percent probability if the level were high. In this case, however, some of the control variables proved to be better predictors of performance than public service motivation.

While these findings seem fairly consistent, several factors may limit their import. The public service motivation scale consisted of six items—somewhat less than Perry's 24-item scale, and subsequent research by Brewer and Selden (2000, p. 700) utilizing the same data set showed that one of these items did not factor-load with the others or contribute to an acceptable alpha reliability score. However, Naff and Crum did not analyze the same number of cases or report alpha reliability coefficients so an assessment cannot be made about comparability of findings.

Moreover, in the multivariate analysis, Naff and Crum transformed the interval-level measure of public service motivation into a nominal-level variable: high and low public service motivation groups. A similar transformation occurred in the third stage of analysis—transforming the interval-level measure into a categorical variable: high, average, and low public service motivation. The supervisor's performance rating of the employee is also suspect in that such ratings are often biased, and they are so inflated that the resulting variable does not have sound mathematic and socio-metric qualities for multivariate analysis (Alonso & Lewis, 2001). The authors were thus forced to recalibrate the measure into a blunt nominal-level variable consisting of high and low performing employees.

Like most research on public service motivation, Naff and Crum (1999) analyzed employee self-reports, thus introducing the possibility of memory lapses, judgmental errors, socially desirable responses, and common source bias. Self-reports are considered a major problem in behavioral research because they are thought to be biased. While such reports are usually more accessible than other types of measures, they are considered inferior. Researchers place a premium on more objective measures, or at least measures that are externally derived. For example, rather than asking employees to report their most recent performance ratings, the ratings could be obtained from archival personnel records. Similarly, instead of asking employees to report on their organizations' performance, researchers could utilize performance measures created by government authorities for management and budgeting purposes. These measures, while still possibly incomplete, are at least externally derived and arguably more objective than employee self-reports. The implication is that Naff and Crum's research does not provide a conclusive answer to the public service motivation–performance question. It does, however, pave the way for further research.

In two other studies, Lewis and colleagues have examined the role of public service motivation in individual performance and individuals' desire to work for the government (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Lewis & Frank, 2002). In both instances, the researchers employed novel research designs and innovative tests to examine their hypotheses using archival data. Of particular importance here, Lewis and Frank (2002) found that public employees report working slightly harder than their private sector counterparts, but Alonso and Lewis (2001) found contradictory evidence on the public service motivation–performance relationship in two samples of U.S. Federal government employees: the 1996 Merit Principles Survey (which was also analyzed by Naff & Crum, 1999) and the U.S. Office of Personnel Management's Survey of Federal Employees 1991. The findings showed that public service motivation was positively related to self-reported performance ratings in one sample, but not related in the other. The authors concluded that 'flaws and cross-data-set differences in the key measures allow for multiple interpretations of our findings, but the links between public service motivation and performance were clearly not robust' (Alonso & Lewis, 2001, p. 376).

More specifically, Alonso and Lewis (2001) replicated Naff and Crum's (1999) finding of a fairly strong, positive relationship between public service motivation and performance ratings using the same data set but a different model specification. Yet when using different measures, the results did not hold up. They found no evidence that federal employees who highly valued 'service to others' achieved higher performance ratings in the 1991 data set. Furthermore, utilizing the employee's grade level as a proxy measure of performance, they found that public service motivation had no apparent impact on grade level in the 1996 data set, while placing a high value on service to others was *negatively* related to grade level in the 1991 data set.

A close review of the databases and measures used in the above research may help explain this inconsistency in findings. First, Alonso and Lewis's results for the 1996 database, where they had a more complete measure of public service motivation, were more positive than their results for the 1991 database, where they were forced to use a more inferior measure of the concept. That single-item measure merely plumbed the extent to which respondents valued 'service to others'—which is probably an incomplete measure of public service motivation. Also, the 1996 database provided a measure of individual performance that was more similar to Naff and Crum's measure, while the 1991 database was limited to a proxy measure of dubious validity—the employee's pay-grade level. Highly performing employees may not always seek promotions and related pay increases, and public organizations may not always do a good job of identifying and promoting highly performing employees.

Several other weaknesses common to research on public service motivation are also present in the Alonso and Lewis study. These weaknesses include utilizing employee self-reports of key concepts, cross-sectional research designs to study causal relationships, and questionable operationalizations of important variables (such as using a generalized measure of public service motivation and the employee's pay-grade level as a proxy measure of individual performance). It should also be noted that Alonso and Lewis's positive finding when replicating Naff and Crum's research on the 1996 database shares the same strengths but is dampened by the same problems affecting the latter study.

In all of these studies, the measures of public service motivation and individual performance are potentially problematic. The next section looks at evidence on the relationship between public service motivation and organizational performance.

Evidence on Organizational Performance

Two studies have directly examined the relationship between public service motivation and organizational performance (Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005). Both studies found a positive effect, as reported below.

First, Brewer and Selden (2000) developed a theoretical model predicting organizational performance and utilized the 1996 Merit Principles Survey data set (the same one used by Naff & Crum, 1999, and Alonso & Lewis, 2001) to test this model. The authors utilized the public service motivation items included in the survey to create a measurement scale (dropping one item as mentioned above to achieve an acceptable alpha reliability score). They also developed a multidimensional measure of organizational performance from the employee self-reports contained in the survey. The model produced relatively strong results, with public service motivation emerging as a modestly important predictor of organizational performance (the standardized regression coefficient for the relationship was 0.071). While these results seem positive, several factors limit their validity.

Organizational performance is one of the hardest concepts to measure in public management research (Boyne, 2003; Boyne et al., 2006; Brewer, 2004; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2006). Brewer and Selden (2000) constructed a measure of performance based on internal and external dimensions of efficiency, effectiveness, and fairness, which was robust but possibly overlooked some aspects of performance such as the level of citizen satisfaction. Perhaps more important, the authors drew their measures from employee self-reports, which are considered problematic by some scholars (see previous discussion). Moreover, the authors adopted the pared-down six-item measurement scale of public service motivation provided in the survey, subsequently dropping one item/dimension to achieve an acceptable alpha reliability score. They also utilized a cross-sectional design to assess the impact of public service motivation on organizational performance—a purported causal relationship. Longitudinal data are normally required to make causal attributions. Brewer and Selden acknowledge this point, but it nevertheless weakens their findings.

Kim (2005) used a different data set but a similar research design to replicate Brewer and Selden's (2000) work in Korea (N = 1,739 public employees at different levels of government). His measures of public service motivation and performance were similar to Brewer and Selden's measures, but the model specification was slightly different as Kim was mainly interested in the impact of individual-level factors on organizational performance. The results showed that four traits increased organizational performance: job satisfaction, affective commitment, public service motivation, and organizational citizenship behavior. The unstandardized regression coefficient for the public service motivation–performance relationship was 0.073—very similar to the effect size documented in Brewer and Selden's study. Thus, empirical evidence from the two studies is consistent and positive.

On the downside, both studies share many of the same weaknesses. Like the studies reviewed above, they utilize somewhat incomplete measures of public service motivation, and their organizational performance measures are possibly incomplete as well. In addition, they utilize employee self-reports to measure key concepts and cross-sectional databases to make causal attributions. These studies may also be committing an ecological fallacy by aggregating individual-level measures of public service motivation to test the relationship between organizational-level public service motivation and the dependent variable—organizational performance. Presumably one would need an organizational level measure of public service motivation to do this, and as a result, the researchers would have limited ability to make individual attributions. Moreover, this 'aggregating up' of measures may weaken the researchers' ability to make causal attributions.

A final criticism involves measurement validity. As explained above, organizational performance is a multidimensional concept that is very hard to define and measure in the public sector. These studies utilized the same theoretical framework of organizational performance and very similar measurement items, but their efforts were not necessarily complete. Alternate frameworks and measures might produce different results.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Results from the studies reviewed here are at least partly dependent on their definitions and measures of the public service motivation and performance concepts, the populations studied, and the statistical techniques utilized. For example, most studies have utilized scaled-down versions of Perry's 24-item measurement scale and incomplete measures of performance. Yet it is hard to determine the impact of this lack of measurement precision on the findings reported. Certainly, studies utilizing downsized versions of Perry's scale have produced positive results while studies measuring public service motivation via a more generalized altruistic trait, such as Alonso and Lewis's (2001) 'service to others' measure, have produced less positive results. Similarly, most studies reviewed here analyzed 1996 Merit Principles Survey data, which consists of U.S. federal government employees at one point in time. (One exception is Kim's 2006 Korean study consisting of employees working at different levels of government.) Questions naturally arise about generalizing to other levels of government, other countries, and other time periods. Finally, most studies of individual performance have encountered problems because some key variables failed to meet normality assumptions. The researchers often tried to overcome this problem by reconstituting the variables' values and moving from ordinal to nominal levels of measurement. This resulted in a loss of information and forced the researchers to use weaker statistical methods—such as contingency-table analysis and logistic regression—in their subsequent analyses.

Studies of organizational performance have utilized multivariate regression analysis, which is arguably a stronger method of analysis, but these studies were testing complex model specifications that may require even more advanced statistical methods such as structural equation or hierarchical linear modeling to gauge the true impact of public service motivation on organizational performance.

To summarize, there is little solid empirical evidence on the public service motivation—performance relationship. Studies utilizing similar measures, study samples, and statistical methods have produced fairly consistent results—whether positive or negative. The preponderance of evidence supports the view of a modest positive relationship between the variables. Yet there are some inconsistencies. There are several possible explanations for these inconsistencies, and several ways to interpret the contrarian evidence consistent with public service motivation theory. Rather than moving toward closure on the public service motivation–performance question, these explanations actually suggest some new, exciting, and highly salient avenues of research.

The first explanation for these apparent inconsistencies is straightforward. Since its inception, scholars have observed that public service motivation is a 'multidimensional construct with dynamic properties' (Brewer & Selden, 1998, p. 424; also see Perry, 1996; Rainey, 1982). Rainey (1982, pp. 298–9) wrote that public service motivation is a broad, multifaceted concept that may be conceived in many different ways. Brewer et al. (2000) followed up on this observation and showed that there are at least four distinct conceptions of public service motivation.[3] Each conception had unique content, covariates, and probable outcomes. In other words, some conceptions of public service motivation may be more strongly linked to some dimensions of individual and organizational performance (which are also multidimensional constructs), and it follows that some may be weakly related, unrelated, or even inversely related.[4]

The implication is that researchers should unpack the public service motivation and performance concepts and strategically explore subdimensional relationships. A somewhat overdrawn example may help to illustrate this point. On Brewer et al.'s (2000) framework, nurses are more like samaritans who work in social service settings where performance often involves rendering aid to others, while soldiers are more like patriots who are often found in military service where performance may involve doing violence to others. The omnibus public service motivation and performance concepts that have been used in previous research may not be sensitive enough to explain these differences.

Another implication is that public service motivation is highly variable. As Rainey (1997, p. 155) explained, it involves many different dimensions and 'appears to vary over time, with changes in the public image of government service, and to take different forms in different agencies and service areas'. Brewer suggested that public service motivation 'may vary across individuals and situations, and it may be moderated by characteristics of the organization or service area such as policy type, goal crispness, and red tape' (2001, p. 79). Perry (2000) added that public service motivation appears to be strongest in the most difficult circumstances. Extant research has confirmed most of these predictions, as documented elsewhere in this volume. Yet there are many unexplored areas which make it difficult to propose a theory that accounts for public service motivation's inherent dynamism and variability.

As the above discussion suggests, conflicting findings on the public service motivation–performance relationship are actually consistent with the view that public service motivation is a dynamic concept that changes in ways that we do not fully understand yet. It may be present in some settings but not others, and more salient at certain times than others. Mapping out this larger theoretical model probably represents the greatest need for future research, in part because it will also help unravel several other mysteries about the nature, antecedents, and consequences of public service motivation, and its relationship to individual and organizational performance in the public sector.

Moreover, researchers may need to bring in other theoretical frameworks such as goal theory, psychological contracts, and person–organization fit (Bright, 2007; Castaing, 2006; Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2003; Wright, 2004). For example, Bright (2007) analyzes self-reports from a small sample of public workers ($N = 205$) and concludes that person–organization fit mediates the relationship between public service motivation and performance. He allows that public service motivation may indirectly contribute to employee performance by increasing the compatibility between public employees and their organizations. While not conclusive, Bright's study is a good example of how fresh theoretical frameworks may illuminate our understanding of the public service motivation—performance relationship.

Although Perry and Wise (1990) argued that public service motivation and performance are related, they did not provide a detailed theoretical rationale; that is, they did not specify the cause–effect relationships, along with relevant mediating and moderating variables. What would the complete model look like? To frame this question another way, what causal chain attenuates any public service motivation effects on performance? Specifying this model is clearly beyond the scope of this chapter, but several suggestions are provided to illustrate the type of research that will be needed in the years ahead to produce a more fully specified model, and to shed more light on the public service motivation–performance relationship. The specific suggestions covered below focus on the important roles of commitment, socialization, and culture.

Commitment

More research is needed on the role of commitment in public service motivation and its relationship to performance. Commitment is an important construct in organization behavior and theory, but the literature seldom mentions commitment to goals or stakeholders residing outside of the work organization (i.e. extra-organizational commitment). The public service ideal of commitment to citizens, the law, and the public interest is not encompassed by such narrow definitions of the construct (Romzek, 1990, p. 377; Wamsley et al., 1990, p. 168).

The starting point of public service motivation may be a normative or affective commitment to such things. For example, Perry (1996) described one important dimension of public service motivation as 'commitment to the public interest'. Yet the meaning and role of commitment in public service motivation and performance is still unclear. Various scholars have characterized commitment as an antecedent (Camilleri, 2006; DiIulio, 1994; Volcker, 1989), internal dynamic (Perry, 1996; Romzek, 1990; Wamsley et al., 1990), and consequence of public service motivation (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Crewson, 1997; Naff & Crum, 1999; Perry & Wise, 1990), and sometimes all three (e.g. see Horton & Hondeghem, 2006). Research has not focused carefully enough on clarifying which of these roles commitment serves—especially relative to performance. Clearly, future research should try to clarify the role of commitment and related concepts.

This need is illustrated by a recent study on the heroism of New York City firefighters in the aftermath of 9/11. Lee and Olshfski (2002, p. 109) discount the role of public service motivation in such heroic acts and argue that firefighters are merely dedicated to their jobs and show 'commitment directed toward the role [of being a firefighter]'. They conclude, 'Commitment to a role that a particular job encapsulates offers a more powerful explanation of behavior' (Lee & Olshfski, 2002, p. 110).

The study described above raises questions about how the authors differentiate between public service motivation and commitment, on one hand, and the jobs and roles of firefighters, on the other hand. Certainly the motives they are describing are central to public service motivation and prominent in the literature on the topic. The authors apparently equate public service motivation with 'public sector motivation', which most public service motivation scholars would not countenance. And to the extent that volunteer firefighters exhibit many of the same heroic traits as those who are paid by government, we may question whether such motivation is really rooted in the job or role itself (Lee & Olshfski, 2002), or rather, in the importance of the work being performed and the welfare of the larger community that firefighters are serving and protecting (Brewer et al., 2000).

The reality of what happens in the public sector can be attributed to numerous theories of bureaucratic motivation and behavior, and other factors. Yet this density of concepts and theories does not excuse researchers from striving for conceptual clarity and a more orderly understanding of the drivers of a particular behavior or event. In the coming years, researchers need to focus on the role of commitment as an antecedent, internal dynamic, and consequence of public service motivation, with particular emphasis on its role in promoting high performance. What type of commitment—or rather, what are firefighters committed to—when they perform heroic acts? Is it their job, role, concern for public safety and welfare, or all of the above?

Socialization

Scholars believe that socialization exerts considerable influence on human attitudes and behavior. There is some controversy on the origins of public service motivation and the importance of socialization processes, but it seems likely that formative experiences at certain times in a person's life can play an important role. Recent research has identified some important contributors, but much remains to be explored (e.g. Crewson, 1995, 1997; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997; Perry & Coursey, in press).

In all likelihood, organizational socialization is an important mechanism for transmitting a 'public institutional 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. As March and Olsen (1995, p. 58) write, public servants need to be socialized in 'an ethic of administrative duty and conformity to the law'. Perrucci et al. (1980) add that professionals have socialization processes and codes of ethics that impart a 'service ethic' or 'sense of social responsibility'. Several studies have confirmed that professionalization is associated with higher levels of public service motivation (Crewson, 1997; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997).

Considering the potential importance of socialization, it is surprising that scholars have not probed its effects on public service motivation and performance more carefully. The topic has been repeatedly touched on in the literature, such as when scholars rail about public sector downsizing and its detrimental effects on selection, orientation, and training in public agencies, and the resulting loss of institutional memory and government capacity. The upshot is how these changes lower performance. Research has not, however, focused on the importance of socialization processes in imparting a high level of public service motivation, which may result in improved performance.

Many public employees report that early socialization experiences are very important in this regard, along with mentoring and interaction with significant peers. Additional studies have shown that public service motivation declines with tenure (Crewson, 1997; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007), suggesting that public organizations may need to extend socialization processes beyond the initial period of orientation and training for new employees. Finally, research has shown that performance management increases performance in public organizations (Boyne, 2003; Brewer, 2005), but researchers have not investigated the role of socialization as a conduit. Employees must recognize the legitimacy of performance management regimes; perceive that their individual efforts contribute to the achievement of larger organizational goals; and agree on the importance of those goals (Koehler & Rainey, this volume). Public service motivation affects how employees view such things, and socialization seems to be a key part of this process.

Rashad (1999) studied federal employee socialization over a 50-year period and concluded that optimizing the socialization processes for orienting new employees to adopt and internalize the overarching philosophy of public service has far-reaching implications (also see Perry & Vandenabeele, this volume). Public organizations need to provide positive socialization experiences throughout employees' careers, and researchers need to investigate socialization processes and their potential impact on performance. Here some social engineering would be appropriate. Public employee socialization should impart public service values, and try to integrate these values with high performance on relevant tasks. Socialization should thus be steeped in the language of performance, which is in keeping with public service motivation theory.

Culture

Organizational culture may affect the levels of public service motivation in an organization, and it may impact the relationship to performance. Despite weak linkages between attitudes and behaviors in the social sciences, and researchers' tendency to study attitudes more intently, behavioral differences actually seem stronger in the case of public service motivation (Brewer, 2001, chapter 7). This is where culture comes in, consistent with Perry and Wise's (1990, p. 368) contention that public service motivation is fundamentally grounded in public institutions, and Brewer and Selden's (1998, p. 417) assertion that it involves performing meaningful public, community, and social service. Organizational culture should affirm and reinforce these ends, which are gateways to high performance.

Moynihan and Pandey (2007) showed that organizations influence the development of public service motivation. They concluded that this relationship underscores the need for public organizations to create an environment that allows employees to feel that they are contributing to the public good. Researchers have also documented the importance of a developmental and public service-oriented culture as a driver of organizational performance in the public sector (Brewer, 2005; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).

In his classic study of the U.S. Forest Service, Kaufmann (1960) described how organizational culture affects the recruitment, selection, and retention of employees, builds their loyalty, and motivates them to help the organization achieve its mission. In a more recent study, DiIulio (1994) echoes this message by chronicling the duty-bound behavior of federal prison guards. He starts with a discussion of what motivates bureaucrats, who are depicted as principled agents set in motion by a strong organizational culture and controlled by management. Yet management in this context is more involved in creating and sustaining a strong culture than in hard-nosed day-to-day management, and leadership is more about shepherding than driving faithful employees. DiIulio's focus might simply be described as 'strong culture', but he is essentially talking about the effects of activating values and normative orientations that produce high performing public service. This is wholly consistent with the theory of public service motivation.

Thus, organizational culture may affect the type and level of public service motivation found in public agencies (e.g. see DiIulio, 1994; Naff & Crum, 1999; Rainey, 1997; Wise, 2000, 2004). Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) contend that culture and motivation are two primary factors affecting public agency performance. Brewer and Selden (2000) confirmed this assertion, finding that these two factors were the most important determinants of performance in the 23 largest federal agencies (also see Brewer, 2005, for similar findings). The implications are clear. In the public sector, organizational culture is one of the few malleable factors. Scholars need to study this construct more carefully, examine its effects on public service motivation, and probe the linkages to organizational performance. At present, one of the greatest needs for advancing research is to develop a measurement scale of public service-oriented culture at the organizational level, which may include elements of developmental culture, strong linkages to the public interest, and high expectations for ethical behavior. Then researchers can begin to explore culture's effects on public service motivation and performance.

CONCLUSION

Research on public service motivation is reaching a critical mass in which it is possible to make inferences about the concept's relationship to other variables of interest. One such variable of particular importance is performance. Yet research on performance is probably the biggest gap in public service motivation research over the past decade.

This chapter has sought to investigate the relationship between public service motivation and two main types of performance: employee and organizational. Relevant empirical research is scarce, and it has produced mixed findings. At the individual level, two empirical studies confirm the relationship while one of these studies conducts further analysis that seems to disconfirm it. Yet different sample populations and measures of public service motivation and performance make it hard to draw any firm conclusions. At the organizational level, two empirical studies produce tantalizing evidence that public service motivation may be related to organizational performance, but these studies are also fraught with measurement problems and other weaknesses that raise questions about their validity and generalizability. Again, it is hard to draw any firm conclusions from these studies, in part because the evidence is very limited.

This chapter offers some suggestions for future research. Specifically, I argue that the paucity of research on the relationship between public service motivation and performance makes extending this line of research one of the most important priorities for researchers. Indeed, researchers need to mount a full-bore research effort to close this gap. The goal should be to produce a more fully specified model of public service motivation in general, with a spotlight on the public service motivation–performance relationship. Three main suggestions are offered to illustrate how progress can be made toward producing such a model: renewed emphasis on the roles of commitment, socialization, and culture.

Scholars and practitioners should remain optimistic about the future of public service motivation. As this volume shows, research over the past decade has made important strides and knowledge is accumulating. Policy makers and public managers increasingly recognize the importance of public service motives when managing public organizations, and they surely want to leverage these motives to improve performance. The relationship between public service motivation and performance thus remains a central concern.

NOTES

1. Wittmer (1991) reported that public employees place a higher value on helping others and performing work that is worthwhile to society as compared to other employees. Several other studies are similarly suggestive (see e.g. Bright, 2005; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Lewis & Frank, 2002).
2. The authors reported testing an alternative model using a different recoding scheme for the performance variable that produced virtually the same results.

3. Brewer et al. (2000) showed that individuals can be high on one dimension and low on another, suggesting that combined indexes may mask individual differences and effects. They found four distinct clusters of public employees with unique forms of public service motivation: samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians.
4. An example of the latter comes from Brewer & Selden's (1998) study of whistle-blowers. Such employees often receive low performance ratings because they have exposed wrongdoings by their supervisors or upper-level management.

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8

Public Service Motivation and Ethical Conduct

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Our goal in this chapter is to bring together and synthesize two research traditions on topics that, so far, have been studied separately, even though they are in many aspects interrelated and perhaps even interdependent: 'public service motivation' and 'organizational ethics'. Although some studies attempt to combine both topics of research (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Choi, 2004), they are the exception rather than the rule. Drawing from the broader literature on organizational ethics, we hope to contribute to the understanding of public service motivation with additional insights on which values public sector employees embrace and espouse, and how these relate to antecedents of ethical conduct. Because the literature on organizational ethics is very broad, we limit ourselves primarily to research on ethics in public service organizations.

Our attempt to situate the concept of public service motivation in the organizational ethics literature proceeds in four steps. First, we briefly address the growing interest in public service motivation and in administrative ethics, identifying the common origins of both. We subsequently discuss the literature on 'organizational values', focusing on the public sector, to situate the dimensions of public service motivation in the broader realm of public values. We then consider the individual and organizational antecedents of both ethical conduct and public service motivation, resulting in hypotheses about the more complex causal interactions among these antecedents, public service motivation, and ethical conduct. We conclude with a summary of what the empirical literature on ethics and values can contribute to our understanding of public service motivation.

INCREASING INTEREST IN ETHICS AND PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION

It is no coincidence that the increasing interest in ethics and public service values over the last two decades has occurred simultaneously with the growth of interest in public service motivation. Both are an attempted response to evolutions in society (e.g. changing expectations from public servants, more assertive, well-educated citizens, globalization) as well as to internal changes within administration. The latter refer to a plethora of administrative reforms that have taken place in many countries (see, e.g. Bozeman, 2007; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004) and the academic concepts that have inspired as well as followed up on these reforms, such as new public management (Hood, 1991), performance-oriented organizational management (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004), or management by measurement (Noordegraaf & Abma, 2003).

Other chapters in this volume show how the increasing interest in public service motivation came partly as a response to these developments, but the same can be argued for the interest in ethical conduct. Specifically, there is a growing fear that an overemphasis on business-like value-assumptions came at the expense of the unique value set that is necessary for the service of the public interest (Maesschalck, 2004). This has not only infused a renewed interest in ethics, but has also led authors to advocate a clear set of public service values (Kernaghan, 2000, 2003; Van Wart, 1998). Other scholars have proposed new models such as 'New Public Service' (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000), or, more recently, a public values-based management approach for the public sector, as opposed to new public management (Bozeman, 2007).

Both research traditions not only share a common background, they also address closely related issues: the motivation of individuals to choose for, pursue, and maintain employment in the public service and the adherence to values, norms, and rules that accompany government employment and conduct. Nevertheless, both traditions developed quite independently from each other. Although Perry's (1996, 1997) original research referred to ethics literature, the subsequent literature used theoretical frameworks from human resource management literature on motivation and neo-institutionalism to understand the antecedents and consequences of public service motivation. References to organizational ethics literature remain limited. This chapter brings both research traditions together again, focusing on contributions that the organizational ethics literature offers to public service motivation research.

DEFINING PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION IN TERMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ETHICS AND VALUES

Conceptually, 'values' and 'motivation' may seem quite different, but they are in fact interrelated. While 'public service motivation' is, by definition, essentially about motivation (the drive to do something), 'values' are often defined as essential or enduring beliefs (Rokeach, 1973), qualities, standards, or principles (Van der Wal et al., in press), or more classically as 'conceptions of the desirable' (Kluckhohn, 1951). From an organizational perspective, it comes close to the concept of culture and ideology (Beyer, 1981; Schein, 1992). Values are also considered as driving forces behind the choices of action that individuals and organizations make. Perhaps 'value' is a less conscious and explicit concept than motivation, but certainly not less influential. Vandenabeele (2007) highlights this link by adding the concept of values explicitly to the definition of what public service motivation constitutes.

Both concepts come even closer together once we try to measure them, because motivation cannot be measured directly and hence is often measured indirectly through beliefs or values. Yet, the question remains whether this abstract similarity also materializes when we take a closer look at the actual contents of both the concepts. How can the ethical contents of public service motivation be understood from the perspective of public service values? Do the dimensions originally identified by Perry and Wise (1990) mirror typical public sector values? If we look at the ethical contents of the public service motivation concept from this perspective, we might be able to situate it in the broader public values universe.

Public values have been at the forefront of many recent debates in public administration in different shapes and forms. Some authors address the safeguarding of public values in a time of privatization (de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006) or economic individualism (Bozeman, 2007), or reconciliation of public values in a time of business-like public management philosophies (Frederickson, 2005; Kernaghan, 2000). Others simply address public values in general and propose sets of public values (Kernaghan, 2003; Van Wart, 1998), or derive specific sets of public values through empirical research (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Schmidt & Posner, 1986; Van der Wal et al., in press; Vrangbaek, 2006). As a consequence, the examples of public values that are mentioned in the literature differ widely (cf. de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006, p. 718).

Sometimes studies explicitly address organizational values; others speak of public values (de Bruijn & Dicke, 2006), public sector values, or public service values (Kernaghan, 2000, 2003). Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007, pp. 360–1) distinguish in their recent overview of public values (derived from a review of public administration journals from 1990 to 2003 in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavian countries) between seven categories to which public values can apply, such as 'behavior of public-sector employees', 'public sector's contribution to society', or 'intra-organizational aspects of public administration'. Key values within the latter category include robustness (with co-values such as stability and reliability), innovation (with co-values such as enthusiasm), productivity (with co-values such as effectiveness), self-development of employees, and accountability (with co-values such as professionalism, honesty, and integrity) (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007, pp. 360–1).

Van der Wal et al. (2006) report on an extensive empirical review and content analysis of recent international literature, focusing specifically on organizational values. The 13 most prominent organizational values for the public sector were derived from the study. This set of values has some remarkable characteristics. 'Courage', a traditional business value, is present among the 13 most prominent values, while 'lawfulness', an often mentioned and emphasized public sector value, is absent. One may wonder whether the fairly recent sources that were studied had already been 'infected' by new public management developments. Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) encounter similar findings in their study on public values. They consider a large proportion of the literature to be very much of its time, praising recent reforms such as new public management and Reinventing Government. However, there is an emerging literature that, as a reaction, praises the old virtues of administration and bureaucracy (Olsen, 2005) or, alternatively, 'launches new progressive models such as "new public governance" or "new public service"' (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007, p. 357). Such sets often include values with a more general public or social character (e.g. humaneness and social justice), or refer to 'transformation of interests to decisions' and 'relationship to public administration and the citizens' (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007), while others (e.g. expertise and efficiency) are specific professional and organizational values.

A look at more practitioner-oriented sets of public sector values and empirical research on codes of conduct of civil servants shows a different, but complementary, picture. An ethical framework for public officials was developed in the United Kingdom by the Committee on Standards in Public Life chaired by Lord Nolan. The Nolan Committee (1995) sketched 'Seven Principles of Public Life'. Holders of public office should make decisions based on public interest, and private interests or obligations to outsiders should have no influence ('selflessness' and 'integrity'). Officials should make choices on the basis of merit ('objectivity'), be accountable for their decisions and actions ('accountability'), and be as open as possible ('openness'). Holders of public office also have a duty to declare any private interests and resolve possible conflicts of interest ('honesty'), and they should promote and support these principles by leadership and example ('leadership'). Many of the prescriptive qualities for those that are holders of public office resemble often-mentioned public service motivation traits as originally identified by Perry (1996).

Other studies (Schmidt & Posner, 1986) are based upon empirical surveys. They found that government managers considered values like effectiveness, efficiency, reputation, and service to the public as important (p. 448). Van der Wal et al. (in press) conducted an extensive empirical study on values in the Netherlands. The results of the study show a fairly consistent and traditional value pattern with as most important public sector values incorruptibility, accountability, honesty, lawfulness, reliability, effectiveness, expertise, and transparency (also in line with Dutch public sector codes of conduct [Ethicon, 2003] and earlier research among civil servants [Van den Heuvel et al., 2002]).

'New' or 'emerging' values (Kernaghan, 2000, 2003) such as innovation and profitability, traditionally associated with the private sector, are not among the most important public sector organizational values. Moreover, profitability is perceived to be least important and received by far the lowest score. Other survey studies on values from Denmark 'that are considered most important for performing ongoing duties' (Vrangbaek, 2006, p. 4) show, however, that innovation and renewal are among the most important values, but this might be specific to the Danish situation. Other research addresses values implicitly rather than measuring concrete and direct value statements, and aligns values with ethical conduct, denoting the notions of bureaucratic responsibility, responsiveness, and accountability (Chaney & Salzstein, 1998).

