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# Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism

Empirically testing the relationship between values and  
vocation

A Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Management

by

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## **Preface**

The starting point for my research is my strong personal commitment to sustainability and nature conservation. As a Chartered Environmentalist and Fellow of the Institute of Environmental Management and Assessment, I have had the privilege of a career in the private and public sector working as a professional advisor on environmental impact assessment, management and planning. In these roles I have worked with senior government, NGOs, private industries and academics at leading organisations and institutions globally, providing me with first-hand insights into global sustainability challenges.

Why study a PhD? I have been asked this question many times. One colleague commented that you go to University to get a job, and I already had a job, so why was I going back? Others asked if I was after a change of career, to move into a role in Academia. At least one asked if I was looking for a final set of letters to complete my list of qualifications. Like most motivations, the real reasons are multi-faceted and complex. At work I felt like I needed a new challenge. At home I wanted to spend more time with my young family and reduce my long daily commute to Westminster. From a personal perspective, I have always loved learning and enjoy reading, writing and research in the academic setting. Taken together these motivations combined to motivate me to study for a PhD.

Reflecting on the PhD journey, it has provided everything I sought, and has been an incredibly rewarding experience. In the final analysis, I think it unlikely that my Thesis conclusions will transform society. However, I am certain that the development of the Thesis has already transformed my character for the better. I look forward to whatever comes next in my career with renewed passion, commitment and confidence to help play my part in the transition of society towards a more sustainable future.

## **Thesis Abstract**

*Why should we care about Public Service Motivation (PSM)? One of the key reasons is to understand “the nature of ‘human nature’ with respect to rational versus other-regarding motives” (p.7 Perry and Hondgehem, 2008). One pressing societal aspect of human nature with respect to rational vs other-regarding motives is our declining relationship with ‘nature’ and our natural environment. The challenge of climate change, biodiversity loss and sustainable development have never been more urgent, and the role of the public sector and public administration, never more critical.*

*The purpose of this Thesis is to integrate Environmentalism into the PSM scholarship. The integration of Environmentalism with PSM is theoretically underpinned through the use of Schwartz’s (1992) theory of values which identifies the values of the public good, environmental protection and sustainability as part of the self-transcendent value of Universalism. Novel data is presented using a modified PSM scale to sample environment, sustainability and planning professionals (N 280) to provide insights to managers and researchers and reveal a new environmental facet of the PSM concept.*

*The structure of the Thesis begins with a broad literature review into PSM, motivational psychology and environmentalism before moving into a series of three empirical chapters written as standalone articles exploring different facets of the research. Each chapter and consecutive study build upon the preceding work and contribute evidence towards the overall research question. The resulting conclusion combines theoretical support from multiple fields in public administration, psychology, values research, and environmental philosophy with empirical studies based on multiple data sets using a combination of methods. In each case the conclusions from individual chapters have contributed evidence in support of the overall conclusion that environmentalism should be considered a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM.*

*The practical implications of the Thesis build on the work of Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry (2017) to argue adopting environment and sustainability values into management practices will enhance employee PSM. Furthermore, as attracting and retaining individuals with high PSM enhances performance and organisational mission accomplishment, then HR selection criteria should consider the environmental values of candidates as an additional indicator of high PSM, and an organisation adopting environmental values will enhance retention of high PSM individuals and thereby enhance performance and mission accomplishment.*

*It is further argued that the recommendation to leverage relationships between PSM employees and their service beneficiaries can be achieved by a more explicit linking of public sector organisations positive contribution to a wider environmental and sustainability challenges. It is therefore argued that by connecting employees to tangible environmental and sustainability improvements resulting from their work, it is possible to increase the motivation of the PSM employees and thereby increase performance, retention and commitment (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).*

*The final recommendation regards leadership and the communication and modelling of behaviours. Accepting the principle hypothesis concerning the integration of environmentalism with PSM, the practical implications that follow are that greater knowledge, understanding and commitment of public leaders to environmental values will help to catalyse organisations to rise to the challenges of sustainability.*

*The Thesis ends with the identification of four directions for future research consisting of; new scale item development and testing of amended PSM scale incorporating Environmentalism; further testing of levels of PSM in environmentalists; exploring value conflicts represented by the lack of environmentalism in New Public Management (NPM); and investigating the 'Environmentalist' as a 5<sup>th</sup> Self-Conception of PSM.*

## Table of Contents

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>PREFACE</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>THESIS ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>14</b>
1.1 THE KEY RESEARCH CONCEPTS .....	16
1.1.1 <i>The Schwartz Theory of Basic Human Values</i> .....	16
1.1.2 <i>The Concept of Public Service Motivation</i> .....	20
1.1.3 <i>The Concept of Environmentalism</i> .....	24
1.1.4 <i>The Relationship between PSM and Environmentalism</i> .....	26
1.1.5 <i>The Relationship between Motivation and Values</i> .....	30
1.2 THE RESEARCH QUESTION.....	33
1.3 RESEARCH MODEL .....	35
1.4 THESIS STRUCTURE .....	37
1.5 RELEVANCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS .....	39
1.5.1 <i>Theoretical Relevance</i> .....	39
1.5.2 <i>Methodological Relevance</i> .....	41
1.5.3 <i>Practical Relevance</i> .....	42
<b>PART I – FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC VALUES AND ENVIRONMENTALISM</b> .....	<b>43</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2: THE IDEA AND IDEAL OF THE PUBLIC GOOD</b> .....	<b>44</b>
2.1 DEFINING PUBLIC SERVICE.....	44
2.1.1 <i>Public Service and Public-Sector Employment</i> .....	45
2.2 THE CHANGING LOCUS OF PUBLIC-SERVICE-ORIENTATED INDIVIDUALS.....	46
2.3 EMPIRICALLY TESTING THE LINKS BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT, CULTURE AND PUBLIC VALUES. 48	
2.3.1 <i>Exploring the Dark-Side of Public Service</i> .....	49
2.3.2 <i>Public Service, Agency and Power</i> .....	51

## Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism

2.3.3	<i>Public Service, Office Holders and Institutions</i> .....	53
2.3.4	<i>Public Service, Universal Values and Environmentalism</i> .....	55
2.3.5	<i>Public Service, Nationality and Culture</i> .....	57
2.4	SUMMARY CONCERNING THE IDEA AND IDEAL OF THE PUBLIC GOOD.....	59
<b>CHAPTER 3: PUBLIC VALUES, CULTURE AND MOTIVATION .....</b>		<b>60</b>
3.1	EVIDENCE OF INTERDISCIPLINARITY IN VALUES AND MOTIVATION RESEARCH .....	60
3.1.1	<i>Interdisciplinary Research and Universal Phenomenon</i> .....	61
3.2	PSYCHOLOGY, MOTIVATION AND NEEDS.....	62
3.2.1	<i>Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs</i> .....	63
3.2.2	<i>Self-Determination Theory</i> .....	64
3.2.3	<i>Personality Traits</i> .....	65
3.3	PUBLIC VALUES AND PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION .....	67
3.3.1	<i>Rational Motives</i> .....	67
3.3.2	<i>Affective Motives</i> .....	69
3.3.3	<i>Normative Motives</i> .....	71
3.3.4	<i>Hofstede's Software of the Mind</i> .....	71
3.4	VALUES, CULTURE AND PUBLIC SERVICE.....	73
3.4.1	<i>The Nature of Individual Values</i> .....	75
3.4.2	<i>Measuring Individual Values</i> .....	77
3.5	INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL AND ORGANISATIONAL CULTURAL VALUES .....	78
3.5.1	<i>Normative Influence of National Culture</i> .....	79
3.5.2	<i>Normative Influence of Organisational Culture</i> .....	82
3.6	SUMMARY AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR PUBLIC VALUES RESEARCH.....	83
<b>CHAPTER 4: PUBLIC VALUES, PSM AND ENVIRONMENTALISM .....</b>		<b>85</b>
4.1	UNIVERSALISM, ENVIRONMENTALISM AND PUBLIC VALUES.....	85
4.1.1	<i>PSM and Anthropomorphism</i> .....	87
4.2	ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES AND THE PUBLIC .....	88
4.2.1	<i>Antecedents of Environmental Behaviour</i> .....	91
4.2.2	<i>Environmentalism and Pro-Social Behaviour</i> .....	92