The conclusion on the basis of this review is twofold. On the one hand, it is clear that the dimensions of public service motivation that were originally identified by Perry and Wise and subsequently developed in empirical research (e.g. commitment to civic duty/public interest, compassion, self-sacrifice, and democratic governance) indeed mirror many typical public service values. In fact, these dimensions could easily be translated as 'public service motivation *values*': the important qualities and standards that relate to motivation for employment and conduct in the public service. They are sometimes described as work values (Lyons et al., 2005, 2006; Vandenabeele & Hondeghem, 2005), and sometimes as general or individual values of (potential) public sector employees (Lyons et al., 2006).

On the other hand, the review also showed that a number of public sector values are not included in the public service motivation concept as it currently stands. While values that refer to some kind of external accountability to society (e.g. the public interest, social justice, selflessness, and democracy) are included, it seems that values that focus more on the rules of the game, on the ethics of decision making, and on organizational aspects (e.g. impartiality, incorruptibility, transparency, honesty) are much less emphasized. This limited attention to what could be described as 'integrity of governance' values could be warranted on both empirical and theoretical grounds.

Empirically, it could be that survey items that refer to such 'integrity of governance' values simply do not easily fit in the overall dimensional structure of the public service motivation concept. For example, two related items were contained in the original scale of Perry's 1996 study,[1] but they were excluded from further analysis because they had low variances and weakly correlated with the overall scale (Perry, 1996, p. 11). Other empirical studies do not explicitly list their original items, making it difficult to assess the importance of this empirical claim. Yet given that empirical research in the ethics tradition consistently confirms the importance of the integrity values, we would argue that this issue deserves more systematic attention in empirical research involving public service motivation. In particular, it would be useful to present respondents with an integrated cluster of integrity values within a public service motivation research framework. Such a cluster could be based upon research on organizational values as discussed above.

There might also be theoretical reasons for not including some or all of the integrity of governance values in the public service motivation concept. One could argue that public service motivation, by definition, really centers on a specific subset of public values, excluding not only values that refer to competency, but also 'integrity of governance' values. Yet if such arguments would indeed be relevant, they have been rather implicit until now in the literature. In conclusion, we would argue that a combination of empirical research and more theoretical considerations of this kind would significantly increase our understanding of the public service motivation concept and its relation with public values.

ANTECEDENTS OF ETHICAL CONDUCT

Recent decades have seen a dramatic growth of empirical research into the antecedents of ethical conduct, both in business ethics and in administrative ethics. We discuss the findings in this research that are relevant for better understanding public service motivation. We first focus on individual variables and then on organizational variables. The dependent variable in this review will be 'ethical conduct', in fact referring to 'ethically relevant behavior', which can vary from manifest integrity violations, unethical conduct such as stealing or workplace harassment to decision making in complex ethical dilemmas where every option has its advantages and disadvantages.

Individual Variables as Antecedents of Ethical Conduct

Empirical research has identified a number of individual characteristics that correlate with ethical conduct, which show some interesting similarities with the correlations that were observed between individual variables and public service motivation. Yet, before addressing some of these antecedents, it is useful to note that individual variables affect ethical conduct in at least two ways. They not only directly impact ethical conduct, but they can also have an effect in interaction with organizational variables. The latter mechanism has been described by Schneider and Reichers (Schneider, 1987; Schneider & Reichers, 1983) in their 'selection-attraction-attrition' (SAA) framework. Individuals tend to apply for jobs in organizations to which they feel attracted (attraction) and tend to leave organizations when they feel that they do not fit (attrition), while organizations spend many resources on selecting appropriate employees (selection).

We now turn to individual antecedents. First, we will address two antecedents that correlate in a similar direction with public service motivation and ethical conduct (gender and tenure). We then focus on antecedents that either seems to correlate differently with public service motivation and ethical conduct (level of education), or of which we have only limited or mixed findings (religion, personal ethical orientation).

Reviews of research on public service motivation and ethical conduct identify a number of individual characteristics that appear to correlate with both variables respectively. A first such individual variable is *gender*, the most researched factor in the area of organizational ethics (Collins, 2000, p. 9). On the basis of a review of 47 studies, Collins concludes that most research reveals women to be more ethical than men. Some studies report no difference, but none of the 47 studies found men to be more ethical. Ford and Richardson (1994, p. 206) and Loe et al. (2000) reached similar conclusions based on reviews of respectively 14 and 26 studies. There have been few systematic studies into the moderating variables between gender and ethical conduct. There is some evidence that women are more ethically sensitive to relational than to nonrelational issues, while some research suggests that women are simply more prone to the social desirability bias and the observed differences are thus an artifact of the research method (Collins, 2000, p. 11).

One particular area where the effect of gender on ethical decision making has been emphasized both theoretically and empirically has been the field of moral development. Yet, several reviews and meta-analyses (cited in Stewart & Sprinthall [1993, p. 461] and in Swisher et al. [2001, p. 55]) have found little impact of gender on moral reasoning. In those cases where an impact was observed, women tended to score slightly higher than men. Examples of this in the public sector are the study of White in the U.S. Coast Guard (1999a), who found a statistically significant difference between men and women; and Stewart et al. (2001) survey among U.S. and Polish public managers, who found a gender effect only in the Polish sample. Research on the relation between gender and public service motivation is less numerous (see Pandey & Stazyk, this volume). The preliminary results suggest that women score higher on public service motivation than men, but further research will be necessary.

A second example of a variable that correlates with both public service motivation and ethical conduct is *tenure,* a variable on the edge between individual and organization. Elm and Nichols (1993), for example, found a surprising and distressing correlation between tenure and level of moral development. More experienced managers reasoned at lower levels of moral reasoning than their less experienced colleagues. This is particularly disconcerting, as age tends to correlate positively with ethical conduct (Ford & Richardson, 1994, p. 206). The research suggests that either the working environment reduces managers' capacity for moral reasoning or employees with higher degrees of moral reasoning are selected out of the organization in a mechanism that works like Schneider's (1987) selection-attraction-attrition framework. Elm and Nichols's findings are similar to Moynihan and Pandey's (2007) finding of a negative correlation between tenure and public service motivation, which can be accounted for by the same dynamics. The tenure antecedent is an obvious area where scholars of ethics and public service motivation could cooperate to identify the mechanisms at work.

Yet, not all individual variables correlate with ethical conduct as they do with public service motivation. Studies assessing the impact of the *type* (e.g. technical or nontechnical background or business vs. nonbusiness students) or *level of education* tended to find either no impact of this variable, or contradictory effects (Ford & Richardson, 1994, p. 210). Pandey and Stazyk (this volume), on the other hand, report that positive correlations between level of education and public service motivation are a consistent finding across studies.

The impact of *religion* on both variables seems difficult to grasp, due to limited and inconsistent findings. Perry (1997, p. 190) originally found church involvement to be correlated negatively with public service motivation, but in a later study Perry and Coursey (2005) found a significant positive effect of religious activity and Houston and Cartwright (2007) concluded that those in public service occupations are more spiritual than persons in non-public service occupations. Ford and Richardson (1994, p. 206) assessed the impact of religion on ethical conduct and found that, out of a number of religious factors, only 'strength of religious belief' was significantly and positively associated with the strength of ethical standards.

A final, somewhat related set of antecedents concerns *personal ethical orientations and philosophies*. Based on a review of 21 studies, Loe et al. (2000, p. 187) conclude 'that moral philosophy is related to ethical decision making', although the effects tend to be ambiguous. Wheeler and Brady (1998), for example, found that the respondents' preference for a certain ethical predisposition (utilitarian or consequentialistic vs. formalistic or rule- or principle-based) is correlated with the choices they made in specific dilemmas (presented as vignettes in a survey). Other researchers have focused on more specific types of ethical orientation such as 'Machiavellianism': a tendency to be less emotionally involved with others and to manipulate others to accomplish one's objectives (see e.g. Singhapakdi & Vitell [1991, pp. 3–4]). Several studies found that this variable is associated with unethical conduct (Collins, 2000, p. 8). It would be interesting to investigate whether these personal ethical orientations also correlate with (dimensions of) public service motivation.

Organizational Variables as Antecedents of Ethical Conduct

Research on organizational ethics has also identified a number of organizational factors that were found to impact ethical conduct. Research on the impact of organizational factors on public service motivation, on the other hand, is limited. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) are a notable exception and the organizational-level antecedents they identify for public service motivation will be compared with the antecedents of ethical conduct. We will discuss the different antecedents in turn. The first two factors feature particularly prominently in public administration research: degree of bureaucracy and degree of new public management reforms. The subsequent factors are among the most prominent antecedents studied in the broader organizational ethics literature: ethics management (particularly ethics codes and ethics training), ethical climate, and peers and managers as referents.

Bureaucracy, as coined by Max Weber, refers to an organizational form with very specific characteristics, such as the fact that behavior is guided by rules, the principle of office hierarchy, a management based upon written documents, etc. (Weber, trans. 1978, pp. 956–1005). Weber promoted this organizational form for government administration, not only because he believed in its efficiency, but also for its important ethical advantages. He was deeply concerned about the power of public servants, drawn from their expertise and sheer number, and he set his hopes on bureaucratic norms and enforcement procedures as crucial constraints on this power. Similar ethical justifications for the bureaucracy's emphasis on rules abound (e.g. Baier, 1965). Yet, bureaucracy not only has ethical advantages. The sociologist Robert Merton (1968) pointed at the phenomenon of 'goal displacement', in which the rule becomes a goal in itself and which could lead to unethical conduct. 'Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may result in inappropriate responses under *changed conditions*' (Merton, 1968, p. 252). Many authors followed Merton in his 'bureau critique'. Focusing on the ethical consequences, this literature tends to fall in three categories. A first category directly builds on Merton's work and emphasizes the causal link between bureaucracy and 'rule-fetishism'. Cooper (2006, pp. 176–83) and Denhardt (1988, pp. 81–91) devoted considerable attention to these arguments in their classical studies of administrative ethics. A second strand of research emphasizes the negative effects of bureaucracy on the quality of organizational members' moral reasoning. White (1999b) lists a number of empirical studies, dating back to the Milgram experiments, which provide support for the claim that strong hierarchy leads to conformity and reduction of responsibility. A third category is more normative and, instead of hypothesizing a causal link between organizational antecedents and unethical behavior, focuses on the inherent ethical problems of bureaucratic structure. Thompson, for example, criticized 'the ethic of structure', which he defined as 'the view that the object of moral judgment must be the organization or the government as a whole' (Thompson, 1985, p. 559). He considered such an ethic as a strong cause for concern, because it implies that individual public servants cannot be held morally responsible for most of the decisions and policies of government.

Research on the link between bureaucracy and public service motivation is limited and the results are mixed. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) found that bureaucratic red tape correlated negatively with public service motivation, whereas 'hierarchical culture' was not correlated with public service motivation. Interestingly, they also found that the perception that an organization has many hierarchical levels is associated with higher levels of public service motivation among the employees of that organization. This topic clearly deserves further research.

As mentioned above, the last two decades have seen important administrative reforms across the world. The reforms have included several strategies (maintain, modernize, marketize, minimize [Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004]), but most visible were the changes that Hood assembled under the conceptual umbrella 'new public management'. The latter include the introduction of performance management systems, more responsibility and accountability for public managers, more competition in the public sector, and the introduction of quality management techniques (Hood, 1991). The proponents of these reforms hypothesize all types of positive effects, but they remain rather silent on their impact upon ethics (Menzel, 2000). Their assumption seems to be that ethical conduct will naturally follow from an implementation of new public management reforms. Ethical conduct is then mainly understood as behavior that strengthens 'the three E's' (economy, efficiency, and effectiveness). Reform opponents are much more interested in their ethical impact. In the United Kingdom, Chapman and O'Toole (Chapman & O'Toole, 1995; Chapman, 1998) argue for a return to the traditional civil service ethos and to the traditional concept of 'public duty'. Writing from the U.S. context, Frederickson forcefully expresses his concerns about the ethical consequences of innovations such as marketizing, privatizing or contracting-out, and he argues for a 're-regulation' (Frederickson, 2005).

Research on the impact of recent reforms on public service motivation is limited. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) investigated the impact of what they described as 'employee-friendly organizational reforms' (cutting red tape and empower employees). They found that employees who experience such reforms display higher levels of public service motivation (the correlation was particularly strong among employees who are interested in policy making). Moynihan (this volume), describes how market models that are typical for new public management-style reforms might crowd out intrinsic incentives such as public service motivation, thus echoing similar concerns in the ethics literature.

In response to the concerns outlined above, there is a growing call for *ethics management*, a deliberately designed set of instruments that are aimed at stimulating ethical conduct. Not surprisingly, the proponents of such a separate field within public management claim that appropriate ethics management is an important antecedent of ethical conduct. To understand its effects, one typically distinguishes between two approaches to ethics management. Lewis (1991), Paine (1994), and many others identify these as the 'compliance' and the 'integrity' approach, respectively. The distinction goes back to the famous Friedrich–Finer debate over the importance of respectively internal and external controls on public servants. The 'compliance' approach to ethics management emphasizes the importance of external controls on the behavior of public servants (e.g. legislation, strict behavioral ethics codes, and extensive control mechanisms). This approach is necessary (see the arguments in favor of 'bureaucracy' above) but not sufficient. It should be complemented by an 'integrity' approach to ethics management, which emphasizes internal control: control exercised by the public servant on her/himself. This integrity approach is 'based on aspirations, relies on incentives and encourages good behavior rather than policing and punishing errors and wrongdoing' (OECD, 2000, p. 25). Overall, systematic empirical research into the behavioral outcomes of these ethics management instruments has been limited (Trevino et al., 2006, p. 970). Two instruments are an exception: ethics codes and training.

First, there has been much research about *ethics codes,* but most of it tends to be descriptive rather than assessing the codes' impact (Cleek & Leonard, 1998, p. 619). Loe et al. (2000, p. 194) identified 17 studies that assessed the impact of codes of conduct and found that a majority of these 'revealed that codes influence ethical decision making and assist in raising the general level of awareness of ethical issues' (see also Collins, 2000, p. 16). Several of these studies found that the effect was stronger when sanctions were coupled with codes of conduct, as this implied top management's commitment to the code (Ford & Richardson, 1994, p. 216).

Second, as for *ethics training,* Delaney and Sockell (1992) and Kavathatzopoulos (1994) found that it had a positive effect on ethical conduct. Researchers have come up with mixed evidence about the effect of business ethics courses at university, varying from effectuating substantial improvements to no effect (Collins, 2000, p. 15). One study that focused on the impact of ethics training in Master of Public Administration programs (Menzel, 1997) provided moderate support for the hypothesis that ethics training makes a difference.

In sum, research on the impact of ethics management is limited and the research provides mixed evidence. Further research is necessary as more and more organizations invest in ethics management. It would also be interesting to assess how types of ethics management correlate with public service motivation. One could, for example, hypothesize that people with a strong public service motivation would feel more at home in an organization that emphasizes the 'integrity' approach toward ethics management.

Other typical variables that are often found to correlate with individual employees' ethical conduct are different types of organizational culture and organizational climate. The most commonly used typology in ethics research is the *ethical climate* typology designed by Victor and Cullen (1987, 1988). They conceive of 'ethical climate' as an organizational-level (or subunit-level) construct that consists of the, by the organizational members, 'shared perceptions of what is ethically correct behavior and how ethical issues should be handled' (Victor & Cullen, 1987). They operationalized it in a ninefold typology of ethical climate types, measured through a survey instrument, the 'ethical climate questionnaire'. In a recent meta-analysis, Martin and Cullen (2006) identified 42 studies in which the Victor and Cullen instrument was used to identify ethical climate. Many of these studies also assessed its impact upon ethical conduct. They particularly found that most ethical climate types (caring, law and code, rules, and independence) were negatively correlated with unethical conduct, while the instrumental ethical climate appeared to be positively correlated with such unethical conduct. It would be interesting to research how these climate types correlate and perhaps interact with public service motivation. For example, one might hypothesize that employees with high degrees of public service motivation would not feel at home in organizations with a strong instrumental ethical climate. This lack of person-organization fit could then lead these employees to a decision to leave the organization.

An extensive theoretical and empirical literature provides support for the claim that colleagues, in their role as referents, have a significant influence on ethical conduct. First, Loe et al. (2000, p. 199) conclude on the basis of their review, that the research 'show[s] overwhelming support for . . . the pervasive influence of *peers* in ethical decision making'. This finding is consistent with research in the moral development literature that found that ethical reasoning levels can be altered through peer group discussions (see e.g. Kohlberg, 1984). Ford and Richardson add that '[t]he direct influence of the person's peers increases as the intensity and frequency of contact with that person's peers increases' (1994, p. 212). Also interesting is Collins's reference to research that suggests that, in private settings, individuals 'consider how they would want to be treated in a similar situation, but in business settings they consider how their peers would judge the situation' (Collins, 2000, p. 12), thus suggesting that peer influence could be more important in business than in personal life.

Research also abundantly shows the impact of *managers* as referents. On the basis of a literature review, Stead et al. (1990, p. 235) conclude that '[c]opious research over a period of more than twenty-five years clearly supports the conclusion that the ethical philosophies of management have a major impact on the ethical behavior of employees'. Yet they also emphasize that it is not uncommon for the actual behavior of both supervisors and top managers to differ from their stated philosophies. This is important since much of that same research 'implicitly or explicitly states that ethical philosophies will have little impact on employees' ethical behaviour unless they are supported by managerial behaviors which are consistent with these philosophies' (1990, pp. 235–6). In a public sector context, Bowman and Williams (1997, p. 520) conclude from a survey among U.S. public servants that 'the influence of management by example, positively (when upheld by advocacy, publicity, and celebration) or negatively (when followed by neglect, hypocrisy, and exhortation) is substantial'. Yet managers shape not only ethical, but also unethical behavior. In a survey of health care administrators, 47 percent of the respondents identified 'pressure from supervisor' among the top three factors that cause them to lower their ethical standards (Jurkiewicz & Thompson, 1999, p. 47). Likewise, Detert, Trevino, and Burris and Andippan (as cited in Brown & Trevino, 2006, p. 607) found that abusive supervision increases counterproductive behavior.

In conclusion, although we are learning more about the organizational-level antecedents of ethical conduct, our knowledge about the organizational antecedents of public service motivation remains rudimentary. Further research should involve an assessment of the causal connections between the three blocks of variables: organizational antecedents, ethical conduct, and public service motivation.

We tentatively hypothesize that public service motivation is an intermediary variable, mediating between organizational constellations on the one hand and ethical conduct on the other. This role of intermediary variable could take two forms. The first and most obvious one is as a reinforcing intermediary variable. For example, if bureaucratic red tape reduces public service motivation (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007), then, we would hypothesize, it also reduces the chance for ethical conduct. Conversely, if employee-friendly reforms increase public service motivation (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007), then they will also increase the chance for ethical conduct. If such an intermediary role could be observed in quantitative research, qualitative research could then assess the actual mechanisms that are at work: 'selection, attraction, attrition' or an impact of a more psychological nature, e.g. through the self-concept (see Perry & Vandenabeele, this volume). A second, less obvious but potentially important intermediary role of public service motivation could be as a variable that, instead of reinforcing, blocks or neutralizes the impact of certain organizational antecedents on ethical conduct. For example, Maesschalck (2004) found that, in spite of the fact that employees perceived the ethical climate of their organization as significantly driven by self-interest, they nevertheless decided their ethical conduct not to be guided by self-interest. Qualitative interviews suggest that it is their public service motivation that prevents the demotivating and self-interest aspects of their environment from 'polluting' their ethical decision making.

In fact, public service motivation's role as an intermediary variable may be even more complex when one considers that it may also provoke unethical behavior. For example, one could hypothesize that too strong a commitment to the 'compassion' dimension of public service motivation might lead public servants to lose their neutrality (Thompson, 1975) and their respect for the principle of equity. Research on police integrity offers many examples of so-called 'noble-cause corruption' (Crank & Caldero, 2000) by compassionate selfless police officers fighting crime in the public interest, but using illegal methods (and thus bending instead of implementing the law).

CONCLUSION

This chapter attempted to reunite research on public service motivation and organizational ethics, which we cast metaphorically as two siblings that grew apart in spite of their common origins. In this conclusion, we concentrate on possible consequences for the research on public service motivation.

Our review showed that the research on the values that characterize public administration and the public service, addresses a variety of personal, organizational, and social values. These partly mirror the values and dimensions that are most prominent in public service motivation, but a number of values that concentrate on the integrity of governance are less apparent in public service motivation, such as impartiality, incorruptibility, and transparency. One wonders how these values relate to public service motivation. Clarification, both theoretically and in empirical research, would be useful. This might include the explicit choice to focus public service motivation on a certain subset of public values. Another solution might be to distinguish between different types of public service motivation.

The literature about the individual and organizational antecedents of ethical conduct also leads to relevant inferences for public service motivation research. Specifically, we hypothesized that public service motivation acts as an intermediary variable that either reinforces or neutralizes the impact of the organizational environment. Additionally, it seems important to keep in mind that the sometimes fairly optimistic views on the consequences of public service motivation merit nuance. Public service motivation may lead both to ethically desirable conduct *and* to unethical or illegal behavior. Compassion, for instance, might threaten neutrality and lead to preferential treatment and the neglect of values such as lawfulness and responsiveness to politics. The latter also illustrates what the ethics literature abundantly shows: the potential tensions between values. While theorizing about public service motivation has emphasized the coherence between the different dimensions, it might be useful to draw from the experience in the organizational ethics literature and focus more on the differences and tensions between the values. For example, if compassion materializes as direct responsiveness to a particular citizen, then this might contradict with an adherence to the public interest. How will an individual with a strong public service motivation mediate between these different values? This question provides yet another example of the main argument of this chapter: the research traditions into public service motivation and organizational ethics have a lot to gain from exchange and closer cooperation.

NOTE

1. 'Ethical behavior of public officials is as important as competence'; 'When public officials take an oath of office, I believe they accept obligations not expected of other citizens'; and 'I believe in putting duty before self'.

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9

Behavior in the Public Square

David J. Houston

The consequences of public service motivation for work-related attitudes and behaviors have been a focus of scholars (e.g. Crewson, 1997; Kim, 2005; Naff & Crum, 1999). However, public service motivation has implications for behavior beyond the workplace. An ethic that embodies compassion, self-sacrifice, and a commitment to the public interest is likely to influence attitudes and behaviors of individuals in civic community. In this way, public service motivation likely influences behavior in the public square, yet little research attention has focused on this implication.

The role that public servants play in the public square is an important topic of research given global concerns over declining social capital. Associational involvement and prosocial behavior are regarded as important for enhancing social trust and capital (Denters et al., 2007; Stolle & Rochon, 1999). To the extent that public service motivation fosters social trust through these acts, public servants are important catalysts for enhancing depleted stores of social capital through both their work and nonwork activities. When levels of social capital are high, government performs better (Cusack, 1999; Knack, 2000; Rice, 2001). Hence, concerns over civic participation and prosocial behavior may be important for making public servants not just better citizens but better servants too (Brewer, 2003).

What are the implications of public service motivation for behavior in the public square? What has been learned about the behavior of public servants in the public square? What direction should future research take? These are the questions that will be addressed. Additionally, the civic participation and prosocial behaviors of public service and non-public service employees will be compared using data from a national survey conducted in the United States. Implications of the relevance of public service motivation for behavior in the public square will be drawn.

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION BEYOND THE WORKPLACE

The theoretical significance of public service motivation lies in its implications for behavior. It is hypothesized that levels of public service motivation influence job satisfaction and performance, and organizational joining, commitment, and effectiveness (Kim, 2005; Naff & Crum, 1999; Perry & Wise, 1990). Moynihan and Pandey (2007) succinctly sum up this stream of research: 'PSM provides a theory of motivation that links the pursuit of the public interest with administrative behavior' (p. 41).

However, Vandenabeele's (2007) definition of public service motivation suggests that it has implications beyond the job. Pandey et al. (in press) more explicitly state the relevance of public service motivation for behavior in the community when they write, 'Rather than simply a theory of public employee motivation, PSM actually represents an individual's predisposition to enact altruistic or prosocial behaviors regardless of setting' (p. 199). Thus, public service motivation is about more than employee behavior. It is more fully about citizenship and prosocial behavior. In this way, a theory of public service motivation has implications for behavior beyond the organization and into the public square.

While Perry and Wise (1990) consider affective motives 'to be the least important of the overall concept' (p. 369), which may be true in the workplace, perhaps it is in the public square that these motives are most relevant to behavior. In addition to a commitment to the public interest, a sense of compassion and self-sacrifice suggests that public service motivation drives individuals in their interactions with other citizens beyond the front door of the office building. Even to the extent that public service motivation is fostered by the workplace, 'the long arm of the job' suggests that this influence will spillover to other activities, presumably those carried out in the public square: civic participation and prosocial acts.

Although the implications of public service motivation for civic participation have received attention (e.g. Brewer, 2003), the implications of public service motivation for prosocial behavior largely have been overlooked. Yet, Perry's (2000) theory of public service motivation has much in common with theory and research on prosocial behavior carried out by social psychologists. Components of the public service motivation construct (i.e. self-sacrifice, compassion) overlap with the concept of altruism that has been identified as a motive for engaging in prosocial acts. Furthermore, in addition to acknowledging the importance of social institutions as antecedents of public service motivation, Perry's theory identifies the importance of one's concept of self as a filter through which values influence behavior. Individuals with a developed self-identity act out of a 'logic of appropriateness' (i.e. What is appropriate behavior given who I think I am?) and not just out of a 'logic of consequences' (i.e. What is likely to be the result of this behavior?) (see Perry & Vandenabeele, this volume).

The role of one's concept of self that Perry describes is similar to role identity theory which explains that the long-term involvement in planned prosocial behavior (e.g. volunteering, civic advocacy, blood donation) is influenced by the development of a personal identity that encompasses the prosocial behavior (e.g. 'I'm a Red Cross volunteer'). While role identity theory has been applied to explain sustained organizational citizenship behavior (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004) and volunteering (Penner, 2002), the importance of this self-identity is especially relevant to long-term blood donation as being a blood donor is part of how these individuals define themselves, taking special pride in keeping track of the number of gallons of blood they donate (Lee et al., 1999; Piliavin & Callero, 1991).

Several hypotheses emerge from this interpretation of a theory of public service motivation. It is expected that individuals with higher levels of public service motivation would hold more empathetic attitudes, altruistic values, and have a higher regard for the importance of civic participation. In terms of behavior, it is expected that higher levels of public service motivation will lead to greater civic engagement and a greater propensity to engage in prosocial acts. The following section will identify what is known about civic participation and prosocial behavior, and its implications for a theory of public service motivation.

PUBLIC SERVANTS IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE

Little research has directly examined the influence of public service motivation on attitudes and behaviors outside the workplace. However, scholars of public administration, political science, economics, and sociology have from time to time compared government employees and the general public on related matters. While public service motivation is not a sector-specific construct, it is expected that it is more prominent among government employees. By virtue of their broad mission of public service and a commitment to the public interest, public organizations are more likely to provide opportunities for individuals to satisfy their public service motivational needs. Indeed, studies have found that public sector employees are more likely than their private sector counterparts to value intrinsic over extrinsic work rewards (Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000) and to possess attitudes consistent with a public service ethic (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Crewson, 1997). For this reason, it is thought that individuals who are attracted to public service are likely to self-select into public organizations (Perry, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990).

The following pages will be devoted to identifying research that has explicitly studied the relationship between public service motivation (or a proxy, sector of employment) and behavior in the public square. Research on civic participation (i.e. voting behavior, civic engagement) and prosocial behavior (i.e. organizational citizenship behavior, whistle-blowing, volunteering, blood donation) is discussed.

CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Several studies have examined the civic attitudes that characterize American public servants. Conway (2000) represents the general sentiment of this research when she states that public servants are characterized as possessing a higher sense of civic duty than other citizens. For instance, government bureaucrats tend to be more committed to democratic values such as individual rights and equality (Langford, 1996; Lewis, 1990). Using the 1996 American National Election Study, Brewer's (2003) extensive examination of civic attitudes held by public bureaucrats reveals that 'public servants are more civic minded than other citizens are. Specifically, they are more trustful, altruistic, supportive of equality, tolerant, and humanitarian than other citizens are' (p. 14).

In terms of political participation in the United States, empirical studies have consistently reported that public bureaucrats are more likely to vote in elections than are other citizens (Frey & Pommerehne, 1982; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). This difference holds up even when controlling for demographic characteristics that are associated with higher voting turnout (Bennett & Orzechowski, 1983; Corey & Garand, 2002), and tends to be especially true for state and local government employees voting in state and local elections (Garand et al., 1991b; Greene & Nikolaev, 1999; Johnson & Libecap, 1991).

Less research has focused on the political participation of public employees outside the United States, and thus the pattern is less clear. An early study of voting participation in several European nations did report that public bureaucrats vote in higher rates than the rest of the population (Tingsten, 1937/1963). Jaarsma et al. (1986) provide additional support for this finding in a study of five consecutive parliamentary elections in the Netherlands during the period 1971–82. Although not focusing on voting, Langford (1996) reports in a simple comparison that Canadian public employees were more likely than private workers to report being active in a political organization (26% and 17%, respectively), but this effect dropped out when control variables were introduced (e.g. education). In a study of local political participation in Denmark and Norway, Rose (2002) finds government employees to be more likely to 'contact a municipal servant'. However, government employees were no more likely than other citizens to engage in five other political behaviors (i.e. vote in local elections, attend a meeting about a local issue, participate in group activities about a local issue, sign a petition, contact an elected municipal politician).

In comparison to turnout, a richer literature has developed examining vote choice among public sector workers in Europe and Canada. For instance, government workers are more likely to support liberal party candidates than private sector workers (Blais et al., 1990; Knutsen, 2005). However, Blais et al. (1990) find only weak statistical support for this public/private cleavage in their analysis of five Canadian elections from 1968 to 1984. Evidence of the public/private sector cleavage in party support is less dramatic in the United States but does indicate that public employees are more supportive of liberal (i.e. Democratic) candidates and government spending (Blais et al., 1990; Corey & Garand, 2002; Garand et al., 1991a, 1991b). However, Lewis (1990) finds that '[i]n general, bureaucrats are "ordinary people" when it comes to their attitudes toward government' (p. 226).

Several explanations have been offered to give meaning to the general pattern that public bureaucrats are more likely to vote and be supportive of liberal candidates than the general population. The most common explanation is rooted in the public choice tradition. Espoused by most political scientists and economists, it is argued that public 'bureaucrats have job-related incentives to vote, push for higher public spending, and support parties of the left' (Moe, 2006, p. 6). Furthermore, because of the nature of their jobs, it is thought that public bureaucrats face lower costs for obtaining information about public affairs (Frey & Pommerehne, 1982).

In general, research on voting and party support is consistent with the pattern predicted by rational voter theory. However, the predictive ability of this theory is limited (Blais, 2000) and findings about public bureaucrats possessing higher levels of political knowledge are not consistent (e.g. Corey & Garand, 2002; Rose, 2002). More importantly, these studies fail to consider other explanations for political participation, such as public service motivation.

A second explanation that is offered by sociologists argues that the political cleavage between public and private sectors is a function of the rise of a 'new middle class' or 'service class' and its occupational attributes (e.g. Brint, 1984; Kriesi, 1989; Macy, 1988). Langford (1996) explains that the 'sectoral cleavage is a byproduct of the concentration of these cultural, human and social specialists in the public sector' (p. 158). However, while the concentration of service occupations has been found to be a significant source of sectoral cleavage, it is acknowledged that it is not the only source.

A third explanation offered by public administration scholars is that public service motivation is more highly concentrated in government organizations which in turn contributes to different levels of political participation. While motivation for general civic involvement is not easily explained by self-interest, it is accounted for by a public service ethic (Brewer & Selden, 1998; Perry, 2000). This is the approach Brewer (2003) takes when looking at membership and participation in 22 types of civic associations using data from the 1996 American National Election Study. After controlling for other relevant explanatory factors he finds that public employees perform more than one-third more civic activities than other citizens. Brewer concludes that 'public employees are motivated by a strong desire to perform public, community, and social service' (p. 20). Corey and Garand (2002) provide additional support for the notion that government employees are more likely to be civically active.

In sum, public employees tend to possess attitudes that are more supportive of democratic, humanitarian, and altruistic values. They also are more likely to vote in elections and be more civically active. As Goodsell (2005) writes, 'the values of public servants seem to stand apart. . . . These are attitudes towards democratic participation and civic life' (p. 32). This portrayal of public employees is highly consistent with a theory of public service motivation.

PROSOCIAL BEHAVIORS

In addition to civic participation, public service motivation has implications for prosocial behavior. It is hypothesized that public service motivation is positively related to engaging in prosocial acts. Prosocial behavior refers to actions directed toward another individual (or individuals) that are defined by society as generally beneficial to the target of the action (Dovidio et al., 2006). It is useful to point out that the intent or motive behind the act is not important to this definition. Prosocial behavior can be driven by egoistic (selfish) or altruistic (selfless) motives. However, the greater the extent that behavior is driven by altruism, or the 'motivational state with the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare' (Batson & Shaw, 1991, p. 108), the more relevant it is to the affective dimension of public service motivation. Research on the following types of prosocial behaviors will be discussed here: organizational citizenship behavior, whistle-blowing, volunteering, and donating blood.

There are several types of organizational citizenship behavior, most relevant to public service motivation are those classified as 'helping' behaviors (e.g. assisting a colleague). While the organizational context has been shown to influence these extra-role prosocial behaviors, the dispositional characteristics of individuals also account for variations in such helping acts (Borman et al., 2001). For instance, studies of municipal and county workers identify three types of motives for organizational citizenship behavior: prosocial values, organizational concern, and impression management. However, prosocial values were the most strongly associated with helping behavior (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Rioux & Penner, 2001). Similarly, Kim (2006) and Pandey et al. (2007) identify public service motivation as an antecedent of organizational citizenship behavior in two very different societal contexts—Korea and the United States (see Steen, this volume).

Another extra-role behavior relevant to public service motivation is whistle-blowing, which can be viewed as a 'prosocial behavior because it generally . . . will benefit persons (or organizations) other than the whistle-blower' (Dozier & Miceli, 1985, p. 825). While self-interest or other motives may be involved, it is clear that self-sacrifice and a concern for the common good or public interest are typical of whistle-blowers (Jos et al., 1989). It is for these reasons that whistle-blowing is thought to be closely related to, and behavioral evidence of, the existence of public service motivation (Brewer & Selden, 1998). To test the hypothesis that whistle-blowing is consistent with a public service ethic, Brewer and Selden use survey data on 2,188 U.S. federal employees that were aware of an illegal or wasteful activity involving their organization. A regard for the public interest emerged as the most important motive for reporting the activity, and concerns about personal rewards and complaint success were found to be unrelated to blowing the whistle.

While helping coworkers and whistle-blowing take place in the context of the work organization, volunteering is more clearly a prosocial behavior that occurs in the public square. While the United States is recognized as having a long volunteer tradition, rates of volunteerism do not lag that far behind in Canada and some European nations. However, substantial cross-national variation exists, most notably declining in Europe from north to south and from west to east (Hodgkinson, 2003; Voicu & Voicu, 2003). In spite of these differences, the same individual-level characteristics tend to be correlated with a higher probability of volunteering across nations (e.g. education, income, age, extent of social network, and religious participation) (Reed & Selbee, 2000; Voicu & Voicu, 2003). Furthermore, attitudes such as altruism have been consistently found to influence volunteering (Dekker & Halman, 2003;

Wuthnow, 1991). Studies of voluntarism in Canada suggest that active volunteers are characterized by a special ethos that is built on a commitment to the communal good and high prosociality (Reed & Selbee, 2000, 2003).

In terms of employment sector differences, surveys of volunteering in the United States have reported that public sector workers are more likely to volunteer and are likely to contribute more time to charitable organizations. For instance, Wuthnow (1994) found that 36 percent of public sector employees report having volunteered in the past year as compared to 20 percent of private sector workers. Another survey found that on average public employees reported volunteering 3.6 hours per week as compared to 2.9 and 1.9 hours per week for self-employed and private workers, respectively (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1992).

After controlling for demographic background and occupational level, and in some cases the number of hours worked in paid employment, public sector workers are still more likely to volunteer than private sector employees (Houston, 2006; Rotolo & Wilson, 2006; Wilson & Musick, 1997). Differences across employment sectors are robust for most types of voluntary organizations, leading Rotolo and Wilson to conclude, 'Civil servants do not exhaust their motivation to perform public service in their paid work but seek to supplement it in unpaid work on behalf of voluntary organizations' (2006, p. 37). They also indicate that voluntarism is highest among nonprofit workers.

The last prosocial behavior discussed here is blood donation. Blood donation is considered to be a charitable act that is quite different from volunteering. First, individuals engage in giving 'the gift of life' far less frequently than they volunteer. Second, blood donors must address anxiety, fear, and pain. Third, not everyone is eligible to donate (Piliavin & Callero, 1991).

A common European Union policy encourages nations to rely on voluntary donors. Although differences exist in the blood collection regime that European nations have adopted (i.e. state run, blood banks, Red Cross), these countries share a reliance on voluntary blood donations. Since 1974 the United States also has had a voluntary donation system for whole blood (Healy, 2000). Because of the voluntary nature of these blood collection systems, altruism has been regarded as an important motive to donate. Surveys of blood donors indicate that altruism and empathy are frequently identified as motives, especially among long-term donors (Glynn et al., 2002; Misje et al., 2005), along with social pressure and esteem needs. However, there is less consistent evidence as to the efficacy of incentives for recruiting donors (Reich et al., 2006). The only identified study that has considered employment sector differences for blood donation is by Houston (2006). In addition to differences in the proclivity to volunteer, it was found that public employees are more likely to report having donated blood in the past year than are either nonprofit or private sector employees, even after including several control variables.

In sum, the evidence indicates that when explicitly examined, public service motivation is related to engaging in prosocial behavior. In addition, public employees are more likely than private employees to engage in voluntarism and blood donation. Reed and Selbee (2003) describe the volunteer ethos in Canadian society as more than just prosociality, it is 'a syndrome of generosity mixed with civic engagement and concern for the common good' (p. 103). This description also seems to characterize public service motivation and offers reason to believe that it influences prosocial behavior.

ANOTHER LOOK AT BEHAVIOR IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE

To further consider the implications of a theory of public service motivation for behavior in the public square, data primarily from the 2004 U.S. General Social Survey (GSS) are examined (Davis et al., 2005). To increase the sample size for public service occupations, data from the 2002 GSS were pooled with 2004 responses on items pertaining to prosocial acts and attitudes related to public service motivation. The items on group membership and participation were included only in the 2004 survey.

While the GSS permits studying involvement in civic organizations and prosocial behaviors, its main limitation is that it does not contain items designed to measure individual public service motivation. A respondent's occupational industry will serve as a proxy for public service motivation based on previous research that reports public service motivation to be more prominent among public servants. Three occupational categories are created for this purpose: public service–government, public service–nongovernment, and non-public service. Government workers are classified as government public service employees, and respondents employed in one of the following industries that are not employed in government are classified as nongovernmental public service: bus service and urban transit, health care, human and social services, utilities, and education. Employed respondents not in one of these two categories comprise the non-public service employee group. It is hypothesized that public service workers (governmental and nongovernmental) will be more civically active and engage in more prosocial behaviors than non-public service workers. Because the employment sector is at best a proxy for public service motivation, any conclusions drawn from this analysis must be considered as speculative and not deterministic.

Table 9.1. Contingency tables: Type of group memberships by occupation category

Type of group	Public service–government	Public service–nongovernment	Non-public service	χ^2
Sociocultural groups				
School service groups	22.5	16.5	11.2	22.4***
Literary, art, discussion, or study group	15.1	12.9	8.5	11.5***
Service clubs	14.8	12.1	7.4	15.0***
Fraternal groups	11.3	7.7	5.4	11.2***
Nationality groups	4.7	4.4	1.8	9.5***
Leisure, sport, expressive groups				
Sports groups	16.3	14.9	18.0	1.5
Hobby or garden clubs	12.4	12.1	10.3	1.3
Youth groups	11.6	13.0	9.2	3.5
School fraternities or sororities	5.0	3.6	4.2	0.6
Advocacy/interest groups				
Professional or academic societies	24.8	23.0	10.4	46.2***
Labor unions	19.4	5.2	8.6	33.7***
Veterans' groups	7.4	2.8	5.4	5.2*
Political clubs	7.0	4.0	3.6	5.6*
Farm organizations	3.9	2.8	2.9	0.8
Church-affiliated groups	43.0	39.9	25.6	39.1***
Other groups	8.1	6.1	6.6	1.0
(N)	(258)	(248)	(912)	

Cell entries are percents in each occupation category that belongs to that type of group. (Numbers in parentheses are total number of respondents in each occupation category.)

$^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$.

Table 9.1 reports the type of civic organizations to which respondents belong. These groups are broken down into the four categories identified by Badescu & Neller (2007): sociocultural (charity, social welfare, cultural); leisure, sport, and expressive; advocacy and interest groups; and church affiliated. It is evident that there are differences in civic group membership across occupational employment categories. In each instance where there is a statistically significant difference, a lower percentage of non-public service workers report membership. This pattern is especially pronounced for sociocultural groups, those that most prominently espouse public interest ideals and are the kinds of organizations that lead to bridging social capital that Putnam (2000) indicates is important for a healthy democracy. These results hold up even when the two public service groups are combined to create one category (analysis not reported here). The only differences from what are reported in Table 9.1 are that public service workers are more likely to belong to

Table 9.2. Negative binomial regression models: Civic participation

	Number of informal groups	Number of group/organizational memberships
Public service–government	−0.1497 (0.1455)	0.3152 (0.0798)***
Public service–nongovernment	0.0492 (0.1434)	0.1118 (0.0846)
Male	−0.1473 (0.1110)	−0.0098 (0.0641)
African-American	−0.3196 (0.1857)*	0.1760 (0.0953)*
Other minority race	−0.5060 (0.2687)*	−0.1965 (0.1388)
Age	−0.0147 (0.0194)	−0.0095 (0.0115)+++
Age^2	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0001)+++
Years of education	0.1101 (0.0223)***	0.1002 (0.0126)***
Income	0.0426 (0.0130)***	0.0494 (0.0076)***
Married	−0.2291 (0.1425)	0.0930 (0.0841)
Single, never married	0.1127 (0.1843)	0.0874 (0.1099)
Child under 18 years in home	−0.0597 (0.1293)	0.1386 (0.0731)*
Log(Population size)	−0.0273 (0.0311)	−0.0185 (0.0175)
Constant	−2.7167 (0.5394)***	−1.8995 (0.3177)***
Observations	1,250	1,261
Model χ^2	71.4***	228.2***
Log likelihood	−967.8	−2102.9
Pseudo-R^2	0.036	0.052

(Standard errors in parentheses.) $^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$; $^{+++}$ jointly significant ($p \leq 0.01$).

youth groups, and the difference in veterans' group membership drops out. Therefore, it can be concluded that public service workers are more likely to report membership in ten of these group types, especially sociocultural groups.

The frequency of group membership is examined in the multivariate models reported in Table 9.2. Because of the large number of zeros for the two measures of group membership, these dependent variables are appropriately considered to be count data, for which a negative binomial regression technique is most appropriate. As is evident in the first model, industry occupation is unrelated to the number of informal groups with which an individual is involved. The GSS defines informal groups as 'activities that you do with the same group of people on a regular basis'. In general, it appears difficult to explain involvement in these informal groups, but they are more common among high-status individuals. Only 26 percent of respondents indicate being involved in an informal group.

The second model in Table 9.2 indicates a statistically significant association between occupation category and the number of formal group memberships. For the entire sample, 62 percent report belonging to at least one voluntary group. After controlling for other variables, the model indicates that government employees report a higher number of memberships than non-public service employees. Furthermore, the difference in the number of memberships reported by government and nongovernment public servants is statistically significant ($p = 0.035$) with the former claiming more memberships. In terms of other correlates, the number of memberships is once again related to socioeconomic status, as well as age and race.

Beyond merely belonging to a group or association, survey items permit examining the active participation in five types of groups: professional associations; church-related groups; political parties; sports, leisure, or cultural groups; and other voluntary associations. Responses to these items ('does not belong', 'belong but don't participate', and 'belong and actively participate') serve as the dependent variables in ordinal logistic regression models (see Table 9.3). The general trend that emerges from these models is that public service workers are more likely than non-public service workers to belong to, and to participate in, civic organizations. This clearly is the case for professional associations and church-related groups. However, only government workers are more likely to belong to, and participate in, expressive groups (i.e. sports, leisure, cultural) and other voluntary associations. Among the other variables, higher socioeconomic status, and, to a lesser extent, age are associated with membership and participation.

Another battery of survey items asks respondents how often they have engaged in 11 different prosocial acts over the past year. Table 9.4 indicates that a statistically significant pattern exists for six of these acts, and for each, non-public service workers were the least likely to have engaged in the act. The same pattern is evident when comparing public service workers (governmental and nongovernmental) together to non-public service workers, indicating that public service workers are more likely to engage in prosocial acts than non-public service workers (analysis not reported here). Additionally, public service workers are more likely to return too much change to a cashier ($p = 0.058$) but are less likely to let someone borrow an item ($p = 0.075$).

Table 9.5 examines the frequency of engaging in all of the prosocial behaviors over the past year. The pattern in this table is consistent with the hypothesis derived from a theory of public service motivation. Additional analysis not reported here further indicates that public service workers (governmental and nongovernmental) are more likely to report a higher number of prosocial acts ($p = 0.005$). However, it is important to point out that self-reports about the frequency of many of these prosocial acts may be unreliable because many of these are spontaneous acts that require little effort and are unlikely to be readily recalled.

The models reported in Table 9.6 take a closer look at several prosocial acts that stand apart from the others: volunteer work for a charity, giving money

Table 9.3. Ordinal logistic regression models: Group membership and active participation

	Professional association	Church or religious organization	Political party	Sports, leisure, or cultural group	Another voluntary association
Public service–government	0.6729 (0.1767)***	0.3425 (0.1499)**	0.1740 (0.1545)	0.2994 (0.1644)*	0.3048 (0.1698)*
Public service–nongovernment	0.3467 (0.1972)*	0.4476 (0.1501)***	0.2046 (0.1576)	−0.1718 (0.1793)	0.0290 (0.1821)
Male	0.3313 (0.1490)**	−0.4056 (0.1134)***	−0.0996 (0.1207)	0.0454 (0.1311)	−0.1852 (0.1371)
African-American	−0.3871 (0.2431)	0.5609 (0.1678)***	−0.4784 (0.1896)**	−0.3373 (0.2052)	−0.0770 (0.2081)
Other minority race	−0.0604 (0.3001)	−0.5068 (0.2337)**	−1.2076 (0.2959)***	−0.3214 (0.2780)	−0.4107 (0.3130)
Age	0.1028 (0.0316)***	−0.0236 (0.0199)+++	−0.0073 (0.0213)	−0.0312 (0.0234)	0.0248 (0.0246)+++
Age^2	−0.0010 (0.0003)***	0.0004 (0.0002)+++	0.0003 (0.0002)	0.0003 (0.0002)	−0.0001 (0.0002)+++
Years of education	0.2045 (0.0314)***	0.0445 (0.0220)**	0.1904 (0.0252)***	0.1581 (0.0271)***	0.1686 (0.0283)***
Income	0.0941 (0.0202)***	0.0204 (0.0124)	0.0552 (0.0141)***	0.0949 (0.0165)***	0.0556 (0.0166)***
Married	−0.2895 (0.1994)	0.5635 (0.1455)***	−0.1375 (0.1579)	−0.1799 (0.1737)	−0.0104 (0.1794)
Single, never married	−0.0040 (0.2592)	−0.0402 (0.1862)	0.1345 (0.2045)	0.2881 (0.2224)	0.3143 (0.2354)
Child under 18 years in home	0.2282 (0.1681)	0.3741 (0.1282)***	−0.0692 (0.1410)	0.2183 (0.1483)	0.3673 (0.1572)**
Log(Population size)	0.0289 (0.0406)	−0.0603 (0.0311)*	0.0172 (0.0331)	−0.0523 (0.0362)	−0.0458 (0.0380)
Threshold 1	8.4781	0.5058	4.1260	3.8166	5.3083
Threshold 2	9.2891	1.4729	5.7980	4.2682	5.6718
Observations	1,261	1,260	1,262	1,261	1,261
Model χ^2	208.1***	128.3***	206.7***	149.2***	120.5***
Log likelihood	−769.1	−1279.2	−1107.4	−940.3	−864.1
Pseudo-R^2	0.279	0.108	0.193	0.173	0.145
Parallel slopes test	18.0	12.5	22.7**	26.2**	11.2

(Standard errors in parentheses.) $^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$; $^{+++}$ jointly significant ($p \leq 0.01$).

Table 9.4. Contingency tables: Prosocial behaviors by occupation category

Type of prosocial behavior	Public service–government	Public service–nongovernment	Non-public service	χ^2
Give directions to a stranger	89.1	89.0	88.7	0.1
Allowed a stranger to go ahead of you in line	92.0	92.2	87.1	14.2***
Given money to a charity	84.6	85.0	76.7	22.3***
Given food or money to a homeless person	63.7	66.2	63.4	1
Looked after a person's plants, mail, or pets while they were away	63.5	63.3	58.2	6.4**
Returned money to a cashier after getting too much change	54.1	50.8	48.6	4.5
Carried a stranger's belongings	48.9	52.7	46.2	5.5*
Done volunteer work for a charity	57.4	52.7	43.3	34.3***
Offered your seat on a bus or in a public place to a stranger	50.2	45.3	45.8	3.2
Let someone you did not know well borrow an item of some value	40.5	39.1	43.6	3.3
Donated blood	19.4	17.1	15.4	4.6*
(*N*)	(466)	(374)	(1,735)	

Cell entries are percents in each occupation category that engaged in each type of prosocial behavior during the past year. (Numbers in parentheses are total number of respondents in each occupation category.)
$^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$.

Table 9.5. Contingency table: Number of prosocial acts by occupation category

Number of prosocial acts in past year	Public service–government	Public service–nongovernment	Non-public service	χ^2
Low (0–20)	30.1	26.8	34.9	13.4***
Medium (21–69)	34.7	32.5	32.3	
High (70–624)	35.2	40.7	32.8	
(*N*)	(455)	(369)	(1,694)	

Cell entries are percents in each occupation category that engaged in each number of prosocial behaviors during the past year. (Numbers in parentheses are total number of respondents in each occupation category.)
$^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$.

Table 9.6. Ordinal logistic regression models: Prosocial behaviors

	Done volunteer work for a charity	Gave money to a charity	Gave food or money to a homeless person	Donated blood
Public service–government	0.3112 (0.1079)***	0.0410 (0.1107)	−0.1485 (0.1079)	0.3057 (0.1469)**
Public service–nongovernment	0.1387 (0.1212)	0.1691 (0.1221)	−0.0869 (0.1200)	0.0543 (0.1701)
Male	−0.3500 (0.0854)***	−0.2815 (0.0857)***	−0.1901 (0.0831)**	0.2251 (0.1179)*
African-American	0.0808 (0.1303)	0.0260 (0.1333)	0.6377 (0.1276)***	−0.2828 (0.1972)
Other minority race	−0.0237 (0.1714)	−0.0885 (0.1725)	0.4066 (0.1604)**	0.2198 (0.2137)
Age	−0.0110 (0.0151)	0.0252 (0.0151)+++	0.0077 (0.0146)	0.0420 (0.0248)*
Age^2	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0000 (0.0001)+++	−0.0001 (0.0001)	−0.0007 (0.0003)***
Years of education	0.1285 (0.0167)***	0.1151 (0.0160)***	0.0384 (0.0154)**	0.0488 (0.0226)**
Income	0.0338 (0.0098)***	0.1103 (0.0099)***	0.0105 (0.0092)	0.0093 (0.0137)
Married	0.1605 (0.1083)	0.2974 (0.1071)***	0.0849 (0.1048)	0.0124 (0.1499)
Single, never married	0.1546 (0.1347)	0.1137 (0.1334)	−0.0256 (0.1295)	−0.4031 (0.1888)**
Child under 18 years in home	0.0406 (0.0975)	−0.2332 (0.0996)**	−0.1025 (0.0963)	−0.0458 (0.1316)
Log(Population size)	−0.0459 (0.0223)**	−0.0610 (0.0222)***	0.1217 (0.0217)***	−0.0163 (0.0310)
Threshold 1	2.0136	2.7650	0.6591	2.7113
Threshold 2	3.5524	5.3564	2.8398	3.6234
Observations	2,273	2,271	2,270	2,273
Model χ^2	171.2***	480.5***	98.6***	83.47***
Log likelihood	−2213.1	−2110.1	−2297.9	−1255.3
Pseudo-R^2	0.084	0.217	0.046	0.106
Parallel slopes test	41.1***	49.2***	36.4***	30.5***

(Standard errors in parentheses.) $^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$; $^{+++}$ jointly significant ($p \leq 0.01$).

Table 9.7. Contingency tables: Public service motivation–related attitudes by occupation category

	Public service–government	Public service–nongovernment	Non-public service	χ^2
'Important to be active in social/political associations'				
Low (1–3)	18.0	16.5	23.3	7.7
Medium (4–5)	49.6	52.8	47.7	
High (6–7)	32.4	30.7	29.0	
(*N*)	(256)	(248)	(904)	
'Important to try to understand reasoning of other opinions'				
Low (1–4)	12.1	12.0	16.8	8.8*
Medium (5)	19.5	14.8	18.3	
High (6–7)	68.5	73.2	64.9	
(*N*)	(257)	(250)	(912)	
Davis Empathy Scale				
Low (7–25)	30.4	23.1	30.9	16.0***
Medium (26–30)	32.1	35.9	36.6	
High (31–35)	37.6	41.0	32.5	
(*N*)	(458)	(368)	(1,703)	
Altruistic Values Scale				
Low (4–12)	20.0	22.5	29.1	32.1***
Medium (13–15)	46.2	41.4	45.3	
High (16–20)	33.8	36.1	25.7	
(*N*)	(461)	(374)	(1,718)	

Cell entries are column percents. (Numbers in parentheses are total column frequencies.)
$^{*}p \leq 0.10$; $^{**}p \leq 0.05$; $^{***}p \leq 0.01$.

to a charity, giving food or money to a homeless person, and donating blood. The responses to these items that serve as ordinal dependent variables in the models are: 'have not engaged in this act over the past 12 months', 'have done so once or 2–3 times', or 'have done so more often'.[1] These models provide partial support for the hypothesis that public servants are more likely than others to engage in prosocial behaviors. Of these four prosocial acts, those employed in government are more likely than non-public service workers to volunteer for a charity and donate blood. Both of these acts require greater effort than the other two. Socioeconomic status and gender are the demographic variables that perform most consistently across these models.

But are these observed differences in behavior a function of public service motivation? To gain some insight to this question, Table 9.7 provides a comparison of attitudes toward civic participation, empathy, and altruistic values. Among the survey items, respondents were asked how important the following are for being a good citizen: 'be civically active in social or political associations' and 'to try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions'. While the pattern in responses to these items generally is consistent with what has been hypothesized, the difference between occupational categories is statistically significant for only one item and only at the 90 percent confidence level. However, when government and nongovernment public services categories are combined and compared to non-public service workers (analysis not reported here), public service workers are more likely to place a high importance on both of these items ($p = 0.028$ and $p = 0.033$, respectively), indicating that they are more likely to regard civic participation to be important.

More pronounced are the differences in the level of empathy and altruism that respondents express. Seven items were additively combined to create the Davis Empathy Scale (Smith, 2006; see Appendix 9.1 for a list of these items). More empathetic attitudes are associated with higher scores on this scale. As hypothesized, non-public service employees are the least likely of the three groups to express a high level of empathy (see Table 9.7). Similarly, four survey items were combined by adding responses together to create the Altruistic Values Scale (Smith, 2006).[2] Of respondents employed in public service, 33.8 percent of those in government and 36.1 percent of those not in government have high scores on the Altruistic Values Scale as compared to 25.7 percent of non-public service employees. Once again when the government and nongovernment public service categories are combined, public service workers are more empathetic and altruistic ($p < 0.001$ and $p = 0.004$, respectively). These items provide support for the hypothesis that public service workers have higher levels of empathy and altruism.

In sum, the analysis provides general support for the hypothesis that individuals employed in public service industries have higher levels of civic participation and more frequently engage in prosocial acts. Public servants also possess more empathetic and altruistic attitudes than non-public servants. These behavioral trends are especially pronounced for public servants employed in government. Based on previous findings that a public service ethic is more characteristic of public servants, the results suggest that public service motivation may account for the observed differences in civic participation and prosocial behavior.

CONCLUSION

While most research on public service motivation has focused on establishing the existence of this ethic, especially among public servants, recent research has turned attention to its behavioral implications for the work organization.

Beyond the job, a theory of public service motivation has implications for behavior in the public square, most notably civic participation and prosocial acts. Participating in civic and other organizations, as well as engaging in charitable acts, are consistent with a theory of public service motivation and are not sufficiently explained by a rational choice theory of behavior. The findings reported above indicate that public employees indeed are more likely to belong to, and actively participate in, civic and other organizations, and engage in prosocial behavior at a higher rate. While a direct measure of public service motivation is not used, the fact that public servants are more likely to possess empathetic and altruistic values suggests that public service motivation may be the cause.

For these reasons, a theory of public service motivation has significant implications for public administration. It suggests that social capital may be enhanced through the role that public bureaucrats play in governing and through their civic activities (Brewer, 2003). As civically active citizens, public employees are in a prime position to be catalysts for the formation of social capital. Participating in civic organizations and engaging in prosocial acts can increase trust among citizens and get more people involved in the community.

Several questions for future research follow from this discussion and analysis. First, are there other factors that lead to the higher level of civic engagement and prosocial behavior among public service workers? For instance, is a higher level of volunteering merely a function of being surrounded by other volunteers and that public service workers are merely more often asked to volunteer? Or does the job security often enjoyed by public employees allow these workers to engage in more civic and prosocial behavior? Second, does greater civic involvement and prosocial behavior lead to more positive attitudes and greater trust in public service workers? If so, what are the implications for service delivery? Third, to what extent is 'public servant' a part of the role identity of employees and how can this identity be nurtured by public service organizations? These are a few of the questions that are worth considering.

APPENDIX 9.1

Davis Empathy Scale

The following statements ask about your thoughts and feelings in various situations. For each item indicate how well it describes you by choosing the number on the showcard, where 1 indicates that it does not describe you very well and 5 means that it does describe you very well. Of course numbers 2–4 indicate how well it describes you are in between these points.

a. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
b. Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems (reversed).
c. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.
d. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal (reversed).
e. When I see someone treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them (reversed).
f. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
g. I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person. (Smith, 2006, p. 47)

Altruistic Values Scale

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

a. People should be willing to help others who are less fortunate.
b. Those in need have to learn to take care of themselves and not depend on others (reversed).
c. Personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me.
d. These days, people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about others (reversed). (Smith, 2006, p. 47)

NOTES

1. Although the assumption of parallel slopes for the entire model is violated, tests of parallel slopes for the public service—government and public service—nongovernment coefficients are not statistically significant in any model. Additionally, multinomial logistic regression models produced results that are not substantively different from the ordinal models presented here.
2. Cronbach's alpha for the Davis Empathy Scale is 0.73 and for the Altruistic Values Scale is 0.55, suggesting that results involving the latter measure should be made with caution.

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Part III

Comparative Analyses in Public Service Motivation

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10

Not a Government Monopoly: The Private, Nonprofit, and Voluntary Sectors

Trui Steen

The concept of public service motivation relates to the claim that public service is a special calling and that people working in public service differ from people working in other sectors (Perry & Wise, 1990). This chapter discusses the broad relevance of the public service motivation concept and its utility outside the government sector. The first section argues that, even assuming that public service-motivated individuals are more likely to work in public and nonprofit organizations, they will also work in the private sector. The second section discusses differences in public service motivation among public and nonprofit staff and volunteers. The third section looks at public service motivation in the private sector and discusses ways in which highly public service-motivated employees in commercial settings can act in accord with their motivations. We examine how the organization affects behavior when employees perceive the organizational culture to support public service motivation, as well as when the organization is perceived as not fitting one's prevailing public service values.

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR

Using the concept of public service motivation, Perry and Wise (1990, p. 368) stress the uniqueness of public service in motivating individuals. The empirical studies conducted by Naff and Crum (1999) and Lewis and Frank (2002) are often cited when discussing the impact of public service motivation on employer preference. According to their findings, the level of public service motivation is positively associated with a preference of government as employer, the likelihood of being employed by government, and the likelihood of remaining in government. Yet even if highly public service-motivated individuals are likely to gravitate to government, they will also work in nonprofit and commercial settings. Becoming a public sector employee involves not only making a choice to work in the public sector, but also having the opportunity to do so (Cerase & Farinella, 2006, p. 2; Lewis & Frank, 2002, p. 395). Particularly in countries where jobs in the public sector are (still) highly valued, and more people want to get into government than there are jobs, it is important to make a distinction between sector preference and sector choice. To the extent that public service motivation is not the prime criterion in recruitment and selection procedures, those that will have to look for a job in the non-public sector do not necessarily score lower on public service motivation than those that get a public sector job.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the debate on the need for public organizations to modernize their management became dominated by economics and managerialism (Hood, 1991, p. 5). This resulted in the public/private distinction being seen as an unimportant issue. Rather, the discussion focused on ways to transfer private sector management styles to the public sector (e.g. Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Where privatization and agencification led to the development of hybrid organizations, sector blurring is feared to have obscured moral conflicts (e.g. Frederickson, 1997; Haque, 2001; Lane, 1994; Maesschalck, 2004; Moynihan, this volume). At the same time, sector blurring seems to be enhanced by the private sector's increasing attention to ethics and corporate values such as social responsibility, accountability, and integrity (Van der Wal et al., in press). If in private organizations attention is increasingly given to what are traditionally seen as public sector values, this feeds the assumption that public service–motivated individuals may also be attracted to working outside the government sector.

However, since the late 1990s, we see attention being explicitly (re)directed toward the distinctiveness of the public sector. Even if some values may be shared by both public and private organizations, in different sector settings they can hold distinct connotations (Van der Wal et al., 2006, p. 340). The confusion has not diminished as, in a reaction to the paradoxes and perverse effects introduced by market-style reforms, public administration literature (as well as practices) has started to reappraise the virtues attached to traditional administration and public sector values, or to praise new models such as 'new public service' (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Kolthoff & Huberts, 2002; Steen, 2006a).