4.2.3	<i>Environmentalism, Altruism and Other-Regarding Values</i> .....	93
4.2.4	<i>Environmentalism and Intrinsic Motivation</i> .....	94
4.2.5	<i>Ecologism and a New Ecological Paradigm</i> .....	95
<b>PART II – EMPIRICAL STUDIES</b> .....		<b>96</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5: THE UNIVERSAL CHALLENGE - A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR EXPLORING THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL ANTECEDENTS OF PSM</b> .....		<b>97</b>
5.1	KEY CHALLENGES IN PSM RESEARCH .....	98
5.2	TOWARDS AN OVERARCHING CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF ANTECEDENTS .....	100
5.3	THE CHALLENGE OF UNIVERSAL APPLICATION .....	102
5.4	DEVELOPING A UNIVERSAL FRAMEWORK .....	104
5.4.1	<i>Tier 1: PSM as an Ideal-Type</i> .....	105
5.4.2	<i>Tier 2: National Cultural Context</i> .....	106
5.4.3	<i>Tier 3: Occupational Context</i> .....	108
5.4.4	<i>Tier 4: Organisational Context</i> .....	110
5.4.5	<i>Tier 5: Individual Context</i> .....	112
5.5	TESTING THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	115
5.5.1	<i>Testing Tier 1</i> .....	116
5.5.2	<i>Testing Tier 2</i> .....	117
5.5.3	<i>Testing Tier 3</i> .....	119
5.5.4	<i>Testing Tier 4 and 5</i> .....	119
5.6	METHOD .....	120
5.6.1	<i>Data and Variables</i> .....	120
5.6.2	<i>Analysis</i> .....	121
5.7	RESULTS .....	122
5.7.1	<i>Hypothesis 1 – Evidence of PSM</i> .....	122
5.7.2	<i>Hypothesis 2 – Influence of Nationality</i> .....	126
5.7.3	<i>Hypothesis 3 – Cultural Dimensions</i> .....	128
5.7.4	<i>Hypothesis 4 - Occupational Factors</i> .....	129
5.8	LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH .....	133
5.9	IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE .....	135

5.10	CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS .....	137
<b>CHAPTER 6: SELF-TRANSCENDENCE, UNIVERSALISM AND PUBLIC VALUES - EFFECTS ON OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND EMPLOYMENT SECTOR..... 140</b>		
6.1	SELF-TRANSCENDENT VALUES ACROSS VOCATIONS .....	143
6.2	DATA AND METHODS .....	147
6.2.1	<i>Sample Data</i> .....	147
6.2.2	<i>Dependent Variable</i> .....	148
6.2.3	<i>Independent Variables</i> .....	150
6.2.4	<i>Analysis Method</i> .....	152
6.3	RESULTS .....	153
6.4	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	160
<b>CHAPTER 7: IS ENVIRONMENTALISM A MISSING 5<sup>TH</sup> UNIVERSAL DIMENSION OF PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION? ..... 167</b>		
7.1	INTRODUCTION .....	168
7.2	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	171
7.3	RESEARCH HYPOTHESES.....	177
7.4	RESEARCH DESIGN .....	179
7.4.1	<i>Sample Data</i> .....	181
7.4.2	<i>Scale Validity and Composition</i> .....	183
7.5	ANALYSIS AND RESULTS OF HYPOTHESES 1 TO 3 .....	185
7.5.1	<i>Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)</i> .....	185
7.5.2	<i>Discussion of EFA Results</i> .....	187
7.5.3	<i>Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)</i> .....	188
7.5.4	<i>Discussion of CFA Results</i> .....	193
7.6	ANALYSIS AND RESULTS FOR HYPOTHESIS 4.....	195
7.6.1	<i>PSM in Environmental and Sustainability Professionals</i> .....	195
7.6.2	<i>Dependant Variables</i> .....	195
7.6.3	<i>Independent Variables</i> .....	196
7.6.4	<i>Controls</i> .....	197

## Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism

7.6.5	<i>Analysis Method</i> .....	197
7.6.6	<i>Results of Regression Analysis</i> .....	198
7.7	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS .....	199
7.7.1	<i>Universalism, Environmental Values and PSM</i> .....	199
7.7.2	<i>Environmentalism as a 5<sup>th</sup> Universal Dimension of PSM</i> .....	201
7.7.3	<i>Limitations and Future Directions</i> .....	202
7.7.4	<i>Conclusion</i> .....	203
 <b>CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION - INTEGRATING PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION AND ENVIRONMENTALISM..... 204</b>		
8.1	SYNTHESIZING THE RESULTS .....	204
8.1.1	<i>Origins and Antecedents of Public Values</i> .....	207
8.1.2	<i>Public Service Motivation, Occupation and Vocation</i> .....	209
8.2	CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS THESIS.....	212
8.2.1	<i>Theoretical Relevance</i> .....	212
8.2.2	<i>Methodological Relevance</i> .....	214
8.2.3	<i>Limitations</i> .....	215
8.3	AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	216
8.3.1	<i>New Scale Item Development Testing of PSM, Environmentalism and Universalism</i> ..	217
8.3.2	<i>Public Service Motivation in Environmental and Sustainability Professionals</i> .....	218
8.3.3	<i>Exploring Value Conflicts and Competing Paradigms</i> .....	218
8.3.4	<i>Exploring Evidence of a 5<sup>th</sup> Self-Conception of PSM, the 'Environmentalist'</i> .....	221
8.4	IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE.....	222
 <b>REFERENCES..... 224</b>		

## Table of Figures

<b>Figure 1.1</b> Conceptual Definitions of 10 Basic Values (from Schwartz et al. 2012) .....	18
<b>Figure 1.2</b> Refined Circular Theoretical Model of Relations (from Schwartz et al 2012) .....	18
<b>Figure 1.3</b> Refined Theory of Motivational Types of Value (from Schwartz et al 2012) .....	26
<b>Figure 1.4</b> Simplified Theoretical Relationship Model.....	36
<b>Figure 1.5</b> Simplified Relationship Model between Antecedents, Values and PSM .....	36
<b>Figure 2.1</b> Conceptual Hierarchy of PSM Antecedents: A Framework for Analysis.....	49
<b>Figure 3.1</b> Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (adapted from Koltko-Rivera 2006 p.303) .....	64
<b>Figure 3.2</b> The Self-Determination Continuum (from Ryan and Deci 2000, p.72) .....	65
<b>Figure 3.3</b> Three Levels of Uniqueness in Mental Programming (from Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010 p.6).....	72
<b>Figure 3.4</b> The ‘Onion’: Manifestations of Culture at Different Levels of Depth (from Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010 p.8) .....	74
<b>Figure 3.5</b> Development of Values Instruments (from Braithwaite and Scott 1991).....	75
<b>Figure 3.6</b> ‘The Nature of Values’ (from Schwartz 2012, p.2-3) .....	76
<b>Figure 4.1</b> Environmental Values in European Public (ESS, 2004-2016) .....	89
<b>Figure 5.1</b> Conceptual Hierarchy of PSM Antecedents: A Framework for Analysis.....	100
<b>Figure 5.2.1</b> Comparative Values 2 and 3 .....	127
<b>Figure 5.2.2</b> Comparative Values 8 and 12 .....	128
<b>Figure 5.3.1</b> Occupational Values 1-7 .....	131
<b>Figure 5.3.2</b> Occupational Values 8-14 .....	131
<b>Figure 5.3.3</b> Occupational Values 15-21 .....	132
<b>Figure 6.1</b> Correlation between PSM and Public Sector Employment (European Social Survey, 2008-2016; Authors’ own calculations).....	153
<b>Figure 7.1</b> Environmental Values in the European Public (ESS 2002-2016) .....	176

<b>Figure 7.2</b> Scree Plot of EFA Eigenvalues Identifying Principal Factors .....	187
<b>Figure 7.3</b> Model A: 10 Item Four-Dimensional ‘Traditional’ PSM Model .....	189
<b>Figure 7.4</b> Model B: 12 Item Five-Dimensional ‘Environmental’ Variant PSM Model.....	190
<b>Figure 7.5</b> Model C: 12 Item Four-Dimensional ‘Environmental’ Variant PSM Model .....	191
<b>Figure 7.6</b> Model D: 12 Item Three-Dimensional ‘Schwartz’ Variant PSM Model .....	193