Amid this confusion, we question to what extent organizational characteristics help shape public sector motivation and how highly public service-motivated individuals not only inside but also outside the public service can bring this motivation into action.

DIFFERENCES AMONG PUBLIC AND NONPROFIT STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS

Although Perry and Wise (1990, p. 368) stress the uniqueness of public organizations in motivating individuals, they see public service as signifying more than a locus of employment: it relates to an attitude, a sense of duty. Public service motivation is seen as a useful construct to account for behavior not only of public sector employees, but also of nonprofit-sector staff and volunteers (Perry, 2000; Tschirhart et al., 2001). Before directing our attention to public service motivation in the private sector, we therefore look first at differences in public service motivation among public and nonprofit staff and volunteers.

Diverging Motivations among Government Workers

As organizations can be characterized according to their level of 'publicness' (Bozeman, 1987), we can also typify institutions within the governmental sector on the basis of their degree of publicness and we can expect important differences to exist not only between public, private, and nonprofit organizations, but also among government organizations as to their attractiveness to public service-motivated individuals. However, systematic empirical work comparing the public service motivation of employees in different public organizations is fairly rare.

Perry and Vandenabeele (this volume) suggest that behaviors originating from the interplay among institutions, identities, and self-regulation can produce public service motivation. As such, they build upon Perry's discussion of contextual, organizational, and individual characteristics influencing motivation (Perry 1997, 2000). This already indicates that the use of the distinction between public and private settings in order to fully understand public service motivation is limited. Steinhaus and Perry (1996) find that grouping employees by industry (e.g. varying types of manufacturing and trade, finance and insurance, professional services such as health care and education, and public administration) results in more homogeneous groupings than a public/private dichotomy, and that the category of industries provides significantly more help in explaining variances in employees' organizational commitment than the public/private distinction. Closely related, Vandenabeele (in press) uses the tasks or functions performed by a public organization as a discriminating factor to analyze variances in public service motivation in different public organizations. Characteristics that can help distinguish the publicness of tasks are a long-term perspective; societal goals that are more important than the immediate satisfaction of users; and production that stresses the values of knowledge, culture, and welfare (Antonsen & Beck Jørgensen, 1997, p. 341). Vandenabeele (in press) distinguishes between 'high publicness organizations'—that is, public organizations providing knowledge, culture, and welfare—and 'low publicness organizations'—that is, public organizations focusing on providing commodities, infrastructure, or concrete services. He finds attraction to 'low publicness organizations' to be related to public interest and attraction to politics and policies, but not to a positive attitude toward compassion. In contrast, all three dimensions of public service motivation used in this study are related to attraction to 'high publicness' organizations.

Although Steijn and Smulders (2004) focus on work values rather than public service motivation, their empirical research is of interest in that they detect diverging work values and motivations between health and educational workers and public administration workers. Health and educational workers are found to score higher on direct intrinsic work values (valuing job characteristics such as autonomy, variation, or having responsibility) and are more sociocentric oriented (valuing good colleagues, management, and working conditions), whereas they score lower on future-oriented work values (valuing possibilities to learn and develop, achieving something, and promotion chances). Lyons et al. (2006) find employees in para-public organizations, mainly in the education and health care sectors, value work that contributes to society more than do public servants directly employed by departments or agencies of federal, provincial, and municipal governments. Similarly, Lewis and Frank (2002) find the desire to help others and to be useful to society attracts people to teaching and other government jobs more than to public administration. In these studies the distinction is between jobs in professional services and in traditional public administration. This can be linked to Perry (1997), who, in his research into the antecedents of public service motivation, finds professional identification to be positively associated with civic duty and self-sacrifice, but negatively related to attraction to policy making. This is in line with professions historically seen as advancing social norms such as caring, social justice, and the common good (Perry, 1997), but also with Mosher's observations about the alienation of professionals from politics (Mosher, 1982; Perry, 1997).

The Public Service Motivation of Nonprofit Employees and Volunteers

Although in Europe the public and nonprofit sectors are seen as distinct, nonprofit organizations in the United States are viewed as public-benefit organizations, implying that they possess a high degree of publicness. Light (2003), for example, finds that U.S. college seniors define public service as helping people; helping the community, nation or society; or, to a lesser extent, doing something selfless. Moreover, respondents equate public service with work in the nonprofit sector more often than with work for the government. Also, they perceive volunteering as public service. Again, we can expect this to contrast with the European perspective. The United States has a greater tradition of voluntary association and community life than does Europe, where a greater focus has been on the development of the welfare state, which in turn links to a broad range of 'third-sector' nonprofit organizations. Overall, however, the literature on nonprofit organizations and volunteering can be viewed as a potential source to inform public management practice and scholarship (cf. Brooks, 2002).

An employee survey in the United States found that the nonprofit sector possesses a dedicated workforce (Brookings Institution, 2003). Nonprofit workers score significantly higher than federal government and private sector workers on agreeing with the statement that they joined their organization for the chance to make a difference rather than for the salary and benefits. They are also more likely to say that they are very satisfied with the opportunity to accomplish something worthwhile, while in contrast they are less likely to cite their paycheck as the reason they come to work. A survey among U.S. college seniors shows similar findings (Light, 2003). Among 'public service' jobs, the nonprofit sector is seen as providing the best opportunities to help people, make a difference, and gain the respect of family and friends. Government is perceived as being less able than the nonprofit sector to provide jobs that allow employees to feel that they are helping people every day. However, government is seen as the best place to serve the country, since this is perceived as an expression of patriotic duty. While government is also believed to provide good benefits, businesses that work for government under contracts or grants are perceived as providing the best salaries. Rather than identifying major intersectoral differences as to the overall level of public service motivation, the studies seem to indicate that different dimensions of public service motivation are important in different settings.

Reviewing the literature on what motivates individuals to take up volunteer activities, Steen (2006b) found that these studies provide openings from which to enhance the analysis of disinterested behavior. Holding an altruistic motive—the desire to help others and to serve the community—is seen as a basic feature of volunteers (Bussell & Forbes, 2001; Mesch et al., 1998). However, many empirical findings point to the multimotivational nature of volunteering. Altruism may be a necessary motive for volunteerism but it is not a sufficient incentive for voluntary action (Smith, 1981, as cited in Govekar & Govekar, 2002, p. 43). There are also egoistic motives that link to volunteering. These include opportunities to exercise skills, to make contacts, to express one's underlying values and to pass them on to others, and to feel useful. Thus, while the most extreme form of non-self interested behavior can be found among volunteer workforces, as they perform work with little or no monetary recompense, the analysis of volunteerism makes clear that rational explanations do not exclude altruism. An altruistic person may take into account the benefits to others, but also the personal benefits from doing right. The altruistic motivation may therefore be seen as 'impure' because it combines non-self interest with selfish considerations.

PUBLIC SERVICE-MOTIVATED BEHAVIOR IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Little is known about public service-motivated individuals working in private organizations, how they exercise their motivation, or how the commercial setting in which they work affects their motivation. Discussing changing business ethics, Van der Wal et al. (2006, p. 328) notice that 'no studies have yet been conducted on the impact of public sector influences on private sector moral behavior'. In this next section, we rely on theoretical deduction mainly to discuss how public sector motivation can bring private sector employees to encourage corporate social responsibility initiatives, to engage in organizational citizenship behavior, to look for alternative ways to express their motivation, or bring their motivation and the organizational setting in which they work into accord.

Corporate Social Responsibility

As the private sector has broadened attention to public values, the social responsibility of organizations has become one of the central values discussed. Corporate social responsibility can be defined as 'voluntary corporate commitment to exceed the explicit and implicit obligations imposed on a company by society's expectations of conventional corporate behavior' (Falck & Heblich, 2007). The development of corporate social responsibility has been driven by the advancement of stakeholder analysis. The stakeholder perspective (Freeman, 1984; Mitchell et al., 1997) assumes that acting in a strategic and responsible way implies recognition of key stakeholders and their needs and power. It involves incorporating how individuals and groups inside the organization, but also individuals and groups outside the organizations—including the local community and even society at large—are influencing or are influenced by organizational decision making and activity. In the United States, corporate social responsible activity has gone along with 'good citizenship' through contributions to local organizations and positive involvement in the community (Porter & Kramer, 2006, p. 85). In Europe, early 1970s initiatives in 'societal' responsibility concerned, on the one hand, business activities mitigating the existing or anticipated adverse effects of business activities, for example, altering production methods to reduce environmental pollution; and, on the other hand, activities dedicated to the welfare of employees and of citizens in countries where multinational companies deployed their business activities (Kaptein & Wempe, 2002). Today these types of manifestations are associated with the notion of corporate social responsibility as referring to the 'triple bottom line' of profit, planet, and people (Elkington, 1997).

Through integrating organizational self-interest and altruistic concern, corporate social responsibility can be seen as combining an economic perspective on organizations as agents for wealth creation with a duty-aligned perspective, as expressed in business ethics research (Swanson, 1995). Corporate social responsibility acknowledges that companies are publicly accountable not only for their financial performance, but also for the social and environmental impact of their activities (Confederation of British Industry, n.d.). Davidson points out that 'organizations are often called upon to "do the right thing" even when no payoff or return on investment is in sight' (Davidson, 2007, p. 138).

However, the activities undertaken are expected to always be at least in part (if not entirely) driven by self-interest. A significant amount of research is dedicated to identifying whether corporate social responsibility has an impact on an organization's performance. Research shows positive relations between corporate social responsibility and the organization's financial performance and market value (see Orlitzky et al., 2003, for a meta-analysis on the relationship between corporate social and environmental performance and corporate financial performance). Corporate social responsibility reporting is specifically important in terms of organizations' reputation management. Rankings, based on companies' performance of their corporate social responsibility, receive broad publicity as customers are believed to show a growing concern for the social and environmental price tag attached to the products and services purchased. Research links the organization's entry or exit from corporate social responsibility benchmarks with market reactions (Becchetti et al., 2007).

The importance of reputation management might suggest that while some organizations implement corporate social responsibility initiatives as part of their core organizational strategy, others might introduce corporate ethical and socially responsible practices for window dressing purposes only (Weaver et al., 1999). The contrast between rhetoric and practice is also referenced by Van der Wal et al. (in press), who suggest that despite the importance of social and sustainable policies, they are not yet anchored in private sector value patterns. There is also a discrepancy between business ethics literature and business ethics codes. While the former gives broad attention to values linked with social responsibility, the values emphasized in practice refer to the organization and the profession specifically—teamwork, responsibility, open communication, and innovation (Van der Wal, 2006, p. 58).

As research provides ample evidence of positive effects of corporate social responsibility on the firm's performance, Aguilera et al. (2007, p. 837) redirect attention to the antecedents of corporate social responsibility, since 'an important new line of inquiry within this field is no longer whether CSR works but, rather, what catalyzes organizations to engage in increasingly robust CSR initiatives and consequently impart social change.' They develop a multilevel framework to identify actors and interest groups such as individual employees and managers—but also consumers, national governments, and transnational entities as pressuring companies to engage in corporate social responsibility initiatives.

Different studies (e.g. Hemingway & Maclagan, 2004; Swanson, 1995; Weaver et al., 1999) point to the needs and motives of managers. Corporate social responsibility is the result of championing by a few managers whose decisions are driven not only by official corporate objectives, but also by personal values and interests (Hemingway & Maclagan, 2004, p. 36). According to Aguilera et al. (2007, p. 837), motives can be instrumental (self-interest driven), relational (concerned with relationships among group members), as well as moral (concerned with ethical standards and moral principles). The latter refers to employees' moral concerns influencing their participation in corporate social responsibility activities and leading them to push the organization to engage in social change. Mudrack (2007) finds that normative views about the rightness of social responsibility are closely tied to personality traits, attitudes, values, and thinking patterns. Therefore, we propose that the concern for others and for society at large exhibited by public service-motivated individuals will influence their views about the need for the organization to engage in socially responsible initiatives.

Referencing business ethics, Wood (1991, p. 698) sees managers as moral actors who, within every domain of corporate social responsibility, are obliged to exercise the discretion available to them toward socially responsible outcomes. The element of managerial discretion introduced here also denotes that, by focusing on the individual level, one should not de-emphasize institutional dynamics fostering or hampering corporate social responsibility. Hemingway and Maclagan (2004, p. 39) see that the results of individuals' concern with corporate social responsibility depend on the amount of individual autonomy or the opportunity to influence events through organizational political processes. Aguilera et al. (2007, p. 844) note that those who want to promote corporate social responsibility need to have the power to put it on the agenda. Overall, highly public service-motivated individuals working in a commercial setting can be hypothesized to be more likely to encourage their organization to engage in corporate social responsibility initiatives as compared to individuals who score low on public service motivation. The extent to which this results in actual socially responsible actions, however, will depend on the level of discretion that these individuals have over the organization's socially responsible actions.

Interestingly, when discussing hierarchy and interplay of motives, Aguilera et al. (2007) suggest that while employees will put the most pressure on their organization to engage in corporate social responsible activities out of moral concern, organizational interests will be the first drivers for the top management team to do so. This is of interest not only since we discussed organizational power to be an important factor to be able to influence the organization's activities, but also since

> this presents a paradox in that an employee with high CSR-relevant morality needs will seek employment in a firm with corresponding values. However, . . . our model would predict that the most social change would occur when 'moral' employees worked for 'instrumental' organizations. The fact that employees may not desire to work for such a firm might hinder the extent to which this type of employee-initiated social change is possible. (Aguilera et al., 2007, p. 853)

Combined with the assumption that public service motivation is linked to a concern for the organization to engage in socially responsible initiatives, the assumption made by Aguilera et al. leads us to conclude that especially in organizations whose prevailing incentives at first sight do not seem to fit in with public service motives, the presence of highly public service-motivated employees can make a difference in terms of the firm taking up its social responsibility.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior

Studies of which personal values actually drive corporate social responsibility are limited, and therefore it is interesting to redirect our attention to a field of study of personal motives that is more elaborate and also covers aspects of altruist concern and participation in political processes in the organization—namely the construct of 'organizational citizenship behavior'. Organizational citizenship behavior has been defined as 'individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization' (Organ, 1988, p. 4). According to this definition, although the behavior is 'extra role'—going beyond the requirements stated in the job description, and a matter of personal choice—it can have important benefits for the organization.[1] Related and often overlapping terms are, for example, prosocial organizational behavior, extra-role behavior, organizational spontaneity, and contextual performance (Podsakoff et al., 2000, p. 514; Van Dyne et al., 1994, p. 765). A link can also be found with stewardship theory, which studies situations in which individuals place pro-organizational, collectivist behavior before self-serving, individualist behavior (cf. Davis et al., 1997). The different concepts all denote an 'attempt to identify work behavior that contributes, at least in the long run, to organizational effectiveness, but which is sometimes overlooked by the traditional definitions and measures researchers use to assess job performance' (Van Dyne et al. 1994, p. 766).

In line with public service motivation implying normative and affective motives, organizational citizenship behavior has been described as being influenced by affective states and the state of morale in the workplace. The study of organizational citizenship behavior has in part been guided by research on altruism. To the individuals demonstrating organizational citizenship behavior, there is no obvious one-to-one correspondence of this behavior with near-term payoffs (Organ, 1997). However, it can affect ratings of individual performance, with managers considering organizational citizenship behavior when appraising performance and determining promotion and pay increases (Organ, 1997; Paine & Organ, 2000; Podsakoff et al., 2000; Schnake & Dumbler, 2003).

Two recent empirical studies link public service motivation with organizational citizenship behavior in public organizations. Based on a survey of Korean public employees, Kim (2006) finds that respondents with high public service motivation are more likely to be associated with the performance of organizational citizenship behavior, such as voluntarily taking up extra responsibilities or engaging in prosocial behavior, than respondents with low public service motivation. Similarly, Pandey et al. (in press) argue that public service motivation fosters positive interpersonal citizenship behavior in organizations. Their study of U.S. state agency personnel shows a direct effect of public service motivation on interpersonal citizenship behavior, even when accounting for the significant role of coworker support. Both studies suggest that public service motivation is an antecedent of organizational citizenship behavior among public sector employees.

Indeed, it is interesting to see how organizational citizenship behavior shows similarities with public service motivation as it relates to interest in organizational affairs and willingness to be involved in the governance and political system of the organization, commitment to the organizational interest, altruism, and tolerance of inconveniences without complaining (Schnake & Dumbler, 2003). Graham (1991) explicitly uses the intellectual heritage of the word 'citizenship' to position organizational citizenship behavior as the organizational equivalent of citizen responsibilities as described in political philosophy. However, as organizational citizenship behavior is defined as being directed to the organization's interest, it contrasts with the extraorganizational focus of the concepts of corporate social responsibility and public service motivation. The study of corporate social responsibility focuses on how acting in the organization's interest integrates with acting in a wider social interest (Porter & Kramer, 2006), whereas research on public service motivation relates to the ethical notion that 'the interests of civil servants are not confined to the boundaries of their employing organizations, not to those of their professions, but extend to the wider interests of the community which they serve' (Pratchett & Wingfield, 1996, p. 641).[2]

The concept of organizational citizenship behavior, however, permits the development of ideas on how public service motivation can affect behavior in sectors not likely to elicit behavior based on public values and motives, in that it shows how individuals working in a business context engage in organizational governance and take up activities with a broader focus than mere self-interest. The question raised is whether if we can logically deduce that if high public service motivation among public sector workers encourages organizational citizenship behavior, then it is plausible to argue non-public sector workers who have a high level of public service motivation will demonstrate organizational citizenship behavior.

Among the factors influencing organizational citizenship behavior, organizational culture and workplace values are seen as critical. Employees who perceive the organizational culture to underline socially desirable values will build up a relationship with the organization that leads them to engage in citizenship behavior (Van Dyne et al., 1994). Thus, shared workplace values are important in explaining why individuals engage in positive behavior going beyond traditionally defined job performance, apart from other factors believed to influence organizational citizenship behavior, such as job satisfaction, motivating job characteristics, coworkers' support, perceived equity or fairness in the workplace, affectivity, and organizational commitment (McBain, 2004; Podsakoff et al., 2000; Schnake & Dumbler, 2003). Therefore, we can hypothesize that public service-motivated employees in the private sector engage in positive extra-role behavior especially when they perceive the organizational culture to underline values that fit in with their concern for others and for society at large.

Alternative Expressions of Public Service Motivation

Our discussion on both corporate social responsibility and organizational citizenship behavior focused on how, despite working outside the public service, public service-motivated individuals can find a way to pursue other-regarding behavior and make a difference in terms of moral climate or performance of the organization. However, we can also envision alternative scenarios.

One such scenario is that private sector employees who believe their public service motivation does not fit with the organization's prevailing values look for jobs in organizations that better fit their altruistic predispositions (cf. Steijn, in press). Indeed, research indicates that person–organization fit negatively correlates with turnover (see Verquer et al., 2003, for a meta-analysis on the relationship between person–organization fit and retention). Likewise, among the variables linked with turnover decisions, organizational commitment and job satisfaction stand out as important ones (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986; Mobley et al., 1979). Also, research on employee justice perceptions shows that the working environment as perceived by the employee affects not only the employee's well-being—for example, job satisfaction or the level of stress—but also has outcomes directly relevant for the organization such as commitment, turnover, performance, citizenship behavior, and counterproductivity (see Colquitt et al., 2001, for a review of research on outcomes of organizational justice perceptions). Aguilera et al. (2007, p. 840) point out that justice perceptions are not limited to a focus on how one treated oneself, but also to how others are treated and to the organization's socially (ir)responsible acts. Compared to individuals who score low on public service motivation, highly public service-motivated individuals will perceive the fairness of their workplace less in terms of how they themselves feel treated, but more in line with their concern for others and for society at large. When the organization is perceived as not fitting their prevailing values or as acting unfairly—for example, by behaving in a socially irresponsible way—we can hypothesize that this would negatively affect the public service-motivated employees' well-being and result in low organizational commitment, low organizational citizenship, and increased turnover.

Alternatively, rather than leaving the organization, public service-motivated employees who feel that behavior and values in the organization violate their motives may engage in whistle-blowing or other forms of principled organizational dissent as protest against organizational practices violating their value standards (cf. Graham, 1986). Principled organizational dissent is prosocial and has implications going beyond the organizational level. While social goals are put above organizational goals, dissent can have positive effects for the organization in the long run—for example, by enhancing the organization's reputation (Piliavin et al., 2002, p. 476).

Yet another strategy for public service-motivated individuals might be to exercise their motivations outside—rather than inside—the organization. While staying with the organization they have joined, employees can adapt in ways that preserve their altruism and sense of civic duty by finding ways to pursue other-regarding behavior outside their work environment, such as engaging in volunteer activities. Brewer (2003) and Houston (2006; this volume) find that employees of public service organizations are more likely to participate in civic organizations and engage in prosocial acts outside their jobs than are workers in the private sector. It would be of interest not only to differentiate between employees working in different sectors, but also to see if among private sector employees, the extent to which one holds public service motivation can be related to civic engagement and prosocial behaviors outside the job. Organizations may purposefully enable their employees to take up volunteering activities, since for the employees this may provide an opportunity to exercise their prosocial motives, while for the organization it helps create the public image of a socially responsible corporation (Piliavin et al., 2002, p. 482).

Finally, rather than employees seeking alternative ways to express their public service motivation, a poor fit between organizational and individual values may lead to individuals adapting to the organizational setting and employees' public service motivation being extinguished over time. The research on crowding-out effects discusses how extrinsic reward systems crowd out intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Factors such as job characteristics and employees' perceptions of an organization's management practices are important variables influencing motivation (cf. Wright, 2004). The crowding-out literature suggests that employees holding a high public service motivation will see this motivation being crowded out in organizations in which management implements extrinsic incentives. However, the relationship between (financial) rewards and behavior is highly complex, and we need to take into account studies suggesting that individuals' prosocial intrinsic motivations can also be crowded in by well-designed extrinsic incentives (Bertelli, 2006; Frey & Osterloh, 2005, pp. 105–6; Le Grand, 2003, pp. 53–4).

Importantly, this discussion of the effect of organizational settings on motivation sheds a different light on the question whether public and private employees are motivated by different factors. As Wright (this volume) points out, since an employee's motivation may be shaped by organizational factors, a covariance between public sector employment and public service motivation does not necessarily mean that sector employment choice is a consequence of public service motivation. Motivational differences found between public and private sector employees may not necessarily be the result of self-selection into a specific sector, but may also derive from employees being cultivated by their work situation (Houston, 2000, p. 726).

CONCLUSION

Perry (1997, 2000) has pointed out various types of socialization influencing the presence of public service motivation. Different settings are expected to have divergent power in enhancing (or hampering) public service motivation and behavior linked with public service motivation. As such, one could expect business settings to be environments less favorable for bringing public service motivation to prosperity. However, sector blurring can provide new opportunities fostering altruistic behavior and engagement in organizational political processes. Not only has the public sector taken over private sector methods, but—either through enhanced contacts between private and public organization or influenced by public opinion—the private sector is seen to have broadened its attention to public values. If not yet fully in practice, at least in rhetoric, the importance of looking beyond mere organizational interests is now recognized. Moreover, the importance of nonprofit and volunteering activities in society shows the importance of the commitment of individuals outside the public sector to engage in activities meaningful for the community.

Research in public administration has to this point assumed that commercial environments are not conductive to maintaining public service motivation. However, with business ethics and social responsibility receiving broader attention, individuals can look for opportunities within private organizational contexts to exercise their public service motivation. By encouraging an organization to assume social responsibility or by participating in positive extra-role behavior, public service-motivated employees are likely to engage in behavior that makes a difference not only in terms of morale climate, but also of performance in the organization. While the organization is not an 'iron cage' (cf. DiMaggio & Powell, 1991) and should not be seen as the only factor at play, human resource managers can affect the factors influencing prosocial behavior through selection, organization and job design, team development, management development programs, and equitable and fair appraisal and reward systems (Paine & Organ, 2000, p. 46).

Relating to corporate social responsibility, Aguilera et al. (2007) point out that public service-motivated employees make the biggest difference when working in organizations that are focused on self-interest. However, when the organization's culture is perceived as not fitting the values of highly public service-motivated employees, this may result in reduced employee well-being and impact negatively upon organizational performance through low commitment, high turnover, or counter-productivity. Our analysis therefore suggests that the self-interest of organizations should encourage them to look beyond the confines of shareholders' interest and develop an organizational culture that supports employees to take up prosocial behavior, if not within the organizational framework itself, then by providing access to opportunities outside the organization to exercise one's social concerns.

NOTES

1. Podsakoff et al. (2000) discuss differences and overlap between organizational citizenship behavior constructs. Podsakoff et al. themselves propose seven dimensions of organizational citizenship behavior: helping behavior, sportsmanship, organizational loyalty, organizational compliance, individual initiative, civic virtue, and self-development.
2. One could, however, also compare with Brewer et al. (2000) who found that highly public service-motivated individuals are driven by a concern for others, albeit that they differ in their scope of concern: individuals, the community, the nation, or humankind.

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11

International Differences in Public Service Motivation: Comparing Regions across the World

Wouter Vandenabeele and Steven Van de Walle

Public service motivation has become an important public administration concept for scholars (Mann, 2006; Perry & Wise, 1990) and practitioners (Pattakos, 2004). The literature cites incidences of public service motivation in various geographical settings around the world. Although most of the literature on public service motivation, or related concepts such as public service ethos, is still mainly focusing on the United States and the United Kingdom, research is being extended to new geographic contexts such as Western Europe (Castaing, 2006; Steijn, 2006; Vandenabeele & Hondeghem, 2004), Southern Europe (Camilleri, 2006, 2007; Cerase & Farinella, 2006), and Australia (Taylor, 2007). The concept is also found in Asia, which highlights the universal character of the topic (Choi, 2004; Kim, 2005; Turner & Halligan, 1999).

Studying public service motivation in these different national settings is not always easy. The American dominance in the study of the topic is reflected in the empirical measures used (see Wright, this volume). Not only are the instruments often difficult to translate and validate, but more importantly, the factorial structure of the measurement instrument sometimes differs across countries (Castaing, 2006; Vandenabeele, in press[b]; Vandenabeele & Hondeghem, 2004). The values associated with public service motivation are different across regional settings (Norris, 2003), causing the measurement of public service motivation to differ. Therefore, although a great deal of congruence in public values exists internationally (Raadschelders, 2003), some dimensions of public service motivation will be more prominent in some countries than they are in other countries. Moreover, these values are not equally 'public' in character in these various settings (Norris, 2003).

This chapter elaborates further on this issue of international comparison of public service motivation. Using international survey data we map public service motivation and its constituent values in a series of countries. We analyze regional patterns in public service motivation, and examine the 'public' character of the values underlying public service motivation by comparing value orientations of people in public and nonpublic employment.

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN COMPARING PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION ACROSS COUNTRIES

There are a number of issues that are important when comparing public service motivation internationally. First, there are different perspectives on public service motivation. Second, international comparison of a value-laden concept such as public service motivation requires understanding of the international variability of values, especially public administration values, upon which public service motivation is based. Finally, the relationship between public service motivation and the public service is considered in a global context.

International Perspectives on Public Service Motivation and Related Concepts

Definitions of public service motivation vary and each has its own particulars. Some highlight selflessness (Brewer & Selden, 1998) or the ethical background (Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999) of the motivation, while others tend to stress its public character (Perry & Wise, 1990; Vandenabeele, 2007). However, a central element in most of these definitions is the reference to institutions, or permanent and structural interactions on different levels. This grounding in institutions refers unmistakably to a value component (Vandenabeele et al., 2006) and therefore, values of public institutions and public service motivation can be considered as highly related, albeit distinct, concepts. This relationship is described by Perry and Vandenabeele (this volume), who further develop how public service motivation is based upon public institutions and their constituting public service values. For this reason, public sector motivation is a concept that is relevant in many national environments. Originating in the United States, the concept has also been found to be relevant in Belgium (Vandenabeele, in press[b]; Vandenabeele & Hondeghem, 2004), France (Castaing, 2006; Hondeghem & Vandenabeele, 2005), the Netherlands

(Steijn, 2006; Vandenabeele, 2005), Germany (Vandenabeele et al., 2006), Malta (Camilleri, 2006, 2007) and Italy (Cerase & Farinella, 2006), South Korea (Choi, 2004; Kim, 2005), Central America (Snyder et al., 1996), and Australia (Taylor, 2007). In all these cases, public service motivation has been identified as influencing public human resource management in some respects.

Similar value-based concepts are used elsewhere. In the United Kingdom, public administration scholars talk about *public service ethos* (Brereton & Temple, 1999; Chapman, 2000; Pratchett & Wingfield, 1996), which is related to public service motivation. In Canada 'l'éthique du bien commun' refers to 'communal capital . . . the amalgam of principles, rules, institutions and means which enable the promotion and assurance of the existence of all members of a society' (Chanlat, 2003, p. 55), whereas in China 'belief in mission', applied by Robertson et al. (2007), also shows resemblance to the public service ethos.

International Variability in Public Service Values and Public Service Motivation Patterns

While public service motivation and related concepts are prominent in public administration research around the globe, their structure and content are not always consistent. There are differences in the concept's empirical measurement (Wright, this volume), and in its factorial structure. Perry (1996) distinguished between four dimensions of public service motivation: 'politics and policies', 'public interest', 'compassion', and 'self-sacrifice'. Vandenabeele (2006) adds 'democratic governance' as an additional dimension. Also, just as there are individual patterns of public service motivation (Brewer et al., 2000), it is highly likely that institutional and societal differences contribute to different patterns of public service motivation in different nations. In a comparison of national administrative values in France, The Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom, it was found that in each country the pattern of values was distinctive (Hondeghem & Vandenabeele, 2005; Vandenabeele et al., 2006). In the United Kingdom, for instance, there was a stronger focus on values such as impartiality and neutrality, while in France the focus was more on the public provision of services. Similarly, in the compassion dimension of public service motivation, in France the focus was on individual compassion, while in the Netherlands the focus was rather on collective compassion.

Several variables have been found to be influential in the differential development of public service motivation. Perry (1997) found that religious, parental and educational socialization significantly influenced the level of general (composite) public service motivation, and political and professional socialization provided additional institutional influences for particular dimensions of his four-dimensional model of public service motivation. Likewise, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) found that education and professional socialization and organizational characteristics influenced levels of public service motivation. While these studies focused on the institutional origins (see Perry and Vandenabeele, this volume), this chapter takes the concept of institutions one step further by assessing country-level differences in institutional elements impacting on public service motivation.

Even where national public sectors share a common heritage, as is the case with the Judean and Roman-Greek heritage in most Western countries (Raadschelders, 2003), there are differences in national administrative values upon which public service motivation is based. Likewise, while we talk about the 'public sector', this concept actually covers distinct realities in different countries (Coombes, 1998; Kickert & Stillman, 1996; Stillman, 1999), meaning that concepts are not easily transferred or used across borders. Comparing public service motivation internationally is further complicated by our limited knowledge of public values (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007), national administrative cultures (Hajnal, 2003; Loughlin, 1994), and differences in public perceptions of the public sector (Van de Walle, 2007; Van de Walle et al., in press).

The Relationship between Public Service Motivation and Public Service

Another matter that is not often explicitly discussed in the literature is the 'public' character of public service motivation. Measuring public service motivation is essentially measuring a set of attitudes, related to 'public service', not to the public sector. However, in most cases, especially in a Western environment, the link between 'public service' and the public sector is assumed and it makes sense to follow Perry and Wise (1990) in their theoretical proposition that high public service motivation levels are more common for employees working in the public sector. Lewis and Frank (2002) found a higher level of public service motivation in government employees compared to nongovernment employees. Equally, Norris (2003) found, in a global survey looking at five different regions (Anglo-American, Scandinavian, Western, Central and Eastern Europe, and Asia), that preferring a job that is 'useful to society' is strongly related to public sector employment. Also, Snyder et al. (1996) found public service motivation to be higher among South American public managers than among private sector managers. These findings clearly support the 'public sector' character of public service motivation.

However, Norris (2003) also found that preferring jobs associated with 'helping others' was not related to public service employment in Asia and that it was not related to a preference for working in the public sector in either the Anglo-American countries or Asia. Furthermore, a job that is 'useful to society' was not related to the preference for working in the public sector in Asia. These results, together with the variability in public service values, are more supportive of international differences in the 'public' character of public service motivation.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

International comparative research on public values in public administration has been limited. We therefore build here on established scholarship in political science and sociology, where international comparisons have a longer empirical tradition. Much of this tradition relies on the availability of international data sets, with the European and World Values Surveys as the most important examples. Since the publication of Almond and Verba's five-nation civic culture study (Almond & Verba, 1965), the international study of values has gradually expanded. Noteworthy in this respect is Inglehart's work on long-term value change (Inglehart, 1990, 1997), and the *Beliefs in Government* project that followed this tradition (see Kaase & Newton, 1995). In a public administration context, this type of research has remained much more limited. There are a number of reasons for this, and the problem of conceptual equivalence is a very important one. However, international comparative research *always* risks being subject to problems of comparability and conceptual equivalence. When studying public service motivation, we study values that may have different meanings, and public sectors that may look very different across countries, such that similar words reflect very different social realities (Rutgers, 2004). These problems of equivalence exist and need to be recognized, but they are also unavoidable. We need to navigate, using van Deth's words, 'between the Scylla of losing national and cultural validity and the Charybdis of endangering cross-cultural or cross-national comparability' (1998, p. 2) to find a balance between specificity and comparability in doing international comparative research.

In this chapter, we use data from the 2004 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) citizenship module to analyze international patterns in public sector motivation. The ISSP is a cross-national collaboration on social science surveys that has existed since 1983, and currently covers about 40 countries. It coordinates research and adds a short supplement of questions to existing or specific national surveys. In 2004, this module focused on 'citizenship', with a series of questions on relations between citizens and the state, including questions on the qualities of a good citizen, political efficacy, trust, interest in politics, public service, voting behavior, etc. This approach provides researchers with cross-national data, but unfortunately, due to differences in methods of data collection, direct international comparison is not always straightforward. Readers need to take this into account.

For our analysis we use data for the following 38 countries: Australia, Germany, Great Britain, United States, Austria, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland, Bulgaria, the Russian Federation, New Zealand, Canada, the Philippines, Israel, Japan, Spain, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, France, Cyprus, Portugal, Chile, Denmark, Switzerland, Flanders (Belgium), Brazil, Venezuela, Finland, Mexico, Taiwan, South Africa, South Korea, and Uruguay—a total of 52,550 respondents.[1]

The ISSP has not been designed to measure public service motivation, and for this reason we cannot simply replicate scales used in previous research. Conceptual precision would require us to use every dimension of public service motivation (politics and policies, compassion, self-sacrifice, public interest, democratic governance), but the available international data do not allow for this. We have constructed a composite public service motivation scale by averaging the score on a select set of public service motivation-related items in the ISSP data set. While suboptimal (see Wright, this volume), such an approach has been frequently applied in public service motivation research. Brewer and Selden (2000), Naff and Crum (1999), and Kim (2005) used a similar instrument, with one item representing each dimension of public service motivation, apart from the dimension politics and policies (which was measured only in Naff and Crum). Lewis and Frank (2002) averaged the score of two items ('A job that allows to help other people' and 'A job that is useful to society') to construct a measure of public service motivation. The possible (negative) consequences of such an approach are further discussed in Wright (this volume).

In the ISSP data set, items are available to construct three public service motivation dimensions: politics and policies, compassion, and self-sacrifice. We used one or two items for each dimension, as Table 11.1 shows. The items were measured on a 1–7 scale, on which 7 represents 'very important'.

Across countries, the average public service motivation score is 4.99 (with a standard deviation of 1.21). A Cronbach's α of 0.72 for the scale exceeds the suggested minimum of 0.70 (Nunnally, 1978). This internal consistency

Table 11.1. Public service motivation–measurement scale

Subdimension	Cronbach's α	Variable
Politics and policy	0.60	To keep watch of the actions of government
		To be active in social or political associations
Compassion	0.76	To help people in my country who are worse of than myself
		To help people in the rest of the world who are worse of than myself
Self-sacrifice	NA	To choose products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons, even if they cost a bit more

Cronbach's α = .72; mean = 4.99; std. = 1.21; 'Important' on a scale from 1 (not at all important) to 7 (very important).

demonstrates that the items more or less measure an encompassing concept of public service motivation. However, the values for the subscales are not always internally consistent. The subscale for politics and policies is somewhat below the threshold due to the small number of items. For self-sacrifice, no sufficient subscale could be created due to the low intercorrelations between the available items. Therefore, only one item representing self-sacrifice is used in the scale. This enables us to incorporate the idea of (mainly) financial self-sacrifice for ethical reasons into the scale.

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION: REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

In total, 38 countries have data available to study public service motivation. In general, the mean public service motivation scores are rather high, as only the Czech Republic reports a score slightly below the middle option of 4 (for individual country scores, see Appendix 11.1). When comparing these countries' average public service motivation scores, it is clear that the countries on the lower half of the score sheet (Figure 11.1a) are mostly European countries. Of 24 European countries represented in the data set, 16 are countries with a low public service motivation score. Of the 10 lowest-scoring countries, 9 are European (6 of which are in Central and Eastern Europe). Conversely, only three non-European countries (Japan, New Zealand, and South Korea) are part of the 'lower-scoring' group.

Among the higher-scoring group of countries (Figure 11.1b), we find far fewer European countries, despite the fact that Southern European countries are quite well represented. Similarly, the Northern American (Canada and the United States) and Latin American (Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Brazil)

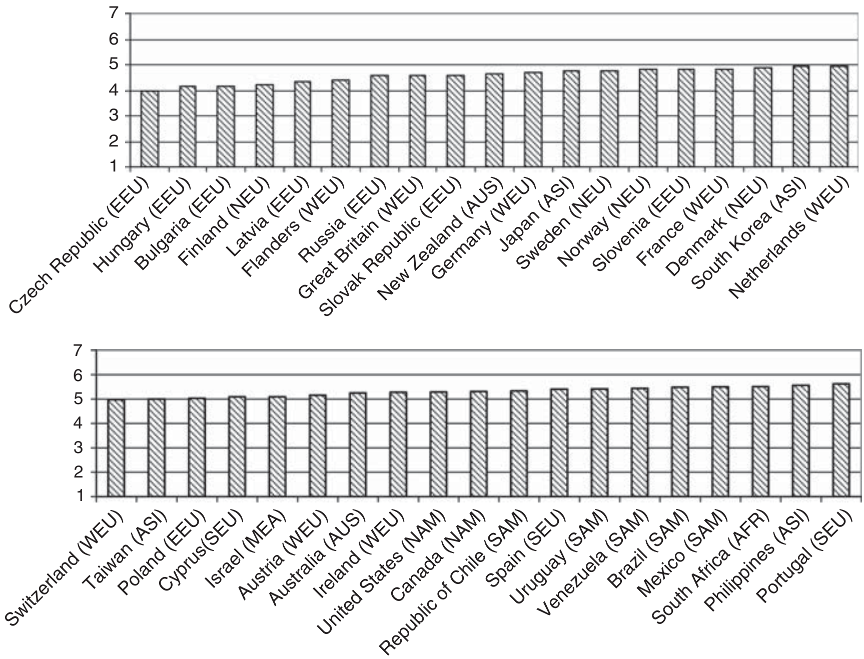

Figure 11.1. (a) Mean country public service motivation scores (lower scores). (b) Mean country public service motivation scores (higher scores).

countries included in the comparison have rather high scores. Although differences between Asian countries are higher, they are all in the higher-scoring group (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Philippines).

The overall public service motivation scores suggest some kind of regional effect. Therefore, the countries have been clustered into geographical regions: Eastern Europe (EEU),[2] Northern Europe (NEU), Western Europe (WEU), Southern Europe (SEU), Australasia (AUS), Asia (ASI), Northern America (NAM), and South and Central America (SAM).[3] Analysis of variance provides some support for a clustering based upon these geographical regions. Table 11.2 demonstrates that these regions are a significant correlate of both the overall score of public service motivation and its subdimensions, with geographical region being accountable for 8 percent in the variance of the individual overall public service motivation score and 5–11 percent of the variance in the scores of its subdimensions, regardless of the effect of other explanatory factors.

The average scores of the regional clusters reveal that European regions (except for Southern Europe) have the lowest scores, while the American

Table 11.2. Analysis of variance with geographical region as independent variable

Dependent variable in model	F-value	R^2
Public service motivation	626.86***	0.08
Politics and policy	433.07***	0.06
Compassion	815.08***	0.11
Self-sacrifice	328.42***	0.05

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

regions, together with Southern Europe, score remarkably higher. Australasia and Asia are somewhere in between. Bonferroni tests provide additional support for using the geographical regions, as the regional scores for each variable is statistically different from most other regional scores (see Appendix 11.2; Figure 11.2).

However, the average regional scores of the subdimensions do not display the same pattern everywhere. When looking at politics and policies, the three lowest-scoring regions on public service motivation also score lowest on 'politics' (and in the same rank order). On the other end, North America has the highest score. Asia, Southern Europe, and South and Central America make up the middle group. The 'compassion' dimension respects the aggregate public service motivation ranking less well. Eastern Europe and Northern Europe still have the lowest average scores, followed by Australasia and Asia (there is no statistical difference between the first two and the latter two). Southern Europe and South and Central America have the highest scores on

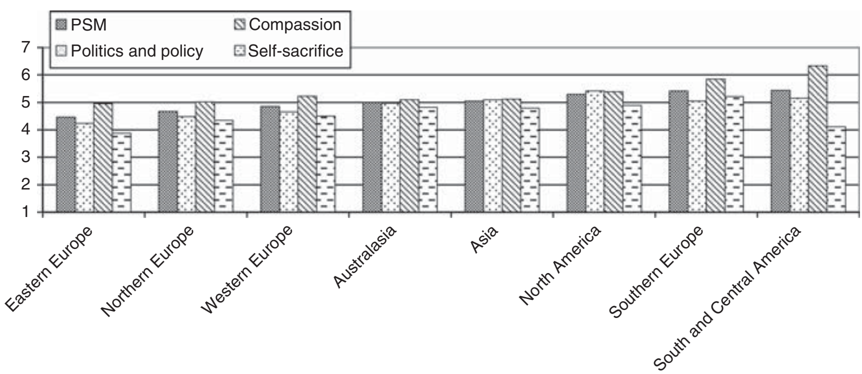

Figure 11.2. Mean regional scores on public service motivation and its dimensions.

compassion, and the top three regions rank the same in both compassion and public service motivation measures. Western Europe has a more or less average score. Finally, in terms of self-sacrifice, the lowest-scoring region is again Eastern Europe. South and Central America scores rather low on self-sacrifice, followed by Northern and Western Europe. These are followed again by a group consisting of Asia, Australasia, and North America. The highest-scoring region for self-sacrifice is Southern Europe.

How can we explain such regional differences? Pratchett and Wingfield's (1996) findings would suggest that the lower scores of Western European countries are due to a more intense confrontation with new public management reforms, with a greater focus on marketization than on typical public administration values. If market values permeate society, public service motivation and its constituting values will become less important. But this explanation cannot account for the position of the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Perry (1997) found various types of socialization (religious, educational, professional, parental, and political) to be antecedents of individual-level public service motivation. The pattern found in Latin American and Southern European countries lends this position a certain credibility. The strong Roman Catholic heritage in these countries makes religion an important institution in these societies. The most obvious factor to look at in assessing the importance of religion as an institution is secularization. This phenomenon has been especially strong in Northern and Western Europe, and to a certain extent in some Central and Eastern European countries, Poland being an important exception (Lambert, 2004; Norris & Inglehart, 2004). An integration of communities, whether religious- or secular-based institutions, could lead to the internalization of, and identification with, moral values (Hertzke, 1995), and therefore to a higher average public service motivation score for countries and regions (thus corroborating some of the statements in Perry and Vandenabeele, this volume). In a similar institutional vein, the lower scores for the East European countries can be explained by a shorter experience with democratic regimes after 50 years of communism. Also, these countries have fully embraced capitalist values, without compensating elsewhere.

This institutional analysis provides additional evidence that public service motivation is embedded in a multidimensional institutional environment, where the sector of employment is not the only determinant of public service motivation. This in turn raises the matter of both the publicness of public service motivation and the possible effects of public service motivation outside government, in the private sector or in other segments of society (see Houston, this volume; Steen, this volume).

THE PUBLICNESS OF PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION

The second part of our analysis focuses on the extent to which public service motivation is related to public sector employment. Thus far, we have only looked at differences of public service motivation at country level, and we were interested in differences between countries and regions. In this section, we look at differences within countries. It is suggested that public service motivation is related to public employment. Note that we say 'related', as it is not our intention to discuss causality or processes of socialization. Respondents indicated whether they worked for government (1), for a publicly owned firm (2), for a private firm (3), or whether they were self-employed (4). The data are not available for some countries (United States, Canada, Russia, Brazil, and Bulgaria), and are incomplete for others. To analyze whether respondents in government employment (1) score differently on the public service motivation scale and its constituting dimensions than respondents not in public employment, we use a t-test, first on the individual regions, and then on the entire data set. The results are summarized in Table 11.3. To increase

Table 11.3. t-Tests comparing public service motivation for public and non-public employees across geographical regions

Region	Effect size	PSM	Politics and policies	Compassion	Self-sacrifice
Asia	Abs. diff.	0.10	0.01	0.17*	0.13
	Cohen's *d*	0.09	0.01	0.12	0.07
Australasia	Abs. diff.	0.14*	0.13*	0.09	0.22*
	Cohen's *d*	0.12	0.10	0.06	0.13
North America	Abs. diff.	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Cohen's *d*	NA	NA	NA	NA
Northern Europe	Abs. diff.	0.12**	0.19***	0.06	0.07
	Cohen's *d*	0.11	0.14	0.04	0.04
Eastern Europe	Abs. diff.	0.30***	0.38***	0.42***	0.18*
	Cohen's *d*	0.25	0.25	0.29	0.09
South and Central America	Abs. diff.	0.15**	0.32***	0.02	0.05
	Cohen's *d*	0.20	0.21	0.02	0.02
Southern Europe	Abs. diff.	0.23**	0.25***	0.22***	0.26***
	Cohen's *d*	0.23	0.19	0.21	0.18
Western Europe	Abs. diff.	0.10**	0.17***	0.03	0.10*
	Cohen's *d*	0.09	0.13	0.02	0.06
Entire data set	Abs. diff.	0.07***	0.12***	0.04*	0.02
	Cohen's *d*	0.06	0.08	0.03	0.01

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Significance levels for absolute differences and Cohen's *d* are identical.

Israel and South Africa have been excluded from the calculations for the entire data set.

the statistical power of the analysis, the analysis is performed only on the geographical regions.

In general, respondents working in the public sector score higher on the composite public service motivation measure than those who do not. In Asia, however, this difference is not statistically significant. When standardized, the difference in public service motivation between public and nonpublic employees for the entire data set is small, albeit significant (Cohen's $d = .06$ [Cohen, 1988]). The largest effect size is found in Eastern Europe (.25). The other significant effect sizes range from.09 (Western Europe) to .23 (Southern Europe).

Subsequently, we looked at differences in the three public service motivation dimensions: politics and policy, compassion, and self-sacrifice. First, for 'politics and policy', the aggregate difference amounts to a Cohen's *d* of .08, which is statistically significant. For the individual regions, every t-test (except Asia) renders a significant difference, with effect sizes ranging from .10 (Australasia) to .25 (Eastern Europe).

The second dimension, 'compassion', returns only three significant results for the individual regions (Asia and Eastern and Southern Europe), while only a very small significant result is found for the general sample (.03). Cohen's *d* for these regions ranges from .12 for Asia, to over .21 for Eastern Europe, to .29 for Southern Europe. The score difference for Asia is remarkable, given the absence of a significant difference on the aggregate public service motivation measure, and given Norris's (2003) earlier finding of a lack of dominant public values in Asian public sectors. Public service employees and non-public service employees do not score significantly different on the third dimension (self-sacrifice) when analyzing the entire data set (however, for, Australasia and Eastern, Western, and Southern Europe, a significant effect is found). The largest effect is found in Southern Europe (.18).

One might conclude that 'politics and policy' is the most 'public' dimension and is a common element in public service motivation around the globe (only in Asia is the relationship not statistically significant). This corresponds with Vandenabeele (in press[a]), who found that this dimension had a consistent influence on employer attractiveness in the public sector, whereas compassion and public interest were only related to attractiveness for more 'publicly' oriented government organizations. 'Compassion', with a small difference across the entire data set, differs significantly in three regions (Asia, Eastern Europe, and Southern Europe). Self-sacrifice differs significantly in half of the available regions (Australasia, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Southern Europe). These results demonstrate that in a number of regions, some dimensions of public service motivation are not typically related to public service employment. This does not mean that those dimensions are absent in these public services or that public service motivation has no motivating impact. Some dimensions may be equally important in and outside government organizations. Public service motivation can also have a motivational effect on behavior outside government employment, where, for example, public service is delivered by non–public sector bodies or individual persons in a non-governmental context (see Perry and Vandenabeele, this volume; Houston, this volume; Chapter 10 by Steen, this volume; Brewer, 2003).

However, interpreting these findings is not straightforward. The status and role of the public sector in a given society varies, as do the motives of citizens to opt for public employment (Norris, 2003). Two caveats apply to this analysis. The first is the definition of public employment we have used. This is essentially based on self-definition, whereby respondents are asked to indicate whether they work for government, for a publicly owned firm, for a private firm, or whether they are self-employed. While this distinction is rather straightforward for many professions (e.g. civil servant, retail sales manager), this is less the case for other professions, especially those in which public and private elements interact, such as health or education. As a result, we have little control over the interpersonal and international comparability of these self-definitions. In addition, not all countries using the ISSP module included the 'publicly owned firm' category in their questionnaires, making it hard to predict which category respondents in these firms will opt for. The second caveat is that the analysis does not discriminate between countries with large and small public sectors, or between countries where more public goods are provided through private and nonprofit actors and countries where this is not the case. As a result, differences in public service motivation between those working in the public sector and others may become smaller or insignificant due to either the large number of public sector employees, or the number of private sector employees involved in the delivery of public goods.

These findings suggest that regions and countries, to different extents, have embedded the dimensions of public service motivation within their government administration, although politics and policy seems to be the common core. This provides further evidence for an institutional explanation of public service motivation. Next to the institutional differences in the various countries, resulting in different country-level scores, sector of employment is also an important institutional level (Scott, 2001), resulting in different sectoral scores. These results remind us that it is important to consider multiple institutional levels in researching public service motivation. Countries, but also sectors of employment, individual organizations, and other institutions will probably exert an influence on individual public service motivation levels.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR COMPARATIVE PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION RESEARCH

This chapter has explored patterns of public service motivation across the world, based on a data set of 38 countries. Using data from the ISSP, we developed a composite measure for public service motivation, consisting of three dimensions. We first analyzed regional differences in absolute levels of public service motivation and in the relative composition of this public service motivation, and then tested whether public service motivation is a phenomenon related to public sector employment. Two general conclusions stand out.

First, public service motivation and its constituting dimensions are only to a certain extent universal. While we found evidence of public service motivation in most countries, the analysis of variance revealed that public service motivation scores differ by region. Scores are generally high in Southern European and American countries, and low in Central and Eastern Europe. There is also considerable variation in the dimensions that make up public service motivation, resulting in different score patterns across regions.

Second, the 'public' character of public service motivation was investigated in this study. The results demonstrated that for most regions the average composite public service motivation score was higher for public employees compared to private sector employees. This indicated that public service motivation, as it was measured here, has a distinct public character. However, given a closer look, analysis of the constituting dimensions revealed that not all dimensions under investigation were equally public in character. Although the dimension 'politics and policies' was clearly public, 'compassion' and 'self-sacrifice' were not significantly related to public sector employment. Only in particular regions do these dimensions have an obvious 'public' character. These observations lead to the conclusion that patterns of public service motivation are different for various regions across the world.

Summarizing both conclusions, we can state that although public service motivation is a more or less universal concept, both the score patterns and the distinct 'public' character vary regionally. Although the concept of public service motivation is found everywhere and one can speak of a robust common core, the focus and empirical nature tends to differ due to a different or partial implementation of similar ideas. This observation might be an indication that the historical evolution of public service motivation, and with it ideas such as path dependency, might be important in explaining what today is understood as public service motivation. Because of its 'limited universal character', one should always take regional and national dimensions into account when researching public service motivation. Further research will have to focus on validating measurement scales in various countries to achieve a better international comparison. Another issue in further international comparative research is to assess the possible differential effect of institutional antecedents, because different institutions may account for different effects across regions and countries. Finally, a comparative historical analysis of the institutions influencing public service motivation (not unlike Vandenabeele & Horton, in press) could provide insights into the mechanisms of public service motivation development.

Some limitations apply to this analysis. At present, no international comparative data exists to compare public service motivation internationally using all known public service motivation dimensions. The composite measure was necessarily based on a very specific set of items, and no items were available to measure the 'public interest' and 'democratic governance' dimensions. Our conclusions therefore only refer to three dimensions: compassion, self-sacrifice, and politics and policy. A more detailed survey with a more sophisticated measurement scale might deliver better results. In addition, existing surveys only make a very crude distinction between public and private employment. Improving public service motivation scales and the categorization of public and private employment would greatly contribute to comparative research on public service motivation. As things stand now, there may be issues of conceptual equivalence. We cannot assume that the scales used in, for example, American or British research will mean the same in other national contexts. Items used to develop the public service motivation dimensions do not necessarily have the same meaning in all countries. Despite apparent similarities in the questions' wording, certain concepts may mean entirely different things. Further research should therefore also be directed at answering these questions and remedying these limitations. The sample used in this analysis is, despite its large size, rather selective. It contains a limited set of predominantly democratic countries, and many countries are thus excluded from the analysis. Moreover, countries in which public service motivation is least likely to occur due to the lack of democratic and public institutions are excluded.

When studying the publicness of public service motivation by looking at the effect of public employment, we need to develop additional variables for mapping the characteristics of national public labor markets. This will allow distinguishing between public service motivation and other work motivations in public employment. The existing research tradition on value change could be an important source for data and expertise, and combined with insights from the public administration discipline, public service motivation could be an alternative way of analyzing and comparing national administrative cultures. By combining individual-level data on attitudes and values with structural information on the public sector and the public sector labor market, possibly in a longitudinal way, we can learn a great deal about societies' values, and how public sectors represent, carry, transform, and pass on these values.

APPENDIX 11.1

Average country scores for PSM and its constituting dimensions

Country (Region)	PSM	Politics and policy	Compassion	Self-sacrifice
Australia (AUS)	5.25	5.20	5.36	5.12
Austria (WEU)	5.16	4.84	5.48	5.08
Brazil (SAM)	5.49	5.15	6.35	4.36
Bulgaria (EEU)	4.17	3.90	5.12	2.57
Canada (NAM)	5.31	5.45	5.34	4.98
Cyprus (SEU)	5.09	5.06	5.49	4.34
Czech Republic (EEU)	3.97	3.74	4.40	3.59
Denmark (NEU)	4.90	4.65	5.28	4.61
Finland (NEU)	4.22	3.77	4.66	4.14
Flanders (WEU)	4.40	4.18	4.81	4.10
France (WEU)	4.84	4.83	5.03	4.54
Germany (WEU)	4.72	4.49	5.13	4.32
Great Britain (WEU)	4.58	4.30	4.96	4.28
Hungary (EEU)	4.13	3.90	4.34	4.25
Ireland (WEU)	5.28	4.99	5.81	4.79
Israel (MEA)	5.10	5.27	5.46	4.00
Japan (ASI)	4.74	4.82	4.86	4.33
Latvia (EEU)	4.34	4.08	4.85	3.74
Mexico (SAM)	5.50	5.39	6.34	4.02
Netherlands (WEU)	4.94	4.90	5.29	4.27
New Zealand (AUS)	4.65	4.67	4.73	4.42
Norway (NEU)	4.83	4.83	5.17	4.13
Philippines (ASI)	5.56	5.82	5.63	4.87
Poland (EEU)	5.03	4.88	5.66	3.85
Portugal (SEU)	5.63	5.33	5.93	5.53
Republic of Chile (SAM)	5.33	4.89	6.27	4.13
Russia (EEU)	4.57	4.69	4.74	3.94
Slovak Republic (EEU)	4.59	4.08	5.30	4.17
Slovenia (EEU)	4.83	4.29	5.33	4.87
South Africa (AFR)	5.51	5.41	5.62	NA
South Korea (ASI)	4.93	5.03	4.71	5.15
Spain (SEU)	5.40	4.85	5.94	5.36
Sweden (NEU)	4.77	4.68	4.96	4.55
Switzerland (WEU)	4.98	4.61	5.38	4.91
Taiwan (ASI)	5.00	4.86	5.24	4.78
United States (NAM)	5.29	5.38	5.43	4.81
Uruguay (SAM)	5.42	5.18	6.11	4.46
Venezuela (SAM)	5.44	5.20	6.55	3.47

APPENDIX 11.2.1

Mean regional scores for public service motivation and Bonferroni tests of difference between means

Geographical region	Mean	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Eastern Europe	4.46	–	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2 Northern Europe	4.67		–	*	*	*	*	*	*
3 Western Europe	4.85			–	*	*	*	*	*
4 Australasia	5.00				–		*	*	*
5 Asia	5.04					–	*	*	*
6 Northern America	5.30						–	*	*
7 Southern Europe	5.41							–	
8 South and Central America	5.44								–

* $p < 0.05$.

APPENDIX 11.2.2

Mean regional scores for politics and policy and Bonferroni tests of difference between means

Geographical region	Mean	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Eastern Europe	4.23	–	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2 Northern Europe	4.48		–	*	*	*	*	*	*
3 Western Europe	4.65			–	*	*	*	*	*
4 Australasia	4.97				–		*	*	*
5 Southern Europe	5.04					–		*	*
6 Asia	5.10						–		*
7 South and Central America	5.15							–	*
8 Northern America	5.41								–

* $p < 0.05$.

APPENDIX 11.2.3

Mean regional scores for compassion and Bonferroni tests of difference between means

Geographical region	Mean	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Eastern Europe	4.96	–		*	*	*	*	*	*
2 Northern Europe	5.01		–		*	*	*	*	*
3 Australasia	5.09			–		*	*	*	*
4 Asia	5.11				–	*	*	*	*
5 Western Europe	5.22					–	*	*	*
6 Northern America	5.39						–	*	*
7 Southern Europe	5.85							–	*
8 South and Central America	6.33								–

*$p < 0.05$.

APPENDIX 11.2.4

Mean regional scores for self-sacrifice and Bonferroni tests of difference between means

Geographical region	Mean	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Eastern Europe	3.88	–	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2 South and Central America	4.11		–	*	*	*	*	*	*
3 Northern Europe	4.34			–	*	*	*	*	*
4 Western Europe	4.50				–	*	*	*	*
5 Asia	4.79					–			*
6 Australasia	4.83						–		*
7 Northern America	4.89							–	*
8 Southern Europe	5.21								–

*$p < 0.05$.

NOTES

1. The ISSP is based on a nationally representative random sample of the adult population in each country, generally between 1,000 and 1,400. The ISSP questions generally are supplements to regular national surveys. As a result, there is considerable methodological variation across countries. More information can be found at www.issp.org.

2. Russia has been labeled an Eastern European country, as its history and its public service motivation score is more similar to those Eastern European countries than to the Asian countries in the survey.
3. The individual countries in each region can be derived from Figure 11.1. The Middle East (MEA) and Africa (AFR) have been removed from further analysis, as each is represented by a single country (Israel and South Africa, respectively).

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Part IV

The Future of Public Service Motivation

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12

The Normative Model in Decline? Public Service Motivation in the Age of Governance

Donald P. Moynihan

As more of the public sector operates as markets or quasi-markets, is there still room for public service motivation? The past quarter century has seen the validation of the concept of public service motivation. At the same time, reforms based on assumptions of self-interest were being widely adopted. The market model relies on financial incentives and performance measures to control behavior, and has been applied both within the traditional public sector, and in contracting out public services to third-party government.[1] Perry notes that 'the rules embedded in new governance structures, which are tied to market forces, are likely the most compelling influences on behavior in the new public service because of their scope and power'(Perry, 2007, p. 8). While the market model offers advantages for public service delivery, it also poses a threat to public service motivation. In examining this threat, this chapter adds to a broader critique of agency theory (Frey & Osterloh, 2005; Ghoshal, 2005) by making two arguments:

- The market model emphasis on extrinsic incentives crowds out intrinsic incentives such as public service motivation; and
- The limitations of the market model in a public context are such that public service motivation provides a necessary corrective.

Two key assumptions underlie this chapter. The first is that public service motivation represents not just a form of organizational behavior, but provides the basis for what Mintzberg (1996) has described as a normative model of managing. The normative model, unlike the market model, rests on intrinsic values and beliefs rather than extrinsic motivators. It seeks to appeal to and inculcate public service norms as the basis for guiding behavior. A second assumption is that it is possible to design control systems that cultivate or degrade intrinsic motivations. Throughout this chapter, I identify empirical evidence that supports these assumptions.

While the public sector has previously experimented with performance pay and performance measurement, the market model adds a behavioral framework from agency theory that is explicitly based on assumptions of self-interest. This framework draws from as much from doctrinal beliefs about the power of incentives as it does from broader economic theory, which frequently offers more nuanced accounts of self-interest than is reflected in the design of reforms.

The market model goes beyond traditional extrinsic motivators of job security, pay, and benefits, to establish a much more contingent model of motivation where pay and tenure are tied to measured performance. It proposes that self-interest can be exploited for greater public performance only if bureaucratic monopolies are converted to a market (via privatization or contracting out), or, for services that continue to be provided by government, into a quasi market (using incentive pay and performance measures).

The empirical scholarship documented in this book shows how assumptions of self-interest display an incomplete understanding of motivation. But the market model represents more than an inadequate assumption. It also damages public service motivation in two ways: (1) through a selection effect, by attracting and retaining those with primarily extrinsic motivations; and (2) through an incentive effect, by crowding out intrinsic motivations. The first section of this chapter provides empirical evidence of these effects from psychology and economics, and from case studies of public exemplars of the market model, the New Zealand government, and the welfare market in the United States.