## Table of Tables

<b>Table 1.1</b> Overview of Chapters and Studies .....	38
<b>Table 5.1</b> Conceptual Tiers of the PSM Framework .....	104
<b>Table 5.2</b> Cultural Dimensions Affecting PSM within Sample.....	118
<b>Table 5.3</b> Public Sector Worker Values from All Countries Combined .....	123
<b>Table 5.4</b> Values held by Public Sector Workers .....	125
<b>Table 5.5</b> Values rejected by Public Sector Workers .....	125
<b>Table 5.6</b> Public Sector Occupations and Sample Size .....	129
<b>Table 6.1</b> Summary Statistics .....	147
<b>Table 6.2</b> Schwartz Values and the ESS (Adapted from Witesman and Walters, 2014) .....	149
<b>Table 6.3</b> Occupation Sample Size.....	150
<b>Table 6.4</b> Demographic, Occupation and Sector Correlates with PSM .....	154
<b>Table 6.5</b> Effect of Country .....	157
<b>Table 7.1</b> Public Values, Environmentalism and Universalism.....	174
<b>Table 7.2</b> Survey Items .....	180
<b>Table 7.3</b> Sample Characteristics .....	181
<b>Table 7.4</b> Individual Item Descriptive Statistics .....	183
<b>Table 7.5</b> All Item Normality and Reliability Statistics .....	184
<b>Table 7.6</b> Exploratory Factor Analysis – Total Variance Explained.....	185
<b>Table 7.7</b> Exploratory Factor Analysis – Pattern Matrix.....	186
<b>Table 7.8</b> CFA Model Statistics .....	194
<b>Table 7.9</b> Demographic, Occupation and Sector Correlates .....	198
<b>Table 8.1</b> Summary Results from the Thesis.....	205

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Set in the context of the ongoing social and ecological crisis, exacerbated by accelerating climate change (IPPC 2019), it is now widely recognised that there is an urgent need to implement the principles of sustainability (balancing ecological, social and economic considerations) in all sectors and organisations across all nations (United Nations 2015). The sustainability crisis has resulted from a combination of factors that have been developing since the industrial revolution and accelerating in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in what has been described as a paradigm of economic growth (Schneider, Kallis and Martinez-Alier 2010; Schmelzer 2015).

The economic growth paradigm is a combination of multiple factors such as; capitalism, globalisation, consumerism, industrialisation, population growth, urbanisation and advances in materials and technology. These trends are often described by economists collectively as the global business environment or more simply, ‘market-forces’ and certainly not every aspect of these developments is necessarily unsustainable. However, in combination and at scale, the net effect of these market-forces under an economic growth paradigm have led to the rapid depletion of natural resources, accelerated species extinction rates and long-term damage to critical ecosystems (United Nations 1987).

More recently, governments, NGOs, civil society, academics, activists and the public are increasingly aware that these environmental impacts are directly impacting the lives and livelihoods of human populations in addition to the destruction of the natural world (United Nations 2015). A key counterbalance to the negative effects of unregulated market-forces has traditionally been the province of the public sector and government. In theory, the role of public administration is to enact laws and regulations to curb market excess, maintain order, uphold civil rights and work in the public interest for the common good (Box 1999; Perry and Hondegheem 2008).

However, over the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and accelerating from the 1980's, a process of importing private sector values into the public sector has been ongoing under the economic growth paradigm and more recently under the rubric of New Public Management (NPM) (Hood 1991; O'Flynn 2007). Partially in response to NPM and the accompanying criticisms of the public sector, in some cases presenting public officials as self-serving, two American scholars, Perry and Wise (1990), introduced the concept of public service motivation (PSM) and stated that their research was prompted by political leaders '*calling for a recommitment of Americans to the values associated with public service*' (p.367, Perry and Wise 1990). The ongoing contest of values between public and private ideologies is still a fundamental issue of concern today nearly 30 years later.

It is therefore one of the central arguments of this Thesis that private sector values are fundamentally opposed to the goals of the public interest, as they represent, using the Schwartz Theory of Basic Human Values, contrasting motivational forces, namely at the individual level, the Self-Enhancement dimension (Power and Achievement) versus the Self-Transcendent dimension (Universalism and Benevolence) (Schwartz 1992), and at the cultural level, a societal focus on the values of Mastery (ambition, success, daring, competence) versus a societal focus on the values of Harmony (unity with nature, protecting the environment, world of beauty) (Schwartz 1999).

It can be further argued that the absorption of private sector and market-focused values (associated with Mastery and Self-Enhancement values) within public organisations has led to the marginalisation of environmental values in public administration and management, with negative effects on the sustainability of society and the natural environment. A central aspect of Schwartz's (1992, 2012) theory is that the value priorities form a circular continuum, and that a focus on one dimension will inevitably reduce the focus on the opposite values. It logically follows that the focus on Mastery and Self-Enhancement

values within the public sector conflicts with the opposing values of Harmony and Self-Transcendence and thereby ultimately thwart the aims of public organisations, namely, the common good.

## **1.1 The Key Research Concepts**

The Thesis seeks to combine three areas of largely separate academic study and integrate them together. The three key concepts in question are the Theory of Basic Human Values (Schwartz 1992; 2012), Public Service Motivation (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 1996) and more broadly with the concept of environmentalism and environmental values (i.e. Naess, 1973; 1987; Milbrath 1984; Fox 1990). Literature on all three concepts are explored in greater length in the following **Chapters 2 to Chapter 4**, before the empirical studies presented in **Chapters 5 to Chapter 7**.

For the purpose of the introduction, given the central use of Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values (1992), it is first pertinent to give a brief overview of Schwartz's theory and some of its central tenets. The introduction then proceeds to provide an overview of PSM and briefly introduce environmentalism. The discussion then seeks to describe the relationship between these three concepts before setting out the main research question, research model, key contributions and structure of the Thesis.

### **1.1.1 The Schwartz Theory of Basic Human Values**

Academic investigations into the nature of values has been moving in the direction of consensus since the 1950s (Krissman 1942; Morris 1956; Rettig and Pasamanick 1959; Allport et al. 1960; Gordon 1960; Kluckhohn and Strotbeck 1961; Scott 1965; Dempsey and Dukes 1966; Gorlow and Noll 1967; Roakeach 1967; Bales and Couch 1969; as cited in Braithwaite and Scott 1991). In total, Braithwaite and Scott (1991) reviewed fifteen different

value measures, before pointing towards Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) as one of the most promising directions of research, citing Schwartz and Bilsky's work as seeking to address some of the criticisms of the earlier efforts relating to lack of explanative theory and cross-cultural application.

Schwartz and Bilsky's research (1987; 1990), built on Rokeach's (1967) earlier work and was carried forward individually by Schwartz (1992; 1994; 1999; 2011; 2012) and in numerous collaborative papers with other academics (i.e. Schwartz et al 2012; Davidov, Schmidt and Schwartz 2008). In defining values, Schwartz refers to six key aspects that he cites as having a broad consensus among researchers (e.g., Allport, 1961; Feather, 1995; Kluckhohn, 1951; Morris, 1956; Rokeach 1973; all cited in Schwartz 2012) and can be summarised as:

1. Values are beliefs;
2. Values refer to desirable goals;
3. Values transcend specific actions and situations;
4. Values serve as standards or criteria;
5. Values are ordered by importance; and
6. The *relative* importance of multiple values guides action.

The main content of the Theory of Basic Values is the identification of 10 key values that are present across humanity. The core values are show in **Figure 1.1** below.

These values can be further amalgamated into four key dimensions of; Openness to Change, Self-Transcendence, Conservation; and Self-Enhancement. The values can also be further subdivided, into smaller value clusters (i.e. into 16 in Schwartz 2012), or even further into individual item-values (i.e. 57 items in the SVS, (Schwartz 1992; 2006), or 40 items in the PVQ (Schwartz 2006; Schwartz et al. 2001)). Therefore, it is often accurate to describe

## Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism

the 10 key values as constellations of values, as they are aggregated values that represent a cluster of associated or related values. The 10 core values are summarised in **Figure 1.1-1.2**.

*Conceptual Definitions of 10 Basic Values According to Their Motivational Goals and Components of the Definitions That Suggest Subtypes of Values*

Value	Conceptual definition <sup>a</sup>	Definition components
Self-direction	Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring	Autonomy of thought Autonomy of action
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life	Excitement Novelty Challenge
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	Single component: Pleasure
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	Personal success Demonstrating competence
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Dominance over people Control of material resources Face: Status and prestige
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self	Societal security Personal security
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms	Interpersonal: Avoiding upsetting others Compliance with social norms
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provides	Single component: Maintaining cultural and religious traditions
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact	Single component: Caring for ingroup members
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of <i>all</i> people and for nature	Tolerance Societal concern Protecting nature

<sup>a</sup> Definitions in column 2 are adapted from “Are There Universal Aspects in the Content and Structure of Values?” by S. H. Schwartz, 1994, *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, p. 22. Copyright 1994 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

**Figure 1.1** Conceptual Definitions of 10 Basic Values (from Schwartz et al. 2012)



**Figure 1.2** Refined Circular Theoretical Model of Relations (from Schwartz et al 2012)

Furthermore, a critically important aspect of the theory is '*the idea that values form a circular structure that reflects the motivations each value expresses. This circular structure, that captures the conflicts and compatibility among the ten values is apparently culturally universal*'. (p.2 Schwartz 2012). **Figure 1.2** represents the circular nature of the values.

There are multiple justifications for why this Thesis research has adopted Schwartz's definitions, concepts and Basic Theory of Values. Firstly, Schwartz's (1992; 2012) theory has been widely replicated and verified using multiple international samples over many decades (Schwartz et al. 2012) and has been described as "the most fully elaborated, empirically grounded, and widely used theory of basic values" (Cieciuch, Schwartz and Vecchione 2013, p. 1215).

In terms of pedigree the theory of universal human values has developed over more than 50 years of research, beginning to be codified initially by Rockeach (1973) and then improved first by Schwartz and Bilsky (1987; 1989) and then developed fully by Schwartz (1992; 1994; 1999; 2011; 2012), and refined and tested by Schwartz and other collaborating scholars (Schwartz et al. 2001; 2012; Cieciuch, Schwartz and Vecchione 2013; Schwartz and Butenko 2014; McQuilkin et al. 2016; Giménez and Tamajón 2019) in support of the Theory of Basic Human Values are persuasive.

Given the importance of Schwartz (1992) Theory of Basic Values to the Thesis aspects of the theory and individual values within the theory are revisited in greater detail at different points within the Thesis. For now, the discussion moves onto our next concept of key relevance to the Thesis, Perry and Wise's (1990) concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM).

### **1.1.2 The Concept of Public Service Motivation**

Over the past three decades, a strong and flourishing body of public administration research has developed at the intersection of public values and occupation, in the sub-field known as PSM. Perry and Wise first defined public service motivation as '*an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations*' (p.368, Perry and Wise 1990). Perry went on to establish four key sub-dimensions of the PSM concept as; self-sacrifice, compassion, commitment to the public interest, and attraction to public policy making (Perry 1996). Perry's early work stressed the key socio-historical context and the broad array of socio-historical institutions as a primary influence of PSM, identifying five main sets of correlates: parental socialisation, religious socialisation, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics (Perry 1997; 2000).

From these roots in the 90s, published research into PSM has undergone rapid expansion in recent years, taking over 25 years to reach 100 publications between 1982 and 2009. By 2012, the number of published articles had doubled to 200 before reaching 300 publications barely one year later (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). However, despite this threefold increase, recent comprehensive reviews of PSM research revealed that the increase in research effort has not resulted in similar gains in the advancement of theory or practice (Perry and Vandenberg 2015; Bozeman and Su 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

One of the key challenges is the seemingly contradictory situation whereby substantial effort continues to focus on analysing measurement tools, but without any corresponding breakthroughs in measurement development (p.694, Perry and Vandenberg 2015). At least 22 separate papers on the development of measurement instruments have been published and have mainly focused on developing, testing and comparing various permutations of Perry's 1996 scale (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016.) However, despite the

research discovering ample evidence of its limitations (Wright 2008; Kim and Vandenberg 2010; Wright, Christensen and Pandey 2013), nobody has yet managed to develop a new widely used and robust scale in the past 20 years.

This difficulty in measurement is perhaps indicative of the uncertainty around the definition of the concept, with over 23 different descriptions of PSM identified by Bozeman and Su (2015). In addition to problems of definition, Bozeman and Su undertook a detailed analysis of the concept of PSM utilising Gerring's (1999) eight criteria for assessing concepts. While PSM scored well on most of the factors, the study identified differentiation as a fundamental problem, with PSM being problematic to separate from other related concepts such as service motivation, other-directedness, or altruism (Bozeman and Su 2015).

The problem of concept definition is complicated further by the importance of socio-historical context as a primary antecedent of PSM (Perry 2000). As the field has expanded from its roots in the United States (Hondegheem and Perry 2009), it is perhaps unsurprising that U.S. based measurements scales do not provide consistent results when applied to the 72 different countries identified by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) in their review of international research into PSM. International comparisons have revealed evidence of PSM 'variants' in different countries (Horton and Hondegheem 2006), the importance of national context (Houston 2011, Giauque et al. 2011), and the difficulties of translation of concepts (Kim et al. 2013). In their PSM meta-analysis, Harari et al. (2017) acknowledge that the proliferation of international PSM research has raised the issue of variability of meaning across different cultures. Harari et al. (2017) go on to postulate that PSM has different effects on the behaviours and attitudes of workers as a result of cultural characteristics and traditions across different countries, and to explain that these differences limit any efforts at comparative analysis.

Despite widespread recognition that PSM varies by language and culture (Perry, Hondeghem and Wise 2010; Giauque et. al. 2011; Kim et al. 2013; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016; Ballart and Riba 2017; Harari et al. 2017), the link made by Harari to 'behaviours and attitudes' i.e. to the individual level, and the importance of personality traits, is less well developed (Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000; Cooper et al. 2014; Esteve et al. 2016).

Acknowledging the international and cross-cultural issues set out above, whilst many international studies have been undertaken using variants of the traditional four-dimensional PSM concept, European scholars have identified culturally specific continental values related to public service. Vandenabeele (2008) was the first of these scholars to explore the potential for an culturally specific additional dimension of PSM based on 'democratic governance' and was followed by additional studies which have sought to identify additional dimensions for specific countries including Spain (Ballart and Riba 2017), Switzerland (Giauque et. al. 2011), Italy (Cerase and Farinaella 2009) and Denmark (Hansen 2009). Despite these studies, at the societal or national level, there is still relatively little known about the interaction between culture and PSM, in spite of the fact that this relationship has received regular attention in PSM research (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

Given the difficulties highlighted, Bozeman and Su (2015) question whether PSM has reached the limit of its explanatory powers and suggest that researchers and theorists need to take bold strides toward broader and deeper explanation. Furthermore, recognising the complex and multi-level nature of antecedents, there have been calls for research that can examine PSM across multiple levels of analysis, i.e. between societies, communities and individuals (p. 31, Witteloostuijn et al. 2017). Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) conclude that the development of any new measurement approaches should recognise the importance of the presence of mixed motives within an individual concerning their commitment to public

service and explicitly include these missing elements to avoid the situation of theory departing from reality.

Returning to the thorny issue of the definition of the PSM concept, whilst the 23 definitions cited by Bozeman and Su (2015) are disputed by some PSM scholars, it is nevertheless clear that there are multiple definitions, even amongst leading PSM scholars, who have variously redefined PSM as '*the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community and social service*' (p.417, Brewer and Seldon 1998) the '*general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind*' (p.20, Rainey and Steinbauer 1999) and '*the belief, values, and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organisational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate*' (p547. Vandenabeele 2007).

A key feature of these definitions is their social and public-orientated focus revealed by their choice of language; institutions and organisations (Perry and Wise 1990), community and social service (Brewer and Seldom 1998), communities, states, nations and humankind (Rainey and Steinbauer 1999), and political entities (Vandenabeele 2007). What is notably absent is any reference to nature, sustainability or the environment.

The absence of environment in the PSM discourse contrasts with the presence of environment and sustainability found in research into an inventory of public values (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007) and research linking PSM, sustainability and environmental values with Schwartz's Self-Transcendent value of Universalism (Wu and Liu 2013, Witesman and Walters 2014). This Thesis therefore explores the role of public and environmental values in management and critiques the lack of emphasis on environmentalism in existing literature on PSM and public administration.

### 1.1.3 The Concept of Environmentalism

Environmental values, environmentalism and pro-environmental behaviour is a complex subject that crosses multiple academic disciplines and is covered in more detail in **Chapter 4**. For the purpose of the introduction however, environmentalism and environmental values can be said to have a unifying theme related to a concern for environmental protection, a belief in the intrinsic value of the environment and the concept of limits to growth.

Similar to PSM, for the purpose of this Thesis, environmentalism can be considered to be a motivation towards environmental protection underpinned by environmental values, in the same manner that PSM is considered to be based on public values. Again, similar to PSM, studies of environmental values and motivation has been difficult to disaggregate from related and more general concepts such as pro-social behaviours and altruism. In particular many debates have focused on the level and type of environmentalism, such as shallow versus deep ecology (Naess, 1973) moral vs utilitarian (Seligman 1989), ecocentric vs. anthropocentric (Eckersley 1992; Merchant 1992; Thompson and Barton 1994) or biocentric vs social-altruistic or egocentric (Stern and Dietz 1994).

Again, as per PSM many different scales have been developed to measure components of environmentalism, as well as comparative studies looking at how environmentalism relates to established personality scales such as CANOE and existing general theories on values such as Schwartz (Schultz and Zelezny 1999). According to one early empirical study in the 1980's environmentalists exhibit higher than normal compassion towards those outside their immediate circle of friends and family, displaying a more generalised compassion to people and individuals in remote countries, future generations and to other species (Milbrath 1984). This empirical study supports the theoretical work of authors such as Naess (1987) and Fox's (1990) work on Transpersonal Ecology which stresses the 'identification with others' as a key psychological aspect of Deep Ecology.