While one might regret the passing of an era that treated public service as a noble calling, does it really matter if the market model provides better performance? It does matter, as the second section of this chapter explains. As the market model is applied to complex public services, its flaws become apparent. Incomplete contracts provide the opportunity and performance pay provides the incentive for moral hazard. Strong intrinsic motivations provide the best hope that employees will resist behaving opportunistically under a market model.

There is, of course, an irony here. The market model weakens public service motivation even as it needs such norms to work in a public setting. The irony begets a policy conundrum. While it is tempting to call for replacing the market model with the normative model, the market model and the critique of government that compelled it are unlikely to disappear. It would also be a mistake to romanticize the traditional bureaucratic model, or to claim that extrinsic motivators provide no benefit. A more realistic approach is for some form of marriage between the market model and the normative model. Such a union should be designed so that the normative model limits the excesses of the market model. The third section of this chapter examines how such a marriage might work.

FROM KNIGHTS TO KNAVES: THE RISE OF THE MARKET MODEL

Le Grand (1997) argues that control systems can be built on the assumption that individuals are knights (altruists) or knaves (self-interested persons). The logic of the market model is to avoid the dangers of trusting knaves to be knights: even if only a small number are knaves, the safest route is to treat all actors as self-interested. Knaves will adjust their behavior, and knights will continue as before. But this logic is flawed. Knights might not continue as before. Instead, they may respond to systems designed to harness self-interest by becoming more likely to act knavishly. In this fashion assumptions of self-interest, when made the basis for control systems, become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Characteristics of the Market Model

The market model attempts not to curb knavish behavior, but to harness it for public performance. Actors, spurred by competition, are expected to deliver enhanced performance for the promise of financial reward. The market model has been promoted under the banner of the new public management, and under this flag many public services have been turned over to the market, or governed by quasi-market tools that tie financial incentives to measured performance. Theories based on market interactions, such as agency theory, portray performance measures as the best alternative to a price mechanism for political actors or 'purchasers' of services seeking to reduce information asymmetry on the actions of bureaucrats, the 'sellers' of services.

Quasi-market tools have been widely adopted. In the United States, for example, the 1990s saw the adoption of performance measurement requirements at the federal level and across state governments (Moynihan, 2006). Performance-pay systems, despite a record of continued failure (Perry, 1986), remain a favored policy tool because elected officials and political appointees believe that bureaucrats cannot be effective without private sector incentives. Recent changes to personnel systems in the U.S. Department of Defense and the Department of Homeland Security seek to increase the size of rewards and to tie them more directly to measured performance (Thompson, 2006). These personnel reforms have been part of a broader administrative agenda to make more subject to market pressures by eliminating traditional public employee protections. Some state governments, such as those of Georgia, Florida, and Texas, have done away with civil service systems. Other states, reluctant to blatantly eliminate civil service laws, use alternate means: decentralizing personnel functions, declassifying employees from civil service to at-will status, reducing employee grievance procedures, weakening unions and increasing outsourcing (Hays & Sowa, 2006). The result, according to Hays and Sowa (2006), is that public employees in many state governments have much the same standing as private employees. The cumulative effect of such changes is to convert the public servant into a market actor.

The Crowding-Out Effect

Social psychologists and economists who draw on psychology have documented how control systems designed to reward self-interest crowd out intrinsic motivations. Deci et al.'s (1999) meta-analysis of experimental data show that various forms of financial incentives, including performance incentives, reduce intrinsic motivation. Frey (1997) and Gneezy and Rustichini (2000) find crowding-out effects on forms of civic duty.

One drawback of such research is that it relies primarily on experimental data from non-work settings, and fails to examine the effects of crowding-out on performance. But some limited literature in actual work settings seems to confirm experimental findings. Deckop and Cirka (2000) find that the introduction of a performance-pay system in a nonprofit university reduced intrinsic motivation for employees who had high initial endowments of intrinsic motivation. Other evidence suggests that crowding-out has a negative impact on performance. Weibel et al. (2007) attempt to model work situations using contextual vignettes. They find that intrinsic motivation matters strongly as a direct predictor of effort (more so than extrinsic motivation). Their results also confirm that performance pay has two effects on effort. There is the price effect, when individuals with strong extrinsic motivations exert more effort in response to a financial incentive. But there is also the crowding-out effect, when intrinsically-motivated individuals reduce effort in the face of financial incentives. For performance pay to be worthwhile, the price effect must justify both the financial costs of the incentives, but also the negative impact of the crowding-out effect on effort and performance.

Why do extrinsic motivators crowd-out intrinsic effort? One explanation comes from self-determination theory (Weibel et al., 2007), which suggests that people have a need to exert responsibility over actions. If actors perceive that they have limited autonomy because of the presence of extrinsic rewards, they view the locus of control for their actions as being external, reducing their sense of self determination and intrinsic motivation. In arguing against the removal of employee protections, Thompson (2006) provides a parallel insight, arguing that ethical behavior requires discretion. As actors lose this discretion, they also lose the ability to consider how their decisions affect the public interest, weakening public service behaviors.

Frey (1997, p. 1045) suggests two supplementary mechanisms behind the crowding-out effect. The first is that actors accept the premise of the market model. Provided incentives that reward self-interest, they accept and pursue these incentives. As a form of behavior becomes valued in financial terms by those establishing extrinsic rewards, actors behave rationally by also viewing the behavior as a commodity, and only offering it in the presence of financial incentives. The second supplementary psychological process is simple disillusionment with the extrinsic values. Some actors do not become believers in the market model, but become unhappy that employers feel that such a model is appropriate, as it devalues their own intrinsic motivations and the sense of inherent value of the work they and their colleagues undertake.

The Other Lessons from New Zealand: How Quasi Markets Weakened the Public Ethic

The most extreme examples of quasi-markets within the core public sector can be found in countries such as New Zealand. These reforms were widely praised, and other nations sought to learn the lessons of New Zealand (Barzelay, 2001). These countries pioneered the market model by fundamentally renegotiating traditional relationships between civil servants and politicians. Hood (2000) warned that such 'public service bargains' would increasingly be characterized by self-interest in the form of mutual distrust and blame shifting in times of crisis.

New Zealand won praise as the most rigorous implementer of quasi-markets, and therefore offers a good venue to look for crowding-out effects. The influence of the market model was apparent in the language of the reformed sector. Civil service protections were eliminated; employees worked on contracts; department secretaries became chief executives (and often came from the private sector); agencies became sellers, preferably in competition with each other or the private sector, and budgets became the purchase price.

Ministers negotiated contracts with performance standards, achievement of which was tied to financial bonuses.

Throughout the 1990s, reformers in other countries tried to emulate the New Zealand model. Schick's (1996) masterful analysis of the reforms was frequently cited, although little attention was given his concern that the market model would displace the sense of personal responsibility that existed under the old system: 'When culture is purged, there is some risk that positive features will be lost. It is essential to keep in mind that culture fosters a sense of common purpose, a professional ethic, and public-regarding values. I wonder whether in the rush to change, departments have been sufficiently sensitive to established values' (Schick, 1996, p. 52).

Subsequent analyses suggest that Schick's concerns were well placed. Gregory warned that the strong tradition of public service in New Zealand was being replaced by 'a new careerist culture characterized by opportunistic job-hopping and inflated pecuniary rewards.... Public servants may become subtly conditioned to think of themselves as self-interested utility maximizers, whose opportunism has to be curtailed by legalistic contract arrangements. Systems based on the predominant assumption of distrust tend to breed distrust' (Gregory, 1999, p. 67).

Norman (2003) provided empirical evidence of such changes based on interviews of 91 public servants, as well as his own experiences working in and reporting on the New Zealand public sector. Measured goals came to replace traditional norms: '"Do this and you'll get that" makes people focus on the "that" and not the "this". The recipient of the reward will calculate "if they have to bribe me to do this, it must be something I wouldn't want to do", and the intrinsic motivation to think and work creatively will be undermined' (Norman, 2003, p. 102). Interviewees reported that trust had declined, and employees became more likely to view themselves as individuals rather than part of a team engaged in mutual endeavor. As it displaced traditional ideals of public service, Norman laments that the market model 'may have provided a compelling motivation for an elite group of reformers, but also constituted a challenge to public servants whose role was changed from being stewards of the national interest to sub-contractors of specified services.... As a lever of control, belief systems based on market mechanisms have been an inadequate alternative to beliefs based on service delivery' (Norman, 2003, p. 224).

The Welfare Market

Welfare contracting provides another setting that illustrates the negative effects of the market model. Welfare reform in the United States has allowed state governments to contract with third parties, including for-profit organizations, to deliver services. In such settings, managers face intense pressure to meet performance targets, win financial incentives and retain contracts. The dynamics of the welfare market are explored by Fording et al. (2006) and Dias and Maynard-Moody (2007), who offer the views of managers and frontline operators in the area of job training. Though not intended to be direct tests of the effect of the market model on public service motivation, these studies provide a detailed understanding of an organizational context at odds with the ideals of public service.

Both studies document the adoption of market vernacular as a means to distinguish the market model from traditional welfare. Managers denigrated traditional social work as overly slow, and described themselves as working in the 'welfare industry' (Dias & Maynard-Moody, 2007). Caseworkers became called 'career counselors'; clients became 'candidates' or 'customers' (Fording et al., 2006). 'Officials at all levels distinguish between those who "get" the business model and those who have failed to overcome the "old school" social services mentality' (Fording et al., 2006, p. 6).

The for-profit performance regime provided little discretion to operators, who felt they lacked the tools to do anything other than process service recipients. Incentives in contracts were at odds with how employees would act if able to use discretion to serve clients (Dias & Maynard-Moody, 2007, p. 199). Fording et al. underline that while frontline operators always retain some measure of discretion 'case manager discretion does not run all that deep if by "deep" one means an individual liberty to treat clients as one would like' (Fording et al., 2006, p. 26).

Many operators were former social workers, and attracted to work in the welfare 'industry' partly because of a desire to help others. But these employees found such civic caring to be at odds with the market model in which they found themselves. In both studies operators recognized that focus on measurable deliverables—putting the client into any kind of job—was often inconsistent with the needs of the clients in terms of education, skills, and finding a job that offered long-term prospects. Processing individuals was not the same as helping them. As a result, Dias and Maynard-Moody (2007, p. 198) found that the initial optimism of employees quickly soured and Fording et al. (2006) observed a deep ambivalence among employees about their role.

Negative outcomes followed. Dias and Maynard-Moody (2007) report intense hostility as managers tried to clamp down on operator initiatives to provide extra help to clients. In both studies, pressures and frustration led to blaming the clients for their predicament—by classifying them as unmotivated—as a way to justify the limited aid being offered. Fording et al. (2006) also found that operators sanctioned clients (barring access to benefits) at a markedly higher rate after performance incentives were introduced. Such sanctioning occurred because ‘frontline workers are under stress, believe they have few tools at their disposal aside from threats, and become frustrated and angry when client behaviors risk putting their own performance at risk’ (Fording et al., 2006, p. 26).

The Effects of the Market Model on Public Service Motivation

The literature on crowding out and the empirical examples from New Zealand and U.S. welfare markets offer some insights into how the market model undermines public service motivation. There are two distinct effects. First, the market model alters the selection of individuals who join and exit public service. Second, it changes the wider organizational context, norms and incentives for those who stay.

Selection Effects

By establishing a control system built on self-interest, governments communicate to prospective and current employees that market values are the only ones that matter. There is strong empirical evidence from the person–organization fit literature that employees who do not share the values of their organization have higher turnover rates (Verquer et al., 2003). Those who find that their values of public service are not being met are more likely to exit. Dias and Maynard-Moody report in their case study how some of the most experienced employees left the organization in frustration, with one saying, ‘[W]hy am I working here? We are not helping anybody’ (2004, p. 204).

In Georgia, employees reported lower job satisfaction and increased turnover intention after the state eliminated its civil service system and introduced a performance-pay system (Kellough & Nigro, 2002). Those who were hired after the market model was introduced were significantly less likely to believe, even after including demographic and job controls, that the new system placed ‘too much stress on money as an incentive and not enough on other sources of motivation’. The Georgia experience provides further evidence of a selection effect in hiring, suggesting that employees hired under the market model tend to be more attuned to financial motivators (Kellough & Nigro, 2006).

Individuals attracted to join and remain in a public sector built on notions of self-interest are more likely to be extrinsically motivated. As those with initial endowments of public service motivation consider where they wish to work, the benefits of being in a public environment are less clear. Paul Light

(2003) finds that U.S. college graduates continue to express a strong desire to engage in public service, but now see nonprofits as the most appealing venue. 'Contrary to those who say that government must become more businesslike to compete, these seniors almost surely would recommend that government become more nonprofit-like, especially in reassuring potential recruits that they will be given a chance to help people' (Light, 2003, p. 3). Even among graduates of public affairs master's programs, Light (1999) finds a steady and marked decline in willingness to take a government job. Graduates from such programs in 1973–4 joined government 76 percent of the time, while by 1993 only 49 percent went directly to government. In New Zealand, Norman (2003) reported a perception that only older employees were proud to call themselves public servants.[2]

Incentive Effects

For those that remain in the public sector, the market model exerts an incentive effect. As already detailed, those with high initial intrinsic endowments suffer a crowding-out effect, likely to be reflected in less interest in the job, reduced effort, and ultimately lower performance (Deci et al., 1999; Weibel et al., 2007). Others will respond to these incentives as predicted by market models, focusing their attention on measured performance and financial bonuses. Initially, incentives may clash with existing institutional values, but if persisted with long enough and implemented diligently, the market model will become the dominant organizational culture in public organizations.

The New Zealand and welfare market examples provide a sense of the new cultural attributes. The language of the marketplace will become more prominent, as public servants come to see themselves and their colleagues as market actors. Employees will perceive that market control systems allow them less discretion to exercise moral judgment, and indeed may force them to act in a way they consider to be at odds with public good. Employers and employees may find ways to rationalize such behavior, by devaluing public service ideals or, in the case of welfare services, blaming the client for their predicament (see also Pearce, 1987). In the United Kingdom, Pratchett and Wingfield's (1996) survey of local government officials found that council employees subject to market-based reforms were likely to have lower levels of public service ethos.

Conceivably, we may soon have a government and nonprofit sector that looks like a market, populated by self-interested individuals. If such a neat match between incentives and motivations occurs, and as long as performance is strong, should we then mourn the passing of the normative model? The answer is yes, for two reasons. First, it is likely that there will always be some segment of the public and nonprofit workforce animated by ideals of public service, and so a crowding-out effect will continue. Second, as detailed in the next section, the flawed nature of the market model requires employees with public service motivation to make it actually work.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION TO THE MARKET MODEL

This section outlines the performance case for maintaining public service motivation, even in the context of the market model. Performance models that incorporate crowding-out effects suggest that where employees hold high extrinsic motivations, the price effect will overwhelm any negative crowding-out effect and lead to a positive net impact on performance (Weibel et al., 2007). But this assumes that employees are offered a strong enough incentive to increase effort. Experimental evidence suggests that inadequate financial incentives will foster a crowding-out effect, but will not motivate a price effect (Gneezy & Rustichini, 2000). Unfortunately, the provision of inadequate financial incentives is a trademark of public sector performance-pay systems (Ingraham, 1993).

In situations where employees hold strong prior intrinsic motivations, the crowding-out effect may be so great as to actually reduce net performance. For this reason Frey and Oberholzer-Gee warn that the 'use of price incentives needs to be reconsidered in all areas where intrinsic motivation can empirically be shown to be important' (Frey and Oberholzer-Gee, 1997, p. 753). Given that the public service motivation literature has shown that those entering the public and nonprofit sectors have strong intrinsic motivations, this provides one clear rationale for expecting that the market model may actually reduce performance.

But there are other reasons for believing that public service motivation is conducive to higher performance, even in the context of the market model. On limitation of most research on crowding out is the simplistic assumption that actual performance can be easily measured and tied to pay. The implications of more realistic assumptions of measurement and attribution complexity are explored below.

Incomplete Contracts

Incomplete contracts occur for a number of reasons. For even moderately complex services it is difficult and costly to write a formal contract that dictates all desired actions on the part of the agent. The performance of an organization is the result of the interaction of many individuals and the contribution of each member is difficult to determine (Perry, 1986). In addition, governments frequently have difficulty in finding measures that perfectly reflect the underlying mission they pursue (Heinrich, 1999). Most public services seek to achieve multiple goals, some of which may conflict with one another, and it is likely that not all of these goals will be adequately measured or rewarded. Incomplete contracts allow agents to engage in opportunistic behavior at the expense of the principal's goals (Brown et al., 2006). The most prominent forms of opportunistic behavior resulting from incomplete contracts are (1) goal displacement and gaming; (2) ignoring due process; and (3) overlooking management values.

Goal Displacement and Gaming

Opportunistic actors may focus on improving performance measures that they are rewarded for, while neglecting unmeasured aspects of performance. As a result, efficiency goals are often pursued at the expense of program quality, short-term goals over long-term measures of effectiveness, easy-to-measure goals over more ambiguous goals (Heinrich, 2003). To improve measured performance, actors may develop strategies that fall into the category of gaming, including cream-skimming of the most capable rather than most needy clients, selecting only favorable measures, dropping measures to limit comparisons across years, distorting performance measurement processes, and spinning results.

Ignoring Due Process Outcomes

Part of the appeal of the market model is that it promises to do away with traditional bureaucratic constraints. But among the constraints lost may be rules-based forms of accountability such as due process guarantees. Performance measures emphasize mission-based goals outcomes, leading them to overlook the outcomes that due process provides, such as equity (Radin, 2006), transparency (Piotrowski & Rosenbloom, 2002), state legitimacy (Tyler & Blader, 2003), or civic capacity (Wichowsky & Moynihan, in press). The loss of due process rights is more pronounced in contract settings, where traditional rules may not apply to third parties, and where the clutter of public and private actors makes accountability unclear (Rathgeb-Smith, 2003).

Overlooking Management Values

The market model emphasizes short-term results over management values, such as capacity and collaboration. In the New Zealand case, employees worried that incentives led to their organizations being 'run down' in the search for efficiency gains (Norman, 2003). Since the market model rewards single organizations or individuals, it discourages collaboration within (Perry, 1986) and across agencies (Norman, 2003).

An example of how performance targets discourage collaboration comes from the manner by which the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) reacted to a goal set by George W. Bush to reduce the processing time for citizenship applications to less than six months. In counting valid applications, the USCIS excluded applicants awaiting FBI background checks. Such background checks were not high on the FBI agenda, and remain unresolved for years. The performance regime encouraged the USCIS to leave such candidates languishing, rather than work with the FBI to process such requests. As a result of this change and other manipulations of what counted as a valid application, the USCIS claimed to have met President Bush's goal, even as it took responsibility for only 140 thousand of 1.1 million applicants (Bernstein, 2006).

In markets where service delivery organizations compete for contracts, not only are there strong incentives not to collaborate and share innovations, there is active distrust and hostility between organizations. Managers interviewed by Fording et al. suggested that their welfare market competitors 'can't tell you their "best practices" because their practice is cheating. So if this is going to be a competitive game, we need to start playing by the same game' (Fording et al., 2006, p. 7).

Selection as Solution

The problem of incomplete contracts can be dealt with in two ways. The first is to develop more elaborate control systems in form of increasingly detailed contracts that specify a broader range of goals, behaviors and constraints, and employ closer monitoring of performance; (Brown et al., 2006). For example, governments have adopted elaborate audit mechanisms (Hood, 2000), and invest considerable time in revising contracts as initial versions are exploited (Heinrich & Choi, 2007). But more elaborate control systems significantly increase transactions costs, thereby reducing whatever efficiency gains the market model has created. They are also unlikely to fully resolve moral hazard because incomplete contracts tend to arise more from difficulty in measurement rather than lack of effort among principals.

The second option is selection. By selecting actors who care about public service, the problems arising from incomplete contracts will decline (Miller & Whitford, 2007). Such actors are more likely to act virtuously, even when such behavior is unrewarded and at odds with incentives to act opportunistically (Frey & Osterloh, 2005). For example, the propensity of individuals with high public service motivation to engage in whistle-blowing illustrates a willingness to act at odds with organizational norms when public values are at stake, usually at personal cost to the whistle-blower (Brewer & Selden, 1998). Individuals with strong intrinsic motivations are likely to provide valuable but unrewarded behaviors that the market model does not encourage, such as cooperation (Scholz, 1991), interpersonal citizenship behavior (Pandey et al., in press), greater commitment (Crewson, 1997), and, in situations where formal controls cannot perfectly track effort, greater productivity (Langbein, 2006).

Mintzberg (1996) argued that outdated bureaucratic models lasted for so long because managers infused with a public ethic were determined to make the machinery of public service work. The need for responsible public servants to make the market model work is perhaps even greater. The irony, of course, is that the market model dampens the type of intrinsic motivations required to ameliorate its flaws. This seems to leave us in a Catch-22 situation. How to square the circle? How to curb the negative impacts of the market model on intrinsic motivations in a way that allows such values to, in turn, limit the flaws of the market model? The final section of this chapter offers some suggestions.

MARRYING THE MARKET AND NORMATIVE MODELS

Given the weaknesses of the market model, why not abandon it and make the normative model the primary basis for managing individuals in the public and nonprofit sector? Some have called for rolling back the market model (Mintzberg, 1996). Such a proposal is unrealistic. We cannot turn back the clock. The market model is already too deeply enmeshed in public services, and too popular to dismiss. Extrinsic motivators can direct behavior, and should not be cast aside. We should also resist unjustified nostalgia for traditional bureaucracies. There is little reason to believe that the simple absence of extrinsic motivators would lead to the bureaucracies crowded with altruists. Indeed, aspects of bureaucracy can also crowd out intrinsic motives. For example, a survey of state government officials found that perception of red tape and length of time in the organization (while controlling for age) was associated with lower public service motivation (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).

How to maintain knights in a system designed for knaves? Thompson (2006) argues that protecting public service norms requires employee protections that allow the exercise of moral judgment. Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) identify basic principles for a new public service that sees public employees more focused on the public interest through a direct discourse with citizens. Le Grand (1997) proposes that we need control systems that can appeal to both knaves and knights at the same time. In effect, this means finding some balance between the market and normative model. This is no simple task. There are a number of possibilities that assume that the market model will continue, but that it can be modified in a way that would allow it to maintain public service motivation among employees:

- Disconnect high-powered incentives from measured performance;
- Link performance measures to intrinsic values;
- Build a public service culture; and
- Place greater emphasis on public service motivation in selection.

Disconnect High-Powered Incentives from Measures

The core elements of the market model are a reliance on financial incentives and performance measures. The most egregious examples of opportunistic behavior appear to occur when both are in place, with strong budget and/or individual incentives to improve measured performance (Heinrich and Choi, 2007; Hood, 2006). Of the two, performance measurement is more deeply embedded in government than financial incentives (Moynihan, 2006). Pay for performance is somewhat less common, and often implemented halfheartedly within the core public sector (Ingraham, 1993). It is more feasible to block the adoption of high-powered incentives than it is to undo the performance measurement architecture already in place. In addition, performance measures do not appear to be inherently at odds with intrinsic motivation as financial incentives are.

Link Performance Measures to Intrinsic Values

With performance measurement as the key remaining element of the market model, organizations could explore using goals to appeal to non-extrinsic motivations. Paarlberg et al. (this volume) point to the possibility of goal setting as a means to allow employees to connect to the broad public service goals. This suggests an approach to performance measurement that, rather than being centered around a logic of sanction and reward, would appeal to intrinsic values by using measures to foster participatory goal-setting (Burke & Costello, 2005), learn how to better achieve important goals (Moynihan, 2005) and celebrate achievement (Behn, 2003).

Build a Public Service Culture

Institutionalist perspectives on bureaucracy emphasize the malleability of organizational norms (Thompson, 2006). Leaders play a key role in establishing such norms, emphasizing the larger goals the organization is working toward and the collective nature of effort (Selznick, 1957). A rational choice updating of this insight comes from Miller (1990), who argues that when leaders create a sense that 'we are all in this together' norms of cooperation overwhelm self-interested tit-for-tat strategies. DiIulio (1994) worries that agency leaders are too focused on managing the external political environment to build the strong organizational culture that he argues is central to fostering principled behavior. He observes that agency leaders were able to build such cultures in the Bureau of Prisons because they were career staff who cared deeply about the agency and knew it well, and because they enjoyed enough longevity in position to make meaningful changes.

Much of what we know about how to build public service cultures is explained in Paarlberg et al. (this volume), particularly on the importance of transformational leadership, interpersonal relationships and the use of formal and informal mechanisms to influence culture. Frey and Osterloh (2005) offer some additional insights on institutions that can 'crowd in' intrinsic motivations:

- Instructions from a legitimate authority: explicit direction tends to encourage prosocial behavior and encourage voluntary rule following even when at odds with self-interest, especially when coming from a source perceived as legitimate.
- Framing of socially appropriate behavior: employees are sensitive to norms of appropriate organizational behavior. Pearce (1993, p. 1094) argues that social norms reinforced by interpersonal contact can even mute the opportunistic behavior of contractors. Cues from interpersonal contacts, myths, and symbols should therefore emphasize prosocial behavior.
- Personal contacts: interpersonal communication creates relational ties that foster extra-role behavior. Romzek and Johnston (2005) have documented the use of relational contracts between funders and providers

in social services. Such arrangements supplement formal contracts with trust and long-term relationships, limiting competition and high-powered incentives. There is, however, a risk, that such relationships can lead to monopolistic arrangements, which weaken service capacity (Van Slyke, 2003).

- Open-ended contracts: Contracts which do not link behavior and rewards with great specificity provide greater potential for extra-role behavior.
- Procedural fairness: People are less likely to exploit an authority that they regard as having treated them fairly (Tyler & Blader, 2003). Procedural fairness incorporates participation and respectful and neutral treatment.

Cumulatively, the above insights describe elements of a public service culture. Such a culture looks a good deal like a clan culture, which features a familial atmosphere and a high degree of interpersonal trust (Ban, 1995). Leaders earn legitimacy by representing the mission of the organization and other clan values, and are not shy about using a mixture of formal and informal mechanisms to communicate values, establish social norms, maintain a sense of procedural justice, and ultimately crowd in intrinsic values. It is notable that New Zealand has belatedly sought to reaffirm a greater sense of collective culture to ameliorate the effects of the market model, with its State Services Commission identifying a series of development goals that propose to foster greater coordination between agencies and make clearer to employees how their contribution is valued.

Selection

The message that one can serve the public good in government tends to be drowned out when elected officials make a fetish of denigrating bureaucrats and deifying the market. However, Paarlberg et al. (this volume) offers a series of excellent suggestions for how to better select those with strong intrinsic motivations.

The importance of selection extends to contracting also. For the types of complex services that result in incomplete contracts, government should select service providers with a strong intrinsic interest in the mission of the program. Nonprofit vendors are less likely than their for-profit counterparts to exploit incomplete contracts because of shared normative goals with the government. To some degree, governments already appear to make such a distinction. Brown and Potoski (2003) find that government tends to contract with for-profit organizations for simple services and with nonprofits for more complex services.

However, the welfare market examples cited in this chapter illustrates governments contracting with extrinsically motivated organizations to provide complex services. Another example is the collection of unpaid taxes. During the 1990s the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) introduced performance incentives designed to increase tax collection. Some IRS agents responded by overzealously harassing taxpayers, illustrating the potential for incentives to crowd out judgment. Public hearings led to Congress explicitly limiting performance incentives for collection (Thompson, 2006). However, the IRS appeared to learn exactly the wrong lessons from the episode. In 2006 the IRS started contracting with private debt collection companies, offering even stronger financial incentives to agents unlikely to have any public service motivation to moderate opportunistic behavior (Singletary, 2006). In such a function, where there is little potential for contracting with public service-oriented organizations, the best selection strategy to avoid moral hazard is to not outsource but to rely on public employees while limiting the use of financial incentives.

CONCLUSION

Because the market model and normative models are ideal types, actual control systems will likely rely on some elements of both as well as retaining the type of coercive control that typify traditional bureaucracies (Miller & Whitford, 2007). However, one control system is always likely to be more prominent than another and will represent the dominant institutional values. This chapter has made the case that public and nonprofit control systems should be built on the normative values of those who wish to engage in public service. These values are currently being undermined by the rise of the market model. Not only does the market model largely ignore the intrinsic motives of public and nonprofit employees, it threatens to quash those motivations.

If the tone of this chapter sometimes sounds strident and simplistic, it is out of a concern that reformers place too great an emphasis on extrinsic motivators and too little on intrinsic motivations, and have implemented changes that have inadvertently damaged the latter. It is, however, important not to overstate the arguments in this chapter by presenting the market model as a bogeyman to be chased away from the public sector. Employees certainly need basic levels of extrinsic support to do their job, and this chapter has made the case that extrinsic motivators should be combined with intrinsic motivators. Indeed, for some services, the market model is a superior approach. Where there is little intrinsic motivation to crowd out and where performance can be accurately measured and tied to effort, the market model can increase productivity with few negative side effects. Not surprisingly, such simple, easy-to-measure services have provided the market model with its clearest successes (Hodge, 1999). However, most public services are complex, as Mintzberg points out: 'Many activities are in the public sector precisely because of measurement problems: If everything was so crystal clear and every benefit so easily attributable, those activities would have been in the private sector long ago' (Mintzberg, 1996, p. 79).

Where services feature ambiguous and hard to measure goals, difficulty in attribution, and require probity and judgment, it is important that the actors involved are guided by a public ethic that limits moral hazard. Attaching the market model to such services may reflect a political inevitability, but governments have been too willing to pursue reforms without considering their full costs. Future applications of the market model should carefully consider how to maintain the public service motivation necessary to enable reforms to succeed.

NOTES

1. Others have used the term market model, most notably Peters (1996), who focuses especially on financial incentives. I supply the definition here not to claim the market model as an original contribution, but to provide conceptual clarity, while recognizing that there are other ways to understand the market. The definition also seeks to make clear that I am not talking about the market as the private sector, but to the application of specific assumptions to the public and nonprofit sectors.
2. Such differences may be driven by cohort effects rather than the specific effects of market model on the public sector. Putnam (2000) has argued that older generations of Americans are more civically disposed. Others have questioned this claim (Rotolo & Wilson, 2004), and it is ultimately difficult to separate the different experiences of successive generations from wider changes in society.

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13

From Theory to Practice: Strategies for Applying Public Service Motivation

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Despite growing evidence of the existence of public service motivation (Perry & Wise, 1990) and its effects on employee performance, we have little understanding of what that means for management practices. How do we harness the positive effects of public service motivation to enhance employee and organizational performance? This chapter bridges the gap between our theoretical understanding of the motivational potential of public service and our applied understanding of how to 'manage' employee motivations. We propose that in order to create high performing government organizations, leaders should adopt strategies that incorporate public service values across all levels of the organization's management systems.