Another study linking other-regarding values with environmentalists is the work of Schultz and Zelezny (1999) who undertook an international survey which tested respondent's environmental values and Schwartz's universal value scale. The findings from this comparative research identified strong positive associations between environmentalists and the value of Universalism and to a lesser extent, Conformity. The value of Universalism in Schwartz (1994) is associated with the values of social justice, wisdom, equality, broad mindedness and protection of the environment (Schultz and Zelezny 1999) and the goal of Universalism is defined by Schwartz as '*understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.*' (p.7 Schwartz 2012).

Schwartz goes on to contrast this with the focus on in-groups in the Benevolence value, as opposed to the focus of Universalism on others beyond the extended group (Schwartz 2012). The study by Schultz and Zelezny (1999) also showed environmentalists to be strongly negatively associated with the value of Power and to a lesser extent Tradition. Schwartz (1994) associates Power values with authority, wealth and self-enhancement and the goal of power is defined as '*social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources*' (p.5 Schwartz 2012).

Although environmental values have featured within the Schwartz Theory of Basic Human Values since the early research (1992; 1994), the environmental items have been part of wider group of values under the banner of Universalism i.e. '*equality, unity with nature, wisdom, a world of beauty, social justice, broad-minded, protecting the environment, a world at peace.*' (p.7 Schwartz 1992). However, in Schwartz's revised theory (Schwartz 2012; Schwartz et al. 2012), as shown in **Figures 1.2** and **1.3**, the value of Universalism is further subdivided into three Universalism value dimensions of tolerance (Universalism-tolerance), societal concern (Universalism-concern), and protecting nature (Universalism-nature).

*The 19 Values in the Refined Theory, Each Defined in Terms of Its Motivational Goal*

Value	Conceptual definitions in terms of motivational goals
Self-direction–thought	Freedom to cultivate one’s own ideas and abilities
Self-direction–action	Freedom to determine one’s own actions
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and change
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification
Achievement	Success according to social standards
Power–dominance	Power through exercising control over people
Power–resources	Power through control of material and social resources
Face	Security and power through maintaining one’s public image and avoiding humiliation
Security–personal	Safety in one’s immediate environment
Security–societal	Safety and stability in the wider society
Tradition	Maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions
Conformity–rules	Compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations
Conformity–interpersonal	Avoidance of upsetting or harming other people
Humility	Recognizing one’s insignificance in the larger scheme of things
Benevolence–dependability	Being a reliable and trustworthy member of the ingroup
Benevolence–caring	Devotion to the welfare of ingroup members
Universalism–concern	Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people
Universalism–nature	Preservation of the natural environment
Universalism–tolerance	Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself

**Figure 1.3** Refined Theory of Motivational Types of Value (from Schwartz et al 2012)

In terms of the use of environmentalism within this Thesis, having already adopted the Theory of Basic Values, the simplest definition for environmentalism is the valuing of the preservation of the environment, and a definition of an environmentalist as an individual who holds a strong belief in the value of Universalism-nature.

#### **1.1.4 The Relationship between PSM and Environmentalism**

The overarching Thesis title and main research question are intrinsically concerned with values. Values are integral to understanding the motivation of individuals as they play a key role in life choices and decisions and are often reflected in attitudes and behaviours. The link between values influencing behaviours is supported by existing experimental evidence (Sagiv et al. 2011; Verplanken and Holland 2002) and is often explored in PSM literature concerning the effect of PSM on a number of behaviours and outcomes. For example, studies examine PSM in relation to job choice and performance (Wright, Hassan and Christensen 2017), person-organization fit and person-job fit (Christensen and Wright 2011; Gould-Williams,

Mostafa and Bottomley 2013). Similarly, studies explore how PSM influences user orientation, job satisfaction, public employment preferences (Liu, Tang and Zhu 2008; Bright 2008; Andersen and Kjeldsen 2013; Cooper et al. 2014; DeHart-Davis, Davis and Mohr 2014; Homberg, McCarthy and Tabvuma 2015), absenteeism and/or resignation (van Loon et al. 2015; Jensen, Andersen and Holten 2017), and attraction, and socialization by employment sector (Clerkin and Cogburn 2012; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2012; Andersen and Kjeldsen 2012; Asseburg, Homberg and Vogel 2018).

The importance and centrality of the relationship between PSM and values, and specifically public values, is made clear at the start of Perry and Wise's (1990) seminal work on PSM where the authors state that their research was originally prompted by political leaders '*calling for a recommitment of Americans to the values associated with public service*' (p.367, Perry and Wise 1990). Perry and Wise (1990) do not attempt in their article to fully define values, however the item selection and identification of PSM dimensions are clearly related to, and based upon, core American public values as perceived by Perry and Wise's research (1990).

The relationship between environmentalism, public values and PSM can be further explored and helpfully illustrated in the work of Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) who produced an inventory of public values which included; *public interest, human dignity, sustainability, the common good, social cohesion, protection of rights of the individual, balancing of interests, equal treatment, justice, equity, fairness, protection of minorities, voice of the future, and stakeholder value*. Many of these values are clearly related to the PSM dimensions and scale measurement items developed by Perry (1996) in his attempt to measure commitment to public values in individuals. However, it is equally clear that the environmental elements identified in Jorgensen and Bozeman's (2007) list, which includes

sustainability, do not explicitly feature in the four dimensions of PSM nor their commonly used scale measurement items.

As set out above, Perry's (1996) PSM scale seeks to measure the values of individuals through a series of measurement items in the form of statements. For example, to measure the dimension of commitment to public service one of the standard items is the statement '*Meaningful public service is very important to me*'. For PSM studies it is normal to include multiple items for each of the four dimensions, and for each of these items, the respondent is normally asked to respond on a Likert-style scale, for example in Perry (1996) a 5 point scale is used that ranges from *agree* to *disagree*. However, one of the ongoing sources of debate within the field of PSM, and in values research generally, is the nature and influence of different sources or antecedents of values (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

Values can generally be measured at a variety of levels, for example cultural values (Hofstede 1980, 1991; Schwartz 1999), institutional and organisational values (Hofstede 1980; Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010) and individual values (Rokeach 1973; Inglehart 1971; Schwartz 1992; 2012). The relationship between PSM and the three-part division of values into cultural, institutional/organisational and individual values is complex and inter-related. In terms of theoretical relationships, it is known that socio-historical antecedents play a major role in determining an individual's values (Rokeach 1973; Hofstede 1980; Schwartz 1992; Perry 1997). These socio-historical antecedents are multi-layered and include national cultural and institutional values from the wider society, as well as more specific local community and institutional values from an individual's educational and family settings (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010). Perry (1997; 2000) acknowledges this complexity and stresses key socio-historical context and the broad array of socio-historical institutions as a primary influence of PSM, identifying five main sets of correlates: parental socialisation,

religious socialisation, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics (Perry 1997; 2000).

For the empirical research carried out for this Thesis, following much of PSM research, the analyses focus primarily on individual values and the correlation between these values with an individual's occupation as the primary variables. Cultural and institutional values are controlled for in most tests through controlling for key demographics such as nationality, age, income and gender.

In terms of classifying an individual's values, PSM is by no means the first value-based theory and the literature review presented in **Chapters 2 to 4** has cast a broad net, investigating the universal relationships between values, needs, motivation and personality and their relationship with human nature, and to some extent the debate between nature vs nurture in terms of the antecedents of values. From the literature review it can be seen that multiple psychologists and sociologists have focused on universal aspects of human nature, of which some of the most famous, and relevant to the study are; Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1969), Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self Determination Theory, Personality Traits (i.e. Big 5 aka OCEAN, CANOE, see Goldberg 1990, HEXACO see Lee and Ashton 2004), Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Values, and Hofstede's (1980) work on Cultural Dimensions and the Software of the Mind (Hofstede et al 2010).

In particular, this Thesis relies heavily on Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values. The justification and research pedigree for adopting Schwartz's theories have already been outlined earlier in the introduction. However, an additional practical point, in support of using Schwartz which has not already stated, is that a short form of the Schwartz values survey is available within the European Social Survey, which allows the testing of some of hypothesised relationships within the Thesis using a large and well-regarded survey database.

Furthermore, the link between Schwartz's values and PSM has already been made by scholars (Wu and Liu 2013; Witesman and Walters 2014), with Witesman and Walters (2014) itself an extension of the seminal work by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) on an inventory of public values. These articles firmly link public values to environmentalism and the Schwartz values associated with Universalism, a hypothesis upon which this Thesis research builds.