Reviews of high-performance management systems suggest that practices that promote shared values not only entice individuals to join an organization but also motivate people to act upon their values once a member of the organization. Such shared social structures may ultimately link people who normally do not interact, facilitate information sharing and improved ability to engage in complex problem solving, and create shared mental models and norms of reciprocity. Despite the growing body of theoretical and empirical evidence that suggests value-based management may enhance individual and organizational performance, applied values management is significantly underdeveloped. Existing research tells us little about how to 'manage' public service values as scholars have made less progress in translating findings about public service motivation into recommendations for how practitioners can use public service values to improve performance in the workplace (Mann, 2006). Although individuals may enter public service with a predisposition to value certain public service ideals, values are also influenced by environmental forces, such as workplace relationships and practices. In this chapter, we propose that public service values can be managed in ways that strengthen the relationship between motives and behavior by integrating public service values into the organization's management systems.

We propose strategies across five contextual units of analysis—individual, job, workplace, organization, and society—relevant for motivating employee behavior (Perry & Porter, 1982). Drawing upon Perry and Vandenabeele's (this volume) discussion of the behavioral dynamics of public service motivation, our strategies use management practices to reinforce value systems that motivate individuals to engage in public service behaviors. Our model of values management extends beyond the traditional human service functions of recruitment, appraisal, retention, and rewards, to managing such values in all aspects of the organization, including task design and organizational mission. We also move beyond the formal human resource management system to look at social systems of leadership, culture, and interpersonal relationships that shape people and their attitudes and behaviors.

INTEGRATING PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION INTO INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RESOURCE PROCESSES

One of the most important shifts in human resource management is moving away from a focus on the ability of an employee to carry out a particular task to focusing on the promise of individuals to fit into the organization. Traditional models of human resource management focus on organizations select, train, appraise, and reward individuals to hold a specific job within an organization (Lawler, 1994). Person–organization fit (Chatman, 1991; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005) perspectives on human resource management focus on the behaviors and attitudes individuals need to exhibit to make the organization successful. This shifts the focus of human resource processes from selecting and reinforcing not just individual skills, but also the unique motivations that individuals bring into the workplace.

Selecting Based Upon Public Service Motivation

The first step in promoting public service values in employees is selecting individuals that hold or are responsive to such values (Lewis & Frank, 2002; Mann, 2006). The importance of a fit between person and organization and between person and job (Chatman, 1991) is supported by research in the public sector (see also Leisink & Steijn, this volume).

Applicant and organization select each other based upon perceptions of the fit between the applicant's and organization's values (Schneider, 1987) and the job interview process may help both organization and individual to more accurately assess this fit (Bowen et al., 1991). While face-to-face interviews may offer opportunities to discern values and preference (Chatman, 1991), open-ended interviews should be supplemented with multiple screens, including personality tests interviews with human resource personnel, coworkers, and other employees; situational tests; and realistic job previews (Bowen et al., 1991; Judge et al., 2000).

Situational judgment tests (SJTs) that present difficult but realistic situations people may face on the job and ask what the applicant might do in each situation may be useful in learning more about an applicant's value set. Similarly, past-oriented (behavior description) interviews may provide important indicators of public service motivation (Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Carson et al., 2005), on the assumption that past behavior is a likely indicator of future behavior. For example, in their recommendations for selecting health care employees, Carson et al. (2005) recommend seeking out individuals that have previously engaged in activities that demonstrate high levels of public service motivation, such as volunteering for community or campus activities that demonstrate altruism or identification with the organization's mission.

Finally, it is also important to provide job seekers with the opportunity to make an assessment about whether the job/organization will be a good fit for their personal values. Employment interviews and realistic job previews provide important opportunities for job seekers to learn more about the culture and values of the organization and to make the decision as to whether such values match their own preexisting values. Job seekers should be encouraged to rely upon their values as a means for evaluating whether to work in a particular organization and should be given opportunities to learn about the values of the organization (Bowen et al., 1991; Cable & Judge, 1996). As Chatman (1991) recommends, 'individuals and organizations ought to get as much information as possible about each other during the selection process' (p. 481).

Tactic 1: Use public service motivation as a selection criterion for entry into public service employment.

Socialization to Public Service

Socialization into public service values communicates to organizational newcomers the values that are a critical part of the organizational identity and how such values are translated into acceptable behavior (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; Chatman, 1991). Employee socialization should introduce new employees to the history, mission, goals, objectives, and norms of public organizations and should demonstrate how public service goals are met through the design of public policy and the delivery of public services (Kim, 2005; Klein & Weaver, 2000).

Socialization is a process that begins shortly after new employees join the organization, as new members are frequently very eager to learn appropriate behaviors and 'fit in' (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2002). Formal trainings, orientations, social events, and readings (Cooper-Thomas et al., 2004; Parkyn, 2006) provide the newcomer with specific information about how role requirements and organizational context align with the employees' motivations.

Socialization occurs through formal mentoring programs and informal social interactions in the workplace. Mentoring, a key factor in the transmission of values (Wilson & Elman, 1990), allows new employees to see how more tenured colleagues integrate public service motivation into their own behaviors, encouraging new employees to take their behavioral cues from their experienced colleagues (Chatman, 1991). The World Bank matches young professionals with a peer who has a year's tenure within the Bank, as well as with a more senior mentor.

Informal interactions that allow new employees to observe their coworkers and supervisors also provide important cues about organizational values and expectations (Maslach et al., 2001; Ostroff & Kozlowksi, 1992; Saks & Ashforth, 1997). Employees should be given ample opportunity to shadow and observe other workers, not only peers, but also longer-tenured coworkers. In addition, senior members of the organization should be held accountable for the socialization of new members. Cooper-Thomas and Anderson (2002) observe that military socialization is carried out by instructors whose performance is evaluated on their recruits' knowledge of military values. They conclude by suggesting that socialization of newcomers would be enhanced if newcomers' colleagues and supervisors are not only given training on how to socialize newcomers, but perhaps 'more radically, that the rate and success of newcomers' adjustment contributed to colleagues' performance evaluations' (p. 434).

Tactic 2: Provide formal and informal opportunities for newcomers to learn about organizational values and expectations for employee behavior that reflect public service values.

Public Service Motivation as a Criterion in Appraisal Systems

Public service values should also be used in the appraisal system, promoting internal consistency across human resource processes. Until recently, performance appraisal systems have focused on job performance resulting from a formal job analysis, including the accomplishment of specific tasks and duties specified in a job description. However, such job-related appraisals ignore many of the non-task related behaviors that may be associated with public service (Viswesvaran & Ones, 2000; Welbourne et al., 1998).

Organizations are paying increasing attention to the importance of non-job behaviors, such as prosocial behaviors, in performance appraisal systems. The United States Marine Corps uses an ongoing system of performance ratings (fitness reports) that include not only technical proficiency but also conduct: 'the adoption of core values in his/her life' (Parkyn, 2006, p. 231). In a case study of government employees, Paarlberg and Perry (2007) observed that managers in high performing work units often focused on developing performance appraisals that included principled goals—such as honesty, teamwork, commitment to the customer, and being a good steward of the installation's resources. In the Flemish government, four core values have been defined—collaboration, continuous improvement, client orientation, and reliability—which are part of the competency framework and are found in the competency profiles of all public servants (Brans & Hondeghem, 2005).

Tactic 3: Develop performance appraisals and performance monitoring systems that include observations of behaviors that reflect and encourage public service motivation.

CREATING AND CONVEYING MEANING AND PURPOSE IN THE JOB

Job design may also strengthen the relationship between public service values and performance by enhancing employees' understanding of the social significance of their work and improving the clarity of goals (Scott & Pandey, 2005). Both tactics may strengthen employees' existing public service values and enhance the relationship between such values and their behaviors (Grant, 2007).

Promoting Social Significance of the Job

One of the job characteristics that motivates employees is job significance, the extent to which the job affects the well-being of others (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). As Grant (2007) observes, 'many employees describe the purpose of their work in terms of making a positive difference in others' lives' (p. 393). Many are attracted to government work because of their desire to serve (Denhardt, 1993). Doing work that affects the health and well-being of other people encourages a person to believe that his work is worthwhile or important within his system of values. For example, studies of teachers suggest that teachers are largely motivated by their ability to see and know they are responsible for improvements in students (Kelley, 1999). Similarly, in a study of firefighters, Lee and Olshfski (2002) found that firefighters' commitment to their job, which entails obligations to serve the community, is the major factor in leading to their extraordinary efforts. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) provide rich stories of the complex ways that cops, teachers and counselors, line workers or street level bureaucrats 'made their work harder, more unpleasant, and less officially successful to respond to the needs of the people in front of them' (p. 19).

The extent to which individuals perceive their jobs to be meaningful may be dependent on the extent to which employees are able to connect to the impact they are having on the beneficiaries of their work (Grant, 2007), redefining jobs as a collection of relationships as well as a collection of tasks. Studies of U.S. federal employees have found positive relationships between customer orientation and employees' job satisfaction, motivation, and support for organizational change (Lee et al., 2006; Paarlberg, 2007). The same evidence has been found in a research on the motivation and satisfaction of public servants in the Ministry of Finance in Belgium (Vandenabeele et al., 2005).

Numerous public sector jobs provide opportunities for employees to have a direct impact on the lives of others by improving the health and safety of others or by promoting social or economic development of beneficiaries. However, public service jobs are often not structured in ways that allow employees to see the prosocial impact of their work (Grant, in press[a]). Hackman et al. (1975) encourage organizations to structure tasks in ways that allow employees to interact and communicate with service beneficiaries. They propose that organizations take steps to identify clearly who are beneficiaries of organizational services, establish opportunities for direct contact between employee and service beneficiary, and provide clear criteria and channels for beneficiaries to provide feedback on employee performance. The World Bank offers a Grassroots Immersion Program that allows young professionals to observe firsthand the everyday lives of the poor. Brehm and Gates (1997) found that in those situations in which government employees, such as social workers or police officers on the beat, came into regular contact with service recipients, service recipients exerted more influence over employee behavior than supervisors did.

Such interactions encourage employees to experience increased understanding of the significance of their job (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). In addition, contact between employees and those who benefit from their work may lead to higher affective commitment by increasing identification with beneficiaries, enhancing employees' empathy and fostering service recipient likeability (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003). While it may be impossible to directly connect all employees with direct service beneficiaries, sharing stories, or vignettes that convey the social significance of the work may also positively impact employee's attitudes and behaviors (Grant, in press[b]). Ultimately, social interactions with service beneficiaries may provide a face for employees' public service values, translating abstract organizational goals into significant action (Paarlberg, 2007).

While we have focused on the service aspect of government employment, many employees are attracted to government service because of their interest in influencing the broader public policy process. Leisink (2004) quotes a Dutch secretary general who seeks to show employees how their actions have influenced the policy process: 'What motivates individuals at work is the wish to see what their efforts have produced, for instance to find their text in a communication which the Minister sends to the parliament. They wish to see their stamp on some piece of policy making' (p. 8).

Tactic 4: Identify beneficiaries of jobs; establish opportunities for direct contact between employee and beneficiary; and provide clear channels for service beneficiary feedback.

Setting Clear Public Service Goals

Goal-setting theory posits that conscious and well-specified goals—defined as the object or aim of an action to attain a particular standard—positively affect the actions of employees. Early goal-setting research provided strong support that specific and challenging goals are associated with higher levels of performance (Locke & Latham, 2002). However, government employees often work in jobs in which there are diffuse goals (Chun & Rainey, 2005) or goals that are difficult to achieve in the short run.

Employee commitment to goals will be influenced by the extent to which employees perceive that goals are consistent with their values. Individuals who highly value public service will look for situations in which they can enact such values, set high goals for themselves, and be highly committed to such goals. In those situations in which goals are assigned (Locke et al., 1986), individuals may not accept assigned goals if such assigned goals are perceived as not being important or inconsistent with individual values (Steers & Porter, 1974). For example, employees may experience conflict between the bureaucratic pressures to close a case and their professional responsibilities to provide high-quality services. It is therefore important to clearly articulate goals that are consistent with employees' existing public service values.

Managers play important roles in interpreting broad goals in terms of functional and work unit routines that reflect public service values (Paarlberg & Perry, 2007). In doing so, managers enable employees to see how their individual tasks connect to the larger mission of the organization, reinforcing employees' public service motivation. In some cases, however, where the social value of the work may be controversial or the work physically 'dirty', managers may play important roles in helping workers to transcend such negative perceptions by infusing the work with positive values or emphasizing the positive aspects of the job over the negative (Ashforth et al., 2007). For example, Gusterson describes how nuclear scientists cope with their controversial profession by emphasizing how their work enhances rather than threatens world peace (as cited in Ashforth et al., 2007). Such reframing of organization goals allows the individual to respond to goals that are consistent with personal and professional values. In addition, employees may benefit from the opportunity to discuss these potential conflicts (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Vinzant, 1998).

Tactic 5: Interpret broad public service missions in terms of clear and meaningful work expectations.

CREATING A SUPPORTIVE WORK ENVIRONMENT

Workplace characteristics, such as structure of the work environment, the nature of informal relationships, and incentive systems may also shape the relationships between employees' public service motivation and their performance. Both formal and informal organizational practices and experiences shape employees' beliefs about the terms of the employee-organization exchange relationships (Rousseau & Greller, 1994) and the degree to which employees perceive that organizational practices are supportive of their values.

Empowering and Participatory Work Structures

Centralized patterns of decision making may make it difficult for employees to see how their efforts contribute to the mission of the organization (Scott & Pandey, 2005). Moynihan and Pandey's study of state-level employees suggests that perceptions of bureaucracy and red tape may frustrate employees' public service motivation (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). Employees may perceive that complex control and regulatory systems may take away from the 'real' work of responding to citizens' needs (Schwab & Cummings, 1976), leading them to believe that they are unable to act upon their public service motivation. As Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) observed, in some cases, 'the workers saw the rules and supervisors as obstacles to doing what was right and fair for their clients' (p. 18).

Employee input into setting goals may encourage workers to find strategies that are more effective, energize behavior, and increase employees' perceptions that they can effectively accomplish their goals (Spector, 1986; Staw & Boettger, 1990). In a study of teacher empowerment, Dee et al. (2003) found that increased participation in workplace decision making provides a heightened sense of conviction of the importance of one's work and the belief that their work will have a significant impact on the lives of others. Leisink (2004) suggests that it is important that employees be involved in not just technical decisions, but also issues that relate to the core public serving aspects of their job. For example, teachers could be involved in decisions that involve meeting the multicultural needs of children and their families, and nurses could provide input in how to provide medical care to the uninsured.

Allowing employees to take an increased role in organizational decision making to allow them to act upon their public service motivation requires more than the use of participatory management techniques, such as quality circles or management by objectives. Truly enabling individuals to act upon their public service motivation requires empowering employees to take action by providing access to information, support, resources, and opportunities to learn and develop (Conger & Kanungo, 1988). Research has shown that direct as well as indirect forms of staff participation have been an important strategy in public management reforms (Farnham et al., 2005).

Tactic 6: Develop work structures that enhance self-regulation through empowerment and participatory decision making.

Cooperative Interpersonal Relationships

Perry and Porter (1982) suggest that relationships between employees and their coworkers and supervisors have the largest impact on employee performance. While much of the literature on 'relational' job design has largely focused on the motivating influence of service beneficiaries, employees are also strongly motivated by professional relationships with coworkers (Kelley, 1999; Paarlberg, 2007; Vinzant, 1998). As Wilson (1989) describes, 'Peer expectations are both a source of motivation and a force defining what are acceptable and unacceptable tasks' (p. 47). Crewson (1997) finds that organizational commitment is partly dependent on the sense of trust and affiliation the worker has with fellow employees.

One of the important aspects of workplace climate is workgroup esprit characterized by cooperation, friendliness, warmth, and trust in coworkers (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; Jones & James, 1979). Meaningful interactions promote dignity, self-appreciation, and worthiness (Kahn, 1990) and reinforce professional identity and workplace values. (Brehm & Gates, 1997; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Paarlberg, 2007). In a study of whistle-blowing among U.S. police officers, Rothwell and Baldwin (2007) found that a friendly, team-oriented climate enhanced officers' willingness to consider their ethical values and be willing to 'blow the whistle' on unethical behaviors within their departments. In addition, a supportive work environment may also positively influence employees' interactions with service beneficiaries (George, 1995).

Organizational leaders can take various steps to create a cooperative work environment. First, employees and managers can be provided with training to develop and improve their interpersonal and social skills, as well as team-building skills (Maslach et al., 2001). It is particularly important that managers be aware of how to address conflict with employees in ways that are respectful and supportive. Second, organizational leaders and managers must be attuned to the workplace climate and able to proactively intervene when necessary. Third, organizational leaders can be attentive to how workplace practices reflect the organizational mission. An organization with a mission to improve community quality of life may be perceived as being insincere if it promotes workplace practices that exploit its employees. Employees should be involved in discussions of the quality of work life. Finally, as noted earlier, employees may greatly benefit from formal opportunities to talk and share their workplace experiences, especially those experiences that may be stressful or involve conflict (Ashforth et al., 2007; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Vinzant, 1998).

Tactic 7: Commit to creating a supportive workplace environment that models and reinforces public service motivation.

Align Incentives with Intrinsic Motivations

Organizations have long been conceived as systems of equilibrium in which people contribute their effort in return for inducements from the organization (Barnard, 1938; Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982; March & Simon, 1958). Furthermore, the joining of people and inducement or incentives is not random. Individuals select organizations that reflect a mix of motives that are suited to their predispositions (Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982).

Despite the compelling logic that the equilibrium organizations establish with their employees may be imperiled if incentives are altered (Rousseau & Greller, 1994), organizations routinely change their incentive structures. The changes are often externally induced, such as when citizens demand greater performance accountability from public servants. Among the problems of externally induced changes in incentive systems is that they are often unstable because of both the turmoil they create among internal stakeholders and limitations in the power of the new incentives. The introduction of performance-related pay in public organizations, for example, often falls short as an incentive because of the lack of commitment of sufficient budgetary resources to the new incentives (Perry, 1989).

Tactic 8: Create and maintain incentives that align organizational mission and employee predispositions.

Although the optimal design for financial incentives is hard to specify in general, the evidence suggests compensation systems that offer low-powered incentive pay are most effective for rewarding public service (Burgess & Ratto, 2003). The incentive provided by base compensation is typically undervalued and underappreciated in public service work, but research suggests that compensation must meet standards that are driven by external and internal labor markets. Public services must be able to pay enough to hire the most productive workers and retain the highest output workers (Lazear, 1999). But recent research (Borjas, 2003) indicates that internal dispersion in pay—what is more frequently called salary compression in the public sector—is an important design feature. Borjas's findings converge with Lazear's (1999) conclusions that pay growth from promotions is an effective way to discriminate between high and low performers. The essence of this argument is that public pay can be sacrificial, but at extremes it impedes attracting and retaining high-quality staff.

In addition in public organizations, compensation system design must balance logics of consequentiality and appropriateness (March & Olsen, 1989). Financial incentive systems typically rest on the assumption that individuals are self-interested and employee self-interest and organizational goals are best aligned through the distribution of extrinsic rewards (Deckop et al., 1999; Ferraro et al., 2005; Ghoshal, 2005). However, theories about public service motivation assume that individuals are 'internally motived' by intrinsic rewards of public service (Perry & Wise, 1990). A growing body of research on motivation suggests that while some individuals are self-interested and motivated by individualistic, rational, and material motivations, others are motivated by experiences and identities that they receive from being 'other motivated', such as the ability to make social contributions or the social acceptance of complying with normative values (Chetkovich, 2003; Ferraro et al., 2005; Frey & Osterloh, 2005; Ghoshal, 2005).

Wide pay dispersion that results from pay for performance systems may conflict with employees' public service values, resulting in little or no link between performance and pay (Deckop et al., 1999). For example, extrinsic rewards may signal switching value from normative values to an expectation that 'doing one's duty without extra pay is not enough' (Frey & Osterloh, 2005). In a study of public utility employees, pay for performance negated organizational citizenship behavior for those employees with low value commitment (Deckop et al., 1999). When employee and employer interests are not aligned, the 'performance pay link is the main employment exchange' (p. 422) perhaps providing a disincentive for employees to engage in extra-role behaviors. For those who have high levels of value commitment, pay for performance had no statistically significant impact on performance. We believe it is in relatively rare instances, such as those reported by Deckop et al. (1999) and Cohen and Murnane (1985), that performance-related pay 'crowds in' rather than crowds out intrinsic motivation.

Another exception to the injunction to avoid performance-related pay (in contrast to pay linked to promotions) is that there is the limited evidence that prosocial organizational behaviors may be influenced by the existence of group-based incentive plans, such as profit sharing and gain sharing (Deckop et al., 1999; Welbourne & Cable, 1995). In a study of school-based incentive systems in three U.S. school systems, for example, Kelley (1999) found that school-based incentives enhance teacher performance by encouraging professional interactions, which also serve as an effective intrinsic motivation.

Tactic 9: Design compensation systems to emphasize long-term attractiveness to employees and avoid performance-related pay that might crowd out intrinsic motivations.

INTEGRATING PUBLIC SERVICE INTO ORGANIZATIONAL MISSION AND STRATEGY

Organizational ideology—manifested through mission and strategy—can play a key role in shaping employee behavior (Thompson & Bunderson, 2003). As Barnard (1938) notes, 'foresight, long purposes, high ideals, are the basis for the persistence of cooperation' (p. 282). Individuals will commit to an organization and work hard to achieve its goals when they perceive that there is a match between the organization's ideology, manifested through mission, vision and leadership practices, and the individual's values. Creating such an alignment occurs by articulating organizational mission that clearly reflects individual public service values and fostering leadership that can effectively communicate and model such values.

Base Mission and Vision on Employees' Aspirations and Values

For the last decade, public organizations have increasingly been pushed to develop mission statements that describe the purpose of the organization and its vision. In contrast to work goals, compelling missions are broad, qualitative statements about the organization's purpose rather than quantifiable production or financial measures. Mission statements that energize employees are built upon common values, flowing from employees' deeper values and beliefs (Denhardt, 1993). For example, during the closure of the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant, employees were motivated by a clear vision of a positive future that extended well beyond each employee's tenure with the organization. Employees were motivated to work toward closing the plant and losing their jobs by a compelling vision of a clean and safe landscape with no nuclear contamination (Cameron & Lavine, 2006). Employees respond to organizational mission statements and other strategic communications only to the extent that such documents communicate values that fall within employees 'zone of existing values' (Paarlberg & Perry, 2007).

While it is important that public service values be communicated through formal mission statements, values are also transmitted through informal means, such as organizational stories, myths, and symbols (DiIulio, 1994; Trice & Beyer, 1991). In describing how leaders infuse day-to-day behavior with meaning and purpose, Selznick (1957) describes the 'elaboration of socially integrating myths' that use the language of 'uplift and idealism' to describe what is distinctive about the 'aims and methods' of the organization (p. 151). Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) described how case reviews in staff meetings provided the context for social work staff and supervisors to use story telling to discuss dilemmas and experiences in ways that heightened the possibility for 'responsible action'. During the closure of the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant, leaders used visual images to make the goal of safe closure of the nuclear facility come alive. Organizational leaders produced a before and after rendition of their closed plant to motivate employees. In addition, they used acts, such as the demolition of key buildings, to symbolize their mission of a closed facility (Cameron & Lavine, 2006). DiIulio (1994) described the more mundane use of logos and symbols on T-shirts, ball caps, and mugs as motivating ways to communicate the mission of the organization.

Tactic 10: Articulate and symbolize organization mission and vision in ways that connect with employees' zone of existing public service values.

Promote Value-Based Leadership

In conceptualizing the relationship between leadership and ethical behavior, Wimbush and Shepard (1994) suggest that the behavior of organizational leaders and supervisors is the primary influence on employee behavior. Employees will do what they see their supervisors do rather than what the policy manual dictates. When faced with an ethical dilemma at work, individuals are most likely to consult their 'boss' rather than colleagues outside of the workplace (Posner & Schmidt, 1987).

An important lever to promote public service values is value-based leadership, encompassing processes of servant, transformational, spiritual, and authentic leadership (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). These value-based models of leadership involve processes by which leaders communicate values that raise followers' consciousness about idealized goals and then get followers to transcend their own self-interest for the sake of larger goals. They communicate high expectations and inspire followers to become part of larger goals, stimulating followers not only to change their own belief systems, but also to be creative problem solvers (Bass, 1985).

Value-based leaders communicate goals and values, and model behaviors that are consistent with public service values. They raise their followers' consciousness about idealized goals by articulating high standards of moral and ethical conduct, and acting as prosocial role models. Leaders who shape values within an organization 'exhibit sincere and sustained commitment to values and channel their ambitions into the success of the organization and the people around them' (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). They develop expectations of reciprocity by offering respect and empathy for followers, as well as providing followers with the tools and skills to grow. In addition, value-based leaders lead by example, modeling 'transparent decision making, confidence, optimism, hope and resilience, and consistency between their words and deeds' (Avolio & Gardner, 2005, p. 326).Value-based leadership requires that organizations select individuals for positions of leadership who exhibit values that transcend individual self-interest, such as social justice, equality, benevolence, honesty, and loyalty (Avolio & Gardner, 2005).

Tactic 11: Encourage and reward the development of leaders who communicate and model public service values.

CREATING SOCIETAL LEGITIMACY FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

Up until this point, our strategies to influence the performance of public employees have focused on individual-level strategies that either select individuals with such values or employ organizational processes and practices to link public service values and behavior. Our final strategy is to proactively increase societal support for public service values and management practices that support such values. These strategies require that organizational leaders possess visionary skills to develop broad understanding of the problem and proposed solutions and political skills to turn a proposed solution into a specific policy or program (Crosby & Bryson, 2005).

Fostering Institutional Societal Support for Public Service

Individuals learn values through social interactions in families, religious organizations (Flanagan et al., 1998), professional societies (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997), and educational institutions and programs (Galston, 2001). For example, Perry (1997) finds that professional affiliations are positively related to civic duty and self-sacrifice. Professions have long advanced ethical and moral norms of social justice, the common good, and obligation to public service. Attachments to professional associations may also help sustain participation in public by providing ongoing opportunities for participants to act upon their public service motivation (Planty et al., 2006). Another group that has a direct stake in heightening attention to public service is labor unions. While labor unions have often taken a defensive position in relation to public service, there are clear examples of labor unions developing a new vision on the public service and working in a positive partnership with government (Farnham et al., 2005). If labor unions were to put public service on their institutional agendas, it would increase the likelihood of broader external legitimacy.

In educational settings, both formal civic education and the discussion of civics in other curricula may be associated with acceptance of democratic principles, political participation, and a broader concern with societal issues (Galston, 2001). An open classroom climate seemed to be an essential element of any form of civic education (Hooghe & Stolle, 2003). Public leaders can enhance the public service values of future generations of public sector workers through partnerships with other institutions that explicitly promote the inclusion of public service values.

Tactic 12: Foster institutional support for the incorporation of public service values into professional and educational curriculum.

PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCES

Youth experiences contribute to a large extent to the shaping of political attitudes and behaviors among adults (Stolle & Hooghe, 2004). Early involvement in service may promote continued commitment to service and an interest in public affairs by socializing youth into public service roles, creating a 'civic identity' and providing opportunities to practice coordinated action toward a common good (Planty et al., 2006; Youniss et al., 1997). Participation in voluntary groups and movements introduces youth to ideologies that transcend individual self-interests.

Early interactions with public service beneficiaries also help young people to create a connection with others by allowing them to see beneficiaries as individuals with complex needs that are connected to larger structural issues, fostering a commitment not only to particular groups, but also to broader policy issues (Planty et al., 2006). Such developmental service experiences allow youth to internalize prosocial motivations that may materialize as public service motivation in the workplace. For example, the Internationale Bouworde (International Building Movement) has built thousands of houses, churches, schools, and medical centers, while raising the social consciousness of youth and providing an opportunity to express their solidarity with the underprivileged.

Leaders can help facilitate such experiences by developing partnerships with secondary and postsecondary institutions that encourage meaningful student internships, volunteerism, and service-learning experiences (Houston, 2006; Lewis & Frank, 2002).

Some nations have long required national service (Sherraden & McBride, 2007), and others have provided opportunities for youth to engage in service through several formal initiatives. In Europe, the Youth Partnership seeks to promote participation and citizenship, while in the United State, a series of presidential initiatives, such as John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps, George H. W. Bush's Thousand Points of Light, and Bill Clinton's AmeriCorps (Perry & Thomson, 2004), have also promoted public service. The U.S. Presidential Management Fellows Program attracts young employees who have a clear interest in service and public policy into government by offering early career opportunities for young professionals. Government leaders can ensure the existence of such national service leaders by engaging in political advocacy on behalf of such initiatives, and when possible, sponsoring service members.

Tactic 13: Advocate for and provide opportunities for preservice experiences.

Discuss the Role of Public Service across the Society

One facet of creating external legitimacy for public service is to make public service an acceptable topic for discussion across the society. Unlike the period in the United States after Kennedy's election when public service was widely discussed and valued, public rhetoric and discourse in many parts of the world have been indifferent and sometimes hostile to open discussion and debate about public service.

Although we do not believe that public service will mobilize mass participation, we believe some steps can be taken to create climates more receptive for public service. Effort by groups such as the U.S.-based Partnership for Public Service is an organized effort to elevate debate about the role of public service in society. Just as Kennedy helped to elevate public regard for public service in an earlier era, political leaders must also be called to take positions—especially to articulate the case *for* public service. The genre of 'political biography' and campaign manifesto has become a necessity for political candidates in recent years. These media (see e.g. Lieberman, 2000) could be another means for establishing a more favorable climate. Mass media—newspapers, television, Weblogs—could also facilitate wider debate about public service.

Tactic 14: Bring public service to the attention of the broader society.

CONCLUSION

Ongoing changes in the nature of work and the characteristics of the labor pool, as well as declining resources available to support government activities, are pushing government agencies across the globe to become more effective in attracting, retaining, and motivating employees (Perry et al., 2006). While many efforts to improve the performance of government employees and their respective organizations have focused on increased material incentives and bureaucratic efforts to control employee actions, we have proposed 14 tactics to improve performance through managing the values that motivate public sector employees. Table 13.1 summarizes these tactics. These tactics encourage managers at all levels of an organization to use management tools and processes to promote public service motivation. Constructing systems that promote and support public service motivation involves radical changes from past practice and are not without costs. We conclude with some general remarks.

First, there may also be a dark side to values management. Creating a workforce with shared public service values inherently limits the diversity of perspectives within an organization and may create an environment in which individuals get lost in the collective (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Kreiner et al., 2006). Employees may also feel that efforts to tap into their core values are manipulative and perceive that they are being 'engineered'. Pressure to engage in prosocial behaviors may lead to overload, increased job stress, and tension between work and home life (Bolino & Turnley, 2005). For example, Vigoda-Gadot (2006) finds that in her study of Israeli school teachers that almost three-fourth of them felt strong pressure to engage in what had once been considered 'extra' behaviors. Managers who attempt to lead based upon strong values also run the risk of being accused of 'hypocrisy' when employees perceive that managers are violating organization values (Cha & Edmondson, 2006). Also, there are times that even when leaders are true to an ethical set of values, they may lack the legitimacy to positively influence followers. Eagly (2005) suggests that followers are less likely to accord women and minority leaders the ability to promote values on their behalf. Finally, although we have largely emphasized the motivating influence of positive organizational missions, sometimes individuals in public organizations must engage in unpleasant work—work that is physically or socially 'dirty' or work that inflicts harm on others—in order to achieve a larger societal good (Ashforth et al., 2007; Molinsky & Margolis, 2005). In these contexts, employees who are motivated by a strong value set that emphasizes service to others may experience great conflict.