### **1.1.5 The Relationship between Motivation and Values**

Having established above the central relationship between values and the conception of PSM, it is important to clarify the difference between motivation and values. Whilst seeking to explore commitment to public values, Perry and Wise (1990) understood that there are other factors affecting an individual's motivation in addition to their values. Perry and Wise (1990), followed Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982) in recognising motivation as multi-layered and dividing it into three core elements of rational, affective and normative aspects.

A fuller discussion of these three elements is provided in **Chapter 3**, however for the purpose of this introductory discussion, the key point to be made is that an individual's behaviour and decision in any given situation are influenced by multiple and sometimes conflicting sources of motivation, for example rational and normative expectations concerning pressure to take a well-paid job in private finance may be at odds with a natural inclination towards public service. Therefore, behaviours can be said to be situational depending on competing motivational forces. The influence of values on motivation is therefore that of a tendency based on normative and affective motivation to align to value preferences, moderated by other rational, affective and normative motivations in any given contextual situation. In any given situation, multiple values are likely to be involved, and in accordance with Schwartz's (1992; 2012) theory, any given individual's values will be ordered by importance relative to one another in a unique system of ordered priorities that

characterise them as individuals. Therefore, an individual's values form a hierarchy, and it is the trade-off among relevant, competing values that contributes to attitudes, behaviours and motivation in any given situation (Schwartz 1992; 1996).

The constancy or fluctuation of motivation and its relationship to values has been debated in the field of PSM under debates concerning the nature of PSM as a trait (stable within an individual over time) or a state (a fluctuating aspect of an individual's personality over time). One line of enquiry in this vein has been with respect to the constancy or otherwise of PSM within an individual over time, with the hypotheses that tracking at the individual level can give greater insights into causal factors and can be used to better test the temporal dynamics of PSM and its antecedents (Jensen and Vestergaard 2017). There is evidence from a limited number of longitudinal studies, for tracking individual's levels of PSM and how it adapts over time (Georgellis and Vurain 2010) and exploring if PSM is a trait or a state with a study by Vogel and Kroll (2016). The addition of longitudinal elements is important for answering questions such as PSM change within individuals over time and the stability or otherwise of PSM as a personality trait.

Regarding personality traits, PSM and public administration scholars have made some inroads into investigating the relationships between public values and personalities using HEXACO (Van Witteloostuijn, Esteve, and Boyne 2017) and the Big 5 Personality Traits (Jang 2012). Although suffering from several limitations the two studies show potential insights into the relationship between personality traits and PSM and altruistic behaviours. Furthermore, the studies identify that different aspects of personalities load on different aspects of the PSM construct (Van Witteloostuijn, Esteve, and Boyne 2017) indicating a more nuanced picture, which echoes the work of Brewer, Seldon and Facer (2000) in identifying different priorities within individuals with respect to the different dimensions of the PSM construct.

Returning to the debate concerning traits versus states, Vogel and Kroll (2016) identified that PSM related values of public employees are stable rather than dynamic but tend to increase with age and decrease with organizational membership. Other authors have also found evidence of both stable and dynamic elements (Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Pedersen 2015; Christensen et. al. 2017), with Christensen et al. summarising that PSM appears to be largely stable as a result of formative socialisation but is still subject to fluctuation based on external influences such as organisational practices (Christensen et. al. 2017).

Homberg and Costello (2019) provide a recent comprehensive summary of the trait versus state research where they identify a dozen PSM studies on the topic, before concluding in line with Christensen et al. (2017) that PSM displays both trait-like and state-like properties. Homberg and Costello (2019) redefine these concepts as ‘baseline PSM’ and ‘dynamic PSM’ respectively. The relatively stable, trait-like baseline PSM can be related to antecedents such as early childhood, education and parental influence, whereas the more dynamic, state-like PSM can be related to organisational socialisation and managerial interventions (Homberg and Costello 2019).

This combination of trait-like baseline PSM and state-like dynamic PSM further add to the difficulty in understanding the motivations of specific individuals. However, following the lead of Homberg and Costello (2019), in relation to PSM and values we can summarise that individual (or personal) values relate to the baseline PSM of an individual, being formed by early and formative antecedents from family, culture and educational institutions as indicated by Perry (1996; 2000), whereas dynamic PSM can be related to ongoing normative motivations (which may include organisational and cultural values) relating to organisational culture and rational motivations regarding material concerns, managerial and performance related aspects in an occupational setting.

## 1.2 The Research Question

In the preceding introductory section, the Theory of Basic Values, environmentalism and PSM were all summarised. In addition, the proposition linking these three theories was put forward, stating that environmentalism is a key candidate to be considered as a missing dimension of the PSM concept, on the basis of Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values (1992; 2012).

The rationale for this argument is as follows; environmentalism has been established as one of 16 fundamental human values, represented by Universalism-nature in Schwartz's (2012) theory. PSM is also hypothesised to lie within the Universalism value cluster, which comprises Universalism-concern, Universalism-tolerance and Universalism-nature. The relationship between public values, upon which PSM is based (Perry and Wise 1990), and environmentalism is already established in the literature on public values (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014), which recognises sustainability and environmental protection as public values.

Therefore, the absence of environmental items, or an environmental dimension, in the measurement and concept definition of PSM is challenged. Based on the evidence presented within this Thesis, and supplemented by additional and confirmatory studies, the inclusion of a new universally applicable environmental dimension to the existing four dimensional concept of PSM would be a significant contribution to PSM research, and the wider field of Public Administration. The ramifications of such a development of the PSM theory would have theoretical, methodological and practical implications for the field.

If the theoretical arguments set out above are to be supported, then what empirical evidence is available to support these arguments? and, if proven, what should be done about it? To increase understanding of the relationship between PSM and environmental values, this Thesis addresses the following overarching research question:

***Is Environmentalism a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension  
of the Public Service Motivation concept?***

To address this overarching question the Thesis aims to answer multiple related questions and examines a variety of sources of evidence. Key lines of research related to the overarching research question are centred upon individual's values and individual's choice of occupation. Regarding values, the following topics are explored; what are public and environmental values? what are the antecedents of values? how do you measure values? how do measured values effect motivation? and how does motivation influence choice of occupation?

Before attempting to explore these issues in more detail, to begin it is necessary to refine and limit the scope of the research. The field of public administration covers a wide range of topics and is often multi and inter-disciplinary. However, with respect to the target research area of values, 'Public Values' can be defined as a key area of focus. Furthermore, values are a human construct, they cannot be measured independently but can only be inferred by individuals using the input of other people's activities or opinions. Therefore, for any empirical and statistical research, reliance must be placed on data derived from the use of scales and questionnaires developed by sociologists and psychologists to measure individuals' values.

On this basis, the Thesis relies on the large multi-year data from the ESS which includes a short version of Schwartz PVQ value survey. In addition to the ESS data, a bespoke questionnaire of 280 planning, environment and sustainability professionals was conducted. The bespoke questionnaire utilised existing PSM and novel scale items to evaluate public and environmental values along with collecting data on demographics for the control and analysis of variables.

A second key variable in this research is how to define the ‘Public’ the ‘Public Sector’ and the ‘Public Administration’. As explored in **Chapter 2**, the terms are not straightforward to define or measure. One clear and measurable approach is to focus on occupation as a key variable. The focus on occupation allows a clear definition to be made as to the nature of the role and the organisational type to determine which occupations can be considered as public sector or in a public service vocation. This line of enquiry is well established in the field of public administration. Therefore, our next set of sub-topics relating to occupation and values are: what are the levels of public and environmental values in the general population? do public sector employees have higher public values than private sector employees? is occupation or type of sector a better predictor of high public values? do public employees with high public values also have high environmental values? and do environmentalists have high public values?

### **1.3 Research Model**

In terms of the overarching research model, the development and use of theory has been set out in the preceding introductory discussion and can be presented diagrammatically as follows in **Figure 1.4**.

**Figure 1.4** attempts to set out graphically the inter-relationships between public values, PSM and the value of Universalism from the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values as related concepts and constructs. The diagram highlights and identifies the commonality of environmentalism contained within public values and Universalism, and its absence in PSM is critiqued and postulated as an unrecognised additional component dimension of PSM.