Table 13.1. Summary of strategies and tactics for applying public service motivation

Unit of analysis	Strategy	Tactics
Individual	*Integrate public service motivation into human resource management processes*	*Select based upon public service motivation* *Socialize individuals into expectations of behavior that reflect public service motivation* *Utilize performance appraisals that include observations of behaviors that reflect public service motivations*
Job	*Create and convey meaning and purpose in the jobs*	*Convey social significance of job* *Establish clear goals in line with existing public service motivations*
Work environment	*Create a supportive work environment for public service motivation*	*Create work structures that enhance self-regulation* *Encourage cooperative workplace interactions* *Create and maintain incentives that align organizational mission and employee public service motivation* *Design compensation systems that emphasize long-term attractiveness to employees and do not crowd out intrinsic motivations*
Organization	*Integrate public service into organization mission and strategy*	*Articulate organization vision and action that reflect commitment to public service motivation* *Promote value-based leadership*
Society	*Create societal legitimacy for public service*	*Partner with societal institutions to incorporate public service values into curriculum* *Advocate for and provide opportunities for pre-service experiences* *Use media to bring public service to attention of society*

Second, we caution that no one tactic will improve individual or organizational performance—tactics have reinforcing and synergistic effects (Combs et al., 2006). For example, a strong public service ideology will be effective only if employees share these public service values. Similarly, recruiting and hiring employees with strong public service values will positively motivate employees only if employees perceive that their tasks are significant and that they work in environments that provide them with the opportunities to act upon their motivations. As noted earlier, people who join an organization with a strong commitment to service become frustrated and angry when their desire to serve is constrained by institutional and organizational rules (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007). Implementing public service motivation requires integration of recruitment, selection, and appraisal of individuals with job design, organizational culture and social relationships, incentives systems, and organizational strategy. In doing so, public service becomes part of all organization strategic initiatives. Scholars and practitioners will need to work together to better understand these complex interactions.

Finally, the process of managing public service values requires a new set of skill sets for organizational leaders. In addition, to the traditional skill set required to effectively plan and control organizational activities, values management requires that organizational leaders also be adept at a myriad of social activities. Values management requires that leaders be able to translate complex and often vague goals, be adept at using stories and other symbols to tap into employees' core public service values, and have high levels of social intelligence to be sensitive to and comfortable facilitating social interactions in the workplace.

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14

Directions for Future Theory and Research

James L. Perry and Annie Hondeghem

This volume has reviewed theory and research about public service motivation. The contributors have collectively woven a rich tapestry about history, antecedents, outcomes, and variations across countries and sectors. In this concluding chapter, we seek to synthesize major ideas developed here. We are particularly interested in summarizing and elaborating the directions the contributors offer for future theory and research. What needs to follow the progress of the past two decades? What research is critical for advancing both the state of the science and managerial practice?

Our concluding discussion proceeds by asking and answering two questions. We begin with the question, what do we know about public service motivation? We believe scholars have made significant progress in recent years and we try to summarize the progress, which is illuminated in the contributions to this book. We then tackle a more difficult question: What are the ambiguities, gaps, and uncertainties in our understanding of public service motivation and, therefore, what do we need to learn? Flowing from this question, we formulate a two-track research agenda. The first track looks at what disciplines that study other-regarding orientations might undertake to help close gaps in our knowledge. The second track looks at priorities for public service motivation research in public management and administration.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION?

What we know can be summarized in terms of five themes: the constructs, incidence, antecedents, outcomes, and organizational systems.

The Constructs

In our introduction, we took note of research across many disciplines around a varied set of ideas—among them altruism, prosocial behavior, and public service motivation—that share a common core. Common among these ideas are other-regarding orientations. The scope of who the 'other' is might vary from individuals to organizations to society at large. Horton (this volume) and Koehler and Rainey (this volume), using evidence drawn from the humanities, economics, social science, and natural sciences, reinforced the view that a critical mass of scholarship is developing that informs research. Horton's philosophical and cross-national review of the idea of public service ethos drives home the point that public service has been an ever-present idea and ideal throughout history. Koehler and Rainey (this volume) demonstrate that the scientific foundations for public service motivation run deep throughout many of the social and behavioral sciences.

One way to think about the array of related, other-regarding constructs considered throughout this book is that they are nested within a hierarchy of constructs, that is, public service motivation is a specific expression of prosocial, other-oriented motives, goals, and values. Public service motivation understood either as institutionally unique motives associated with public service (Perry & Wise, 1990), or beliefs and values that transcend self and organizational interests on behalf of a larger political entity (Vandenabeele, 2007), could be conceived as a subset, for instance, of the overarching idea of altruism. The hierarchical relationship between public service motivation and altruism can be inferred directly from Rainey and Steinbauer's definition of public service motivation, which they define as 'general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind' (Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999, p. 20).

Another way to conceive the relationships among the array of other-regarding constructs is as complements to one another. Although exchanges across disciplines and constructs have been limited, the critical mass of scholarship now being conducted about related constructs in many fields creates significant opportunities for cross-fertilization. In addition, it may be premature to assume that public service motivation should be nested within an array of related constructs. It is conceivable, for instance, that rational self-interest plays a much larger role in understanding public service motivation or that the nature of the motivation may vary by context. Another reason for caution about the relationships among related, other-regarding concepts is the problem of attribution. Behaviors that are attributed by scholars as prosocial and public service motivated may, in fact, fail to capture the real intent of the actor. If this is the case, then nesting public service motivation within a hierarchy of constructs may be premature. Thus, we believe thinking in terms of the construct complementarity could be fruitful.

These two paths—nested hierarchies and complementarity—are not mutually exclusive. We would, in fact, strongly encourage scholars who identify with one path to give more attention to the other. This would increase the cross-fertilization we refer to above.

With respect to the focal construct, public service motivation, which is salient for public management scholars, we can draw several conclusions based upon the contributions to this volume. Wright (this volume) notes that public service motivation is developing as a reasonably robust, complex, theory-based construct. Although early research was grounded in altruistic work-related reward preferences, recent research is grounded more fully in motivation theory. The genesis for recent theory-based research was Perry and Wise (1990). Building upon the research of Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982), they proposed that public service motivation was associated with three types of motives: affective, norm-based, and rational. These three types of human motives are the foundation for the distinct dimensions of public service motivation. Public service motivation is therefore a multidimensional construct with an overarching meaning. As Pandey and Stazyk (this volume) argue, it is different from other work-related constructs such as organizational commitment and job satisfaction. The impact of public service motivation on behavior, independent from other work-related concepts, however, remains unclear (Wright & Pandey, 2005).

Incidence

Many of the contributions to this volume provide evidence related to incidence. As Koehler and Rainey (this volume) demonstrated, one important aspect of incidence, particularly relevant to the extent that altruism and self-sacrifice are integral to public service motivation, is that biological and evolutionary mechanisms are among the sources for other-regarding motives. This means that the stimulus for public service motivation is not only social, but also biological. We might infer that the origins of public service motivation help to account for both how widely it is found and why the other-regarding behavior can sometimes surface as a seeming anomaly among people who are otherwise self-interested.

Other contours of the incidence of public service motivation are consistent with theory and supported by recent empirical research. It is higher among employees working in the public sector than the private (Crewson, 1997; Lewis & Frank, 2002; Steijn, in press). Questions remain, however, about causal processes underlying the differences. Do people enter the public sector because of their attraction to public service, or do public organizations increase public service motivation through mechanisms of socialization, social identification, and social learning as suggested by Perry and Vandenabeele (this volume)? Like the prospective nested versus complementary relationships discussed above, we probably need to explore reasons for differences as caused by both attraction and socialization processes rather than confined to one of these sources exclusively.

Although public service motivation is higher in the public sector than the private sector, this does not mean that it is absent in private organizations. As Steen (this volume) argued, public service motivation might take other forms in private organizations, such as corporate social responsibility and organizational citizenship behavior. As we argue later, how public service motivation is enacted in the private sector should be a research priority.

Evidence for public service motivation extends across a range of countries. Thus far, most of the research on public service motivation emanates from the United States, but there is increasing evidence that it is also found in countries in Europe and Asia. Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (this volume), using survey data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), showed that public service motivation is a more or less universal concept, but that its constituent dimensions are not necessarily universal. Historical and institutional differences might explain the different pattern of public service motivation in different countries.

Based upon limited recent research in the United States (Light, 2003; Lyons et al., 2006; Mann, 2006), one could speculate that public service motivation may be higher in the nonprofit than the government sector. This inference is not entirely surprising given the public-benefit functions of nonprofit organizations in the United States. Declines in the nature and attractiveness of work in government may exacerbate such trends. Changes resulting from new public management reforms (Pratchett & Wingfield, 1996) have served to move intrinsically motivating work from government to other social sectors and, perhaps simultaneously, raise doubts about the attractiveness of public service. A generational shift, where people might be attracted into the public sector today more because of the work than because of the idea of public service (Horton & Hondeghem, 2006), may also be influencing shifting motivational orientations. These relatively speculative inferences merit clarification through future research.

Antecedents

In developing a network of empirical relationships for a new construct, one of the first places scholars look is at the construct's antecedents. Research about antecedents helps to verify expected empirical relationships and can begin to unravel causal structures associated with the construct. Research to date about antecedents of public service motivation has been limited, but some variables have been consistently significant and other findings are suggestive of important relationships.

Pandey and Stazyk (this volume) report that the most robust of the socio-demographic antecedents are education, gender, and age. A consistent finding is that a higher level of education is associated with a higher level of public service motivation. The findings for the other variables are less uniformly consistent. Some difficulties in efforts to identify consistent antecedent relationships are the result of variations across the construct's dimensions.

Antecedent research also supports the importance of socialization by parents, religious institutions, and professional organizations as important influences on public service motivation. Youth experiences contribute to a large extent to the shaping of political attitudes and behaviors in adulthood (Stolle & Hooghe, 2004). As Pandey and Stazyk (this volume) reported, most studies have found a positive relationship between professional identification and public service motivation.

A promising avenue for research on antecedents is the impact of work organizations in fostering and sustaining public service motivation. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) found a negative relation between public service motivation and red tape, but the impact of organizational culture was inconclusive. An interesting research question is how day-to-day experiences in work organizations affect the level of public service motivation. Early research has found a negative relation between public service motivation and tenure (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).

Outcomes

To put the research about outcomes into context, we turn to a classic distinction made by Katz (1964), who identified three types of behaviors that organizations need to elicit. These behaviors are membership, reliable role performance, and episodic performance. In the context of public service, Katz's threefold distinction corresponds to the contents of Leisink and

Steijn (this volume), Brewer (this volume), and Maesschalck et al. (this volume).

With respect to membership, as is demonstrated by Leisink and Steijn (this volume), public service motivation appears to influence the attraction-selection-retention cycle. People who are higher in public service motivation are more likely to find themselves in situations in which they can actualize their public service motives. They are also more likely to stay in such situations. Thus, individual and organizational choices align consistently with attraction-selection-retention processes.

The research is not extensive, but ethical behaviors are also positively associated with public service motivation. Although ethical behavior, which was the primary focus of Maesschalck et al. (this volume), is usually conceived as outside the performance equation in the private sector, it is more central to performance in most public service. When we conceive of individual performance as something more than merely job- or task-goal performance, then principled behaviors, such as whistle-blowing, are legitimated parts of individual performance. A strong case can be made, for instance, that whistle-blowing is not only 'in-role' rather than 'extra-role' behavior, but that such principled action is obligatory for civil and public servants.[1]

Episodic performance, the third distinction made by Katz, is the arena about which we know the least. Gene Brewer (this volume), who reviewed public service motivation research about employee and organizational performance, proposed the need for significant new research in this area. We return explicitly to the issue of outcomes research in our agenda below.

Public service motivation is associated with outcomes not only in the organization, but also outside the organization, in the public square. As demonstrated by Houston (this volume), public employees are more likely to participate in civic and other organizations as well as engage in volunteering and charitable acts. The question remains, however, whether dynamics other than public service motivation might better explain these findings.

Organizational systems

Evidence has accumulated in the past two decades that incentive structures and public service motivation are related. In their original exposition on the motivational bases of public service, Perry and Wise (1990) argued organizations that rely on public service motivation are less likely to depend on utilitarian incentives to manage individual performance effectively. Their contention is borne out by recent research on motivation crowding. Motivation crowding, a term applied by economists to consequences of interventions in the form of monetary incentives or punishments (Frey, 1997; Frey & Jegen, 2001), shows that using extrinsic incentives can lower motivation among employees with high levels of intrinsic motivation. This economics-based research reinforces Ryan and Deci's long-standing research on intrinsic motivation and self-determination (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Although motivation crowding draws upon self-determination and other psychological theories to explain its unexpected findings, it has developed independently of these psychological and social psychological bodies of research.

Donald Moynihan (this volume) chronicles recent 'new public management' reforms that seek to alter what he calls the normative model built on an ideal of a public service ethic. Moynihan points to research by Frey and others to support his contention that the 'new public management' may detract from public performance by eroding strengths of the normative model. He does not call for turning the clock back, but instead urges more attention to taking advantage of the best of both models. Although Moynihan uses existing evidence persuasively, his arguments need to be subjected to more research before we can treat them as givens.

WHAT CAN DISCIPLINES DO TO CLOSE THE KNOWLEDGE GAP?

The research on public service motivation raises some general questions that are relevant for all disciplines dealing with motivation of employees in work organizations. We single out four themes in particular: relationships among different motives, individual differences, the stability of prosocial and public service motivations, and public service motivation's relationships to other constructs.

How do Public Service Motives Interact with Other Motives?

During the last decade, the dominance of rational choice models has begun to give way to more diversified and nuanced perspectives about foundations for human motivation. We are moving from an 'either-or' world, dominated by rational choice, toward an integration of approaches. We are uncertain, however, about what form integration or synthesis will take.

We sought in this volume to review research associated with several rubrics—altruism, prosocial behavior, and public service motivation—that made the case that service on behalf of others is a meaningful driver of human choice and action. At the same time, we are less confident about how all the research fits together. One reflection of our lack of knowledge about integration or synthesis is how often we relied on dichotomies, that is framing theory in either-or terms, to describe phenomena. These dichotomies range from rational versus altruistic, to intrinsic versus extrinsic, to consequentiality versus appropriateness.

Perry and Vandenabeele (this volume) turned to the consequentiality-appropriateness dichotomy proposed by March and Olsen (1989) to place in relief different visions of human agency. Although we believe a logic of appropriateness is important for a complete understanding of motivation, our understanding of how it fits with a logic of consequentiality is underdeveloped. Many unanswered questions surround the integration of the two perspectives. Theory and research, for example, indicate that a greater orientation toward others is associated with less rational self-interest (Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). But what triggers the activation of other orientation? Under what circumstances do individuals engage in personally costly cooperative behaviors?

Learning how public service motives interact with other motives is important for illuminating the longstanding debate about extrinsic and intrinsic rewards. Recent research in economics (Frey, 1997; Frey & Jegen, 2001) has brought interesting new perspective to the extrinsic-intrinsic debate, but the issues are far from settled. Although we believe that extrinsic rewards usually crowd out, rather than crowd in, intrinsic motivations in public service, Eisenberger and Cameron (1996) argue, for instance, that, in general, the detrimental effects of extrinsic rewards occur under highly restricted, easily avoidable conditions. Given that the debate rages on, research about public service motivation could help to clarify whether extrinsic and intrinsic motivations can coexist, are substitutes for one another, or interact in yet other ways. Such research would also be helpful for specifying conditions under which extrinsic rewards are detrimental to intrinsic motivation and the likelihood of mitigating the conditions that create the detrimental effects.

How Can We Understand Individual Differences?

Even if we accept the basic assumption that it is the nature of people to want to provide benefit to others, we do not have many answers to the question why individuals vary in levels of altruism and prosocial or public service motivation, as Koehler and Rainey (this volume) note. The answers can be sought in biological, psychological, and societal factors. Here we raise a fundamental question that holds for many phenomena: What is innate and what is learned? This question is important because how we answer it has an impact on the degree of human intervention to change behavior.

An interesting research question is how other-regarding orientations change over the life course. Based upon previous research (McAdams, 2006; Midlarsky, 1991) and theory, they would appear to increase with age, but the volume of research is such that we cannot assume the issue is settled. Perhaps a more difficult question involves the conditions that cause prosocial motives to increase and decrease with age. A recent study of volunteers who received the national Daily Points of Light Award (Perry et al., in press) suggests that transformational life events are important in redirecting people toward more prosocial, other-regarding pursuits. Research about conditions that lead to changes in prosocial motives and behaviors would contribute to understanding the effects of interventions to change other-regarding orientations.

Research on individual differences should also be extended to the role individual traits play in shaping other-regarding orientations. What types of individuals are most likely to construe civic duty as an obligation? What traits are the best predictors of compassion or self-sacrifice? Shedding light on the influence of traits on public service motivation has a variety of theoretical and practical implications and, therefore, merits much greater attention than scholars have accorded it.

One approach to studying individual differences is suggested by the research of Brewer et al. (2000). They explored how individuals who perform public services view these activities. They uncovered four distinct roles or self-concepts: samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians. They concluded that individuals with similar levels of public service motivation can perceive how they perform their roles differently. The approach and techniques they used could be a starting point for more future research about individual differences.

How Stable or Changeable is Public Service Motivation?

Public service motives may be relatively stable individual traits that remain more or less the same during one's lifetime. If public service motives are conceived in this way, an inference is that work experience will have little impact on the degree of public service motivation. Another prospect is that public service motivation is a dynamic trait, which can change over time and can be influenced by work experience. To sort out how dynamic or stable public service motivation is, we need longitudinal research to assess the evolution of public service motivation during one's lifetime, including pre-entry, entry, and post-entry work experiences.

Early research has found a negative relationship between public service motivation and tenure (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007). This is an important finding that deserves further investigation. One explanation might be found in the 'frustrated' service ethic suggested by Buchanan (1975). Furthermore, Romzek and Hendricks (1982) found that members who joined an organization with a strong commitment to public service may lose their enthusiasm over time as their hopes to contribute are frustrated. However, there are also signs that deliberate changes in public organizations might enhance public service motivation. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) found that the perception that an organization is actively implementing reforms, such as quality management, decentralization, and empowerment, is positively associated with public service motivation. So an important question is: what factors in organizations can account for an increase or a decrease of public service motivation (Cerase & Farinella, 2006). A specific question is whether personnel policies may be conducive to public service motivation (Leisink, 2004).

How is Public Service Motivation Linked to Related Constructs?

Another 'liability of newness' is that the institutionally grounded public service motivation on which this volume has largely focused is not yet situated in the larger constellation of concepts and theory in the social sciences generally and the organization sciences specifically. Considerable research still needs to be done to flesh out what psychologists call the nomological net, that is, the system of relationships that locate public service motivation in the constellation of social science concepts. Likely concepts for inclusion in such a nomological net are job involvement, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behavior, psychological outcomes (attitudes, emotions, values), and behavioral outcomes (effort, performance, turnover, absenteeism, ethical behavior). In some respects, this task is sufficiently all encompassing that we suggest several issues about which we need to know a great deal more.

The first issue is the distinctiveness or discriminant validity of public service motivation in relation to other constructs. How different is public service motivation from these other concepts? To what degree does public service motivation explain variance in relevant variables that cannot be explained by other constructs?

The second issue concerns causal relationships among these concepts. What is the causal ordering among the concepts? What are the cause–effect relationships? Are some of the relationships among the concepts reciprocal or simultaneous? Unraveling the causal relationships is likely to be a long-term undertaking, but it merits a place on future research agenda.

The third question deals with mediators and moderators which can influence the relationship between the concepts, for example, the relationship between public service motivation and important work-related outcomes. In terms of ethical behavior, for example, Maesschalck et al. (this volume) suggest that public service motivation can be considered an intermediary variable between organizational constellations and ethical conduct. The hypothesis is that it can reinforce, block, or neutralize ethical conduct. In order to find an answer to these questions, we should use more complex research designs and more sophisticated analytical tools to test for causal relations and mediating/moderating effects of the different variables.

WHAT ARE PRIORITIES FOR FUTURE PUBLIC MANAGEMENT RESEARCH?

The contributors have identified many ways in which we can advance our understanding of motivation for public service. We direct readers to individual chapters to review these ideas and will avoid repeating many of them here. We are interested instead in drawing attention to several priority issues for future research.

Strengthening the Public Service Motivation Construct

The contributions to this volume suggest that the public service motivation construct can be improved on two fronts, one conceptual and the other operational. The conceptual improvement involves sharpening and clarifying the dimensionalities of public service motivation. The operational improvement is conceptually independent, but related. As Bradley Wright (this volume) concluded, it will be important for future research either to develop a measure of public service motivation that is used more consistently or demonstrate the equivalency of different public service motivation measures.

To some extent, the need for sharpening and clarifying the dimensionalities of public service motivation is a result of the growth of research internationally. As several contributors to this volume noted, research about public service motivation began in a U.S. context. Efforts to extend research about the construct to Europe, Asia, and—to a lesser extent—Australia, have raised issues about dimensionalities and operational measures for non-U.S. contexts. Vandenabeele's first attempt to validate the original scale in Belgium met with mixed success (Vandenabeele, in press), but his more recent efforts produced results similar to Perry (1996). Vandenabeele identified one additional dimension, democratic governance, which suggests the dimensionalities of public service motivation are relatively stable, but may also vary according to country institutional differences.

The issue of the conceptual composition of the construct across countries and operationalization of the dimensions for cross-national research raises special issues associated with Wright's call for greater consistency. Although we cannot resolve questions about these complex issues here, we believe that investigators in different countries will need to take responsibility for assessing conceptually what public service motivation means in their countries. The power of statistical techniques such as confirmatory factor analysis will permit tests of whether hypothesized dimensions in a particular national setting represent a common higher order latent variable. The dimensionalities of public service motivation from country to country are but one facet, however, of the challenges for doing cross-national research and comparison. We also need to be sure to follow clear research strategies for assuring equivalence of survey items cross-nationally and use best practices for cross-national validation of operational measures (Harkness, 1999; Johnson, 1998; Mullen, 1995).

A specific issue that needs to be explored from a measurement perspective is how the public service motivation construct intersects with public values. Maesschalck et al. (this volume) suggest that the public service motivation concept could be enlarged so that it includes more of the strong ethical dimensions of governance such as impartiality, honesty, and reliability. It is conceivable that this line of research could be pursued in conjunction with further research on the democratic governance dimension identified by Vandenabeele (in press). Although motivation and values are conceptually different, Maesschalck et al. also note that both concepts come closer together once we try to measure them. Because motivation cannot be measured directly, it is often measured indirectly through beliefs and values.

Articulating Key Institutional Assumptions about Public Service Motivation

Perry and Vandenabeele (this volume) referred to Shamir's criticism that motivation theory be more explicit about the domain of its application

(Shamir, 1991). To what behaviors or categories of behavior is the theory applicable? In what circumstances or situations is the theory most applicable? What determines whether individuals take consequentiality or appropriateness courses of action? One way in which research about public service motivation can address these questions and establish boundary conditions is to articulate key institutional assumptions.

A way to begin to address the boundary issue is by conducting research on a limited set of public services to identify how incumbents in these positions construe their roles and identities. Do street-level bureaucrats, for example, have the same conception of public service motivation as higher-level officials in policy advisory functions who also play roles as stewards of public institution values? Do incumbents in low-skilled, routine jobs exhibit variations in other regarding motives? If they do, then what accounts for these differences? Scholars could systematically compare public service roles such as police officers, social workers (Vinzant, 1998), and firefighters (Grant, in press[a]; Lee & Olshfski, 2002) to assess commonalities and differences in the ways they articulate their identities and motivations. Such research could illuminate the breadth of the values and identities associated with public service motivation and its robustness across domains, organizations, and roles.

At a macro level, a useful research initiative would be to look systematically at motivation in public service settings across situations in which institutional rules are quite different (Koppell, 2003; Perry & Rainey, 1988). This research might begin with a synthesis or meta-analysis of motivational research where findings are sorted by the organizational attributes of ownership, financing, and control (Perry & Rainey, 1988). Syntheses of previous research could begin to unlock key institutional assumptions and the organizational settings to which they apply. Despite the many debates surrounding motivation in organizations, motivation scholars, as Shamir (1991) argued persuasively, have been less attentive to macro-contextual factors. Given the long-term bias among psychologists and organizational behavior scholars against institutional analysis, this is a line of research that likely needs to be initiated from within public management and administration in order to receive the attention it deserves.

Exploring the Relation between Public Service Motivation and Performance

We observed above that we have made progress in learning about selected outcomes associated with public service motivation, specifically whether it is a factor in attraction-selection processes that influences matching between prospective employees and organizations and whether its directs people toward ethical behavior and prosocial behaviors in the public square. As Gene Brewer (this volume) documents, however, we have limited evidence about other aspects of public service motivation-performance relationships.

In addition to the research agenda Brewer (this volume) sets out, we believe another question that needs to be addressed is how public service motivation and performance interact over time. Research to date views public service motivation as a driver of performance, but we also need research that investigates whether performance is a driver of public service motivation. Hirschman (1982) suggested that individuals' satisfactions and dissatisfactions in pursuing public interests were consequential for their future behavior, explaining both the intensity of their commitments to public interests and withdrawal from such pursuits. Hirschman's conjecture, which touches on how public service motivation and performance interact, has not been investigated empirically. The motivational framework outlined in Shamir et al. (1993) supports the proposition that performance is likely embedded in a reciprocal relationship with public service motivation in high-performing public services. Research on the relationships could be highly informative for both theory and practice.

Studying Public Service Motivation in Different Settings

Many interesting, unexplored questions lie ahead when we begin to think about studying public service motivation in different settings. First, there is not much research comparing public service motivation within the public sector. Most of the time the public sector is considered as one homogeneous employer, but it might be hypothesized that the degree as well as the dimensions of public service motivation are dependent on the mission and tasks performed by the organization.

Second, much research is to be done to find evidence for public service motivation in different countries and regions. This is important not only to validate the public service motivation construct, but also to investigate the influence of the country/region as an institution on public service motivation.

Third, an unexplored research area so far is public service motivation in the private sector. Trui Steen (this volume) enumerates some of these research issues. One of the issues is how and under what circumstances employees who are motivated by public service can influence the corporate social responsibility agenda of their organization. Another issue is how private organizations should deal with public service motivation of their employees. Is it best to advise employees to put their public service motivation into action outside the organization or are there ways to channel these motives on behalf of the organization even if the setting is not geared toward prosocial motivation and behavior?

Improving the Practice of Public Management

Part 4 of this volume has explicitly drawn attention to practical issues at both macro and micro levels. At a macro level, Donald Moynihan assessed the motivational implications of the line of reforms known as 'new public management'. Laurie Paarlberg, James Perry, and Annie Hondeghem investigated the question of how to convert public service motivation theory into practice. The need for research that will support appropriate changes in organizations and institutions is critical.

A strategic priority for improving practice is research about how to create balance between 'rational choice'-based systems and 'public service motivation'–based systems. Recent research on motivation crowding (Frey, 1997) highlights the risks of weighting reward systems too heavily toward rational choice, thereby crowding out intrinsic rewards. It also calls attention to the benefits of seeking an optimal balance—that is, using extrinsic incentives to crowd-in intrinsic rewards.

Another research priority should involve not just 'what' reforms to undertake, but 'how'. Institutional designs in the public sector tend to persist because they are 'overdetermined', perpetuated by the operational, collective choice, and constitutional systems in which they are embedded (Bekke et al., 1996). Thus, effecting change becomes an enormous challenge about which we need to learn more. Specific studies of successful and unsuccessful cases in which public service motivation was introduced could help to jump start research along these lines.

Another substantive arena for applied research about public service motivation is leadership. As Paarlberg et al. (this volume) argued, leaders can influence public service motivation through several mechanisms, including engaging employees' existing values, infusing jobs with meaning, and highlighting and rewarding public service values. These processes are not well understood, however, so a robust research program on the role of leaders in building conditions for public service motivation would be desirable. Such a research program could be organized around leadership challenges arising from relevant theory, particularly the challenge of increasing public service motivation. The specific challenges worth investigating include how leaders raise the salience of collective identities and values in followers' self-concepts, linking the organizational mission to organization members' and clients' identities and values, and linking members' job behaviors to their identities and values.

The leadership issue raises a broader question about human nature and human agency: To what extent are individuals' reactions to cues learned or natural? Are the organizational participants we observe as highly self-interested the way they are because of their natural instincts or have they learned to behave in self-interested ways? Could their behaviors become more prosocial if they were exposed to different circumstances? These questions return us again to the human nature question we posed in our introduction to this book, but the question is profoundly important for the assumptions we bring to managerial and organizational action.

In order to support managers and human resources staff to deal with public service motivation in their organization, there is a need for practical tools. How can we identify the public service motivation of candidates in a selection context? How do we effectively integrate public service motivation into performance appraisal systems? The instruments that have been developed to date were oriented toward a research context, but not toward a practical human resources context. Our point is that before public service motivation can become a practical management tool, more investments need to be made.

CONCLUSION

This volume is a window on many interesting and important developments in motivation research generally and, more specifically, to research on motivation in public management. The research questions we synthesized in this concluding chapter could bring more interesting developments in the next decade. We encourage scholars to take up the challenges of the research agenda articulated here.

In the course of pursuing the substantive research questions to help inform our understanding of theory and practice surrounding public service motivation, we need to embrace a variety of methodological approaches. The field of public management, in general, has relied heavily on quasi-experimental survey research designs, which often involve secondary analysis of data collected for other purposes. The many measures of public service motivation Wright (this volume) reports are, in part, a result of scholars relying on secondary data. Research on public service motivation can advance if scholars used more original, well-designed panel studies, laboratory (Bozeman & Scott, 1992) and field experiments (Grant, in press[a]; Grant, in press[b]), and simulations (Cardenas & Ostrom, 2004; Deadman et al., 2000).

As scholars pursue their research agendas, we also encourage them to pay attention to overarching meta-issues. One of the most important of these meta-issues is how we make public management more evidence-based (Heinrich, 2007; Pfeffer & Sutton, 2006) so that we avoid taking—and retaking—the path of 'bad management'. The latter term is borrowed from Ghoshal (2005), who calls business schools to task for ignoring the normative implications of agency (Jensen & Meckling, 1976) and transaction cost (Williamson, 1981) theories. Ghoshal argues that management students are taught employees cannot be trusted, incentives must be aligned with shareholders, and employees must be monitored and controlled. These messages, Ghoshal argues, are based on a pretense of knowledge because the truth claims of many of the theories on which business faculty rely are at best exaggerated, and in the worst cases, faulty. We hope that this book creates the foundation for evidence-based public management that recognizes the roles for altruism, prosocial behavior, and public service motivation.

NOTE

1. The distinction between 'in-role' and 'extra-role' behavior is used in the definition of organizational citizenship behavior, a concept widely used and studied in private organizations (see Steen, this volume, for elaboration). Some organizational citizenship behavior research (Morrison, 1994) has criticized the distinction, arguing that employees typically decide what is in-role and extra-role based on their perceptions of job expectations, ethical orientations, and other factors. Brewer (this volume) calls attention to this ambiguity in organizational citizenship behavior research and the advantages of avoiding a similar compartmentalization in public service motivation research, especially with respect to outcomes-related research.

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