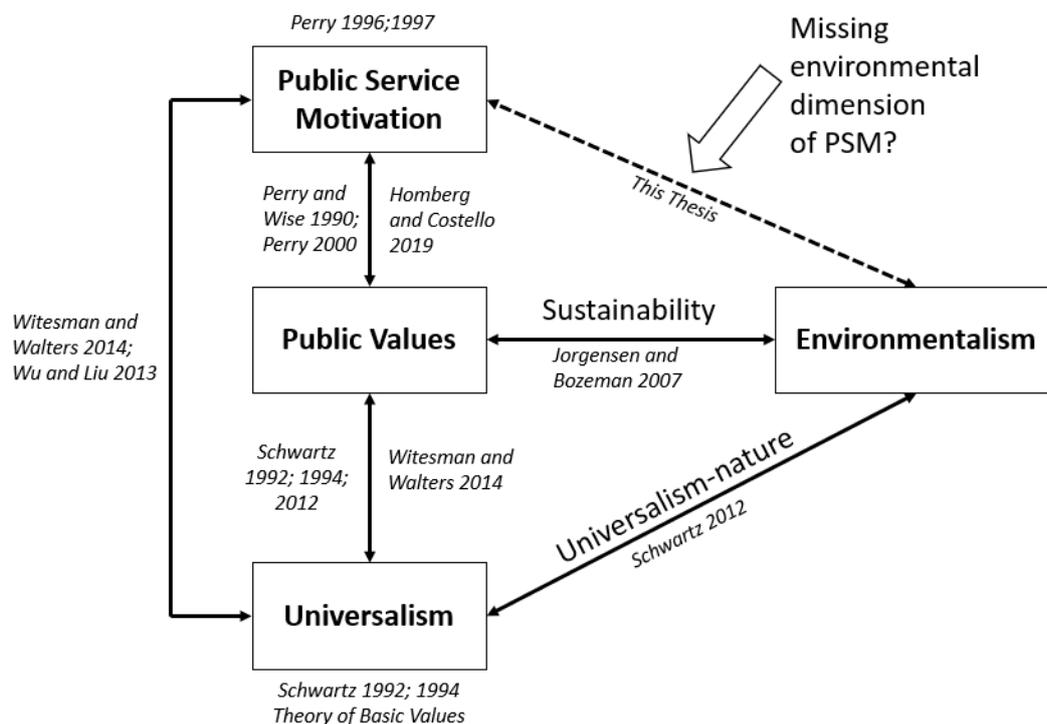


Figure 1.4 Simplified Theoretical Relationship Model

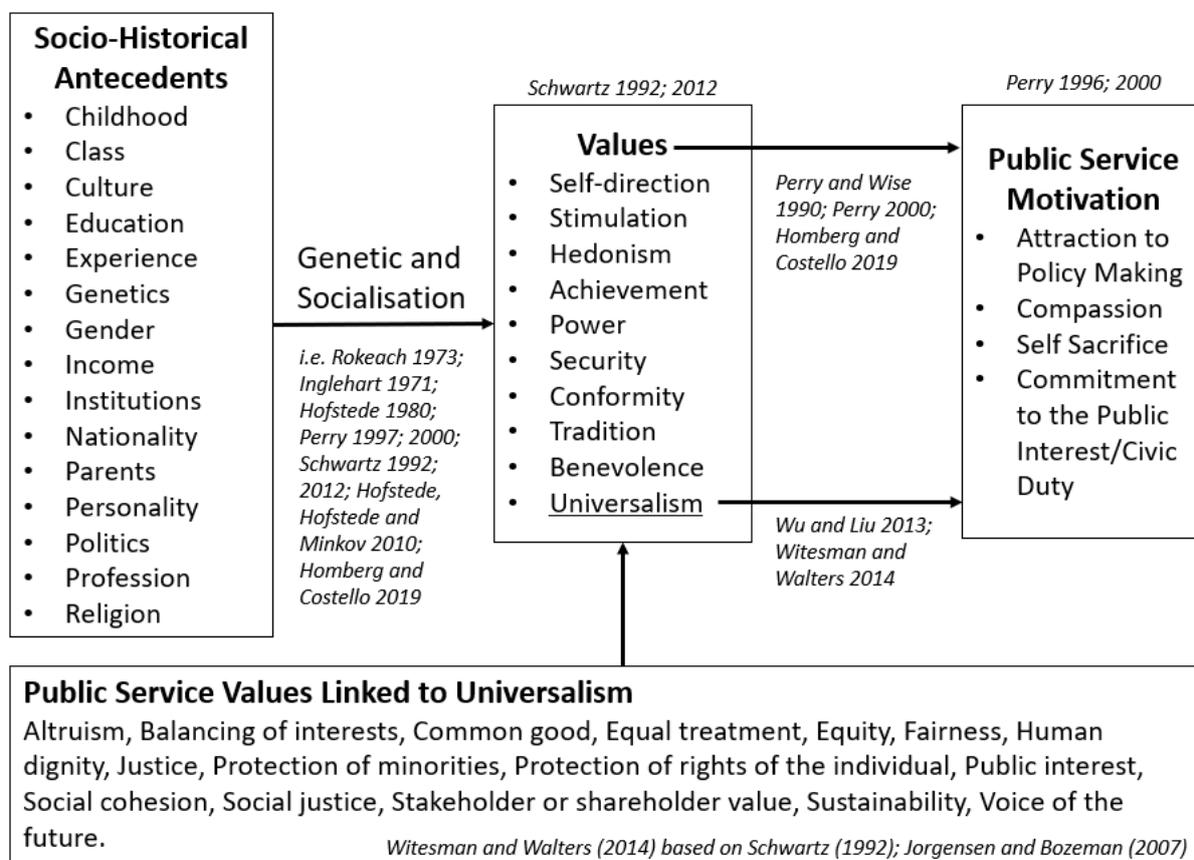


Figure 1.5 Simplified Relationship Model between Antecedents, Values and PSM

As shown in **Figure 1.5**, the link between key socio-historic antecedents and values has been confirmed from multiple fields including values research (Rokeach 1973; Inglehart 1971; Hofstede 1980; Schwartz 1992; 2012; Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010;) and PSM research (Perry 1997; 2000; Homberg and Costello 2019). The link between values and PSM is fundamental to the original conception of PSM by Perry and Wise (1990) and underlined by Perry's (2000) work on a process theory of PSM.

Perry (2000) links values along with identity as two key components of an individual's self-concept which is a key factor of an individual's characteristics, along with abilities and competencies. According to Perry's (2000) theory of motivation, the individual's characteristics, of which values play a key part, are a product of socio-historical context and have a strong influence on behaviours such as rational choice and obligation. The importance of values to the formation of PSM was reconfirmed nearly twenty years after Perry (2000) in Homberg and Costello's review of antecedents (2019) who again link values firmly to an individual's baseline PSM.

**Figure 1.5** also illustrates the link between the inventory of public values compiled by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) and the overlap between public values and the PSM dimensions. Whilst the specific link between the Schwartz value of Universalism and PSM is reported by Witesman and Walters (2014) and indicated in an earlier conference paper by Wu and Liu (2013). Taken together, **Figures 1.4** and **1.5** illustrate the simplified theoretical relationships that are explored within this Thesis.

## 1.4 Thesis Structure

The structure and content of the Thesis are necessarily complex, as the Thesis seeks to address many sub questions, using a variety of techniques and spanning a range of interdisciplinary subjects. **Part I** of the Thesis presents three chapters that explore the literature and background of key concepts that are utilised in the later parts of the Thesis. **Chapter 2**

explores the central conceptual idea and ideal of the public good. **Chapter 3** explores the literature relating to public values and the relationship between values, culture and motivation. **Chapter 4** moves closer to the specific areas of focus by examining public values, PSM and environmentalism. Together the chapters in **Part I** form a broad literature review.

**Table 1.1** below provides an overview of the chapters presented in the Thesis.

**Table 1.1** Overview of Chapters and Studies

<b>Chapters</b>				
<b>1</b>	Introduction			
<b>Part I - Literature Review</b>				
<b>2</b>	The Public Good			
<b>3</b>	Public Values, Culture and Motivation			
<b>4</b>	Public Values, PSM and Environmentalism			
	<b>Part II – Empirical Studies</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Measure</b>	<b>Context</b>
<b>5</b>	Identifying the Antecedents of PSM	132,975	Schwartz Short PVQ in ESS	Creating a conceptual framework for the study of PSM antecedents
<b>6</b>	Self-Transcendent Values and Public Values	132,975	Schwartz Short PVQ in ESS	Investigating the effects of Schwartz values on occupational choice and employment sector
<b>7</b>	Environmentalism as a 5 <sup>th</sup> Universal Dimension of PSM	280	Amended PSM Scale	Investigating PSM in planning, environment and sustainability professionals
<b>8</b>	<b>Summary and Conclusion:</b> Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism			

The heart of the Thesis is based on a series of academic articles, presented in **Part II**. **Part II** utilises statistical analysis of the ESS data to explore the topics being researched. **Chapter 5** explores the antecedents of public values by examining occupations and a range of demographic variables using the ESS to develop a conceptual framework for the antecedents of PSM. **Chapter 6** builds on the groundwork laid by the preceding chapter to examine in more depth the relationship between sector of employment, occupation and PSM

using the Schwartz (1992) theory of values, to underpin the hypothesis and concept of service vocations.

**Chapter 7** utilises statistical analysis of a bespoke survey questionnaire which sampled 280 professionals in the fields of planning, environment and sustainability. The chapter presents the results of the survey to establish the presence of PSM within environment and sustainability professionals and provide confirmatory evidence of the new environmental items as good candidates for an amended PSM scale.

The Thesis ends with **Chapter 8** which seeks to synthesize and summarise the results of the overall Thesis, provide a conclusion to the overarching research question and sets out an agenda for future research. The final chapter seeks to draw on the empirical work presented in the preceding chapters to articulate a theory of environmentalism as a 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of the PSM construct and environmentalists as 5<sup>th</sup> self-conception of individuals with PSM. Finally, the concluding chapter outlines practical recommendations and future research directions for incorporating environmental values into the management of people and organisations to aid in the implementation of sustainability.

## **1.5 Relevance and Contribution of the Thesis**

Through answering the main research question put forward earlier in the introduction this Thesis makes theoretical, methodological and practical contributions to the study of management.

### **1.5.1 Theoretical Relevance**

The study of public values and their effect on occupational choice and outcomes for individuals and organisations has been explored in depth through research in public administration and management under the banner of PSM. Meta-reviews and field summaries have been completed in recent years identifying the key areas of further research

required to advance the theory of PSM. Two prominent PSM scholars, Perry and Vandenabeele (2015) completed a thorough review of PSM research from 1990 to 2015 before identifying key challenges and future directions of research. A year later, a systematic review was published by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) who reviewed 323 publications spanning two decades of PSM research, assessing progress in the field and identifying key recommendations for future research directions.

Taking Perry and Vandenabeele (2015) first, these scholars recommended three areas of focus; 1). disaggregate and unbundle the PSM construct, 2). study PSM on the ground in different regimes, 3). improve current measures to capture commitment to governance regimes. The research presented in this Thesis directly builds on the first of these theoretical areas.

For the disaggregation of the PSM construct, Perry and Vandenabeele (2015) encourage research into the individual dimensions of the four-dimensional PSM construct in conjunction with research on related concepts from other fields of research. This Thesis contributes to this line of enquiry by linking and testing the theorised relationship between public values and environmental values (Schwartz 1992, 1999, 2012; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). Furthermore, the research provides a potentially significant contribution to the field by hypothesising and providing initial evidence of a potential 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM, by adding environmentalism to the existing four PSM dimensions of; self-sacrifice, compassion, commitment to the public interest, and attraction to public policy making (Perry 1996).

Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) followed Perry and Vandenabeele (2015) in their systematic literature review by articulating three key areas for future research efforts; 1) investigate the dark side of PSM, 2). improving methodological approaches, and 3). challenge and improve the dominant measurement scale to better understand the concept. The Thesis

provides a further contribution with respect to the third area of future research identified. The systematic literature review of over 300 research papers indicated that due to the over-reliance on the Perry (1996) derived PSM scales, *‘This mono-measure, mono-method approach has aided knowledge accumulation, but it may be limiting our understanding of the concept. In all likelihood public service motivation has additional dimensions and properties.’* (p.422 Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). These scholars explicitly call for further investigation into the motivations of individuals with PSM and as set out above, the key contribution of the Thesis is the new theoretical proposition, supported by empirical evidence, calling for the inclusion of a new environmental dimension to the PSM concept. If confirmed by subsequent research, the theory of a 5<sup>th</sup> universally applicable environmental dimension of PSM would be a potentially significant contribution to the field of public administration in particular with regard to ongoing research concerning the widely adopted four-dimensional conception of PSM established by Perry and Wise (1990) and Perry (1996, 1997).

### **1.5.2 Methodological Relevance**

As discussed in the previous section on theoretical relevance, key reviews of the field of PSM have identified methodological issues as key areas for improvement and further research (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). In addition to the main theoretical contribution, the Thesis makes two additional minor contributions of methodological relevance; 1). justification and use of the ESS for PSM research, and 2). the development and testing of new candidate PSM scale items to supplement existing PSM scales to measure the new dimension of environmentalism.

Taking these two contributions in order, first of all, due to the absence of a PSM scale in the ESS, scholars have been unable to fully utilise one of the largest and most comprehensive social survey databases available worldwide. Furthermore, as the ESS data

collection is ongoing, the lack of its use for PSM research is likewise an ongoing missed opportunity. By linking the concept of PSM with the Schwartz values (following Witesman and Walters 2014), the Thesis is able to utilise the Schwartz PVQ values series in the ESS to explore the antecedents and correlations between public values and public servants. Furthermore, by demonstrating the theoretical and empirical justification for this approach, the Thesis contributes to further use of this methodology by other researchers to take advantage of the data available in the ESS to provide a new data-rich source of insights into the field of PSM.

The second contribution is the explicit linking of environmental values with PSM. The development and subsequent testing of new survey items alongside standard PSM scale items has identified a series of potential new environmental item variants to amend existing PSM scales. Furthermore, by testing and comparing multiple variations of scale items using exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, the research provides preliminary support for the use of the new survey items as measures of the environmental dimension. It is envisaged that these items can be incorporated by other scholars and researchers into existing PSM scales to further test and verify this new proposed dimension.

### **1.5.3 Practical Relevance**

In terms of the practical contribution of the research presented in this Thesis, assuming the premise of the integration of environmentalism into PSM is accepted, then it is possible to revisit the practitioner recommendations identified in the PSM literature to consider the practical implications of the Thesis. The implications are potentially significant for PSM research by adding a new environmental dimension to the practical recommendations of PSM to management practice. A discussion on the specific practical recommendations impacted by the inclusion of environmentalism as a 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM is provided in **Chapter 8**.

## **Part I – Foundations of Public Values and Environmentalism**

*‘sustainability and sustainable development are becoming increasingly critical concepts in the practice of public administration’* p.195 Leuenberger 2006.

The preceding introductory section set out the background and motivation of the author, introduced key terms and definitions, and set the context of the research in terms of purpose and structure. **Part I** provides a broad literature review which focuses on some of the key principles which underpin the later chapters set out in **Part II** through three chapters:

- **Chapter 2:** The Idea and Ideal of the Public Good.
- **Chapter 3:** Public Values, Culture and Motivation.
- **Chapter 4:** Public Values, PSM and Environmentalism.

## Chapter 2: The Idea and Ideal of the Public Good

In ‘The Call of Public Service’, Sylvia Horton examines the foundations of Public Service Motivation (PSM) by exploring the history and persistence of public service as an idea and an ideal (Horton 2008). Horton’s (2008) work is revisited and examined, drawing on recent additional research and widening the scope of the original work to look for historical linkages between public values, environmentalism and PSM.

### 2.1 Defining Public Service

A glance at a university public management textbook may define public service in quite utilitarian terms, i.e. in the context of public ownership, publicly financed, public goods or public employment (Flynn 2007). Horton (2008) likewise acknowledges at the start of her work that public service has several meanings, before going on to provide four specific definitions of public service, the first three of which are similar in nature to Flynn’s (2007) namely; people employed in the public-sector, a service authorised and funded by the public-sector, or a service provided to the public (Horton 2008). The fourth definition by Horton however, deviates from the script and introduces a new, altogether different, conception, ‘*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*’ (p.17 Horton 2008).

This fourth definition deviates from the previous definitions in important areas, firstly it relates to the values and motivation of individuals, rather than a category of objects or organisations. This fundamental difference also gives rise to the many challenges set out in **Part I** of this Thesis, namely challenges of definition, measurement, comparison and causal factors. It is this focus on values and motivation which makes the study of public service and PSM paradoxically both frustrating and rewarding.

Returning to Horton (2008), she goes on to focus on the first of these definitions, in relation to public administration (employment by the state), and throughout the discussion relates this to the fourth definition (PSM), providing a link between those individuals with PSM and a public service role (in the sense of employment in the public-sector). The following discussion puts forth an alternative treatment of the topic, and the subsequent arguments deviate from Horton's (2008) approach for several reasons, each of which is set out in the following subsections.

### **2.1.1 Public Service and Public-Sector Employment**

Firstly, Horton (2008) explicitly links PSM, and the underlying public values that underpin PSM, with public-sector employment. Whilst this link is relatively uncontroversial and supported by many scholars (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 1996; Brewer and Selden 1998; Lewis and Frank 2002; Wright, Moynihan and Pandey 2012; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016), it should be noted that this view is not uncontested.

Many of the scholars mentioned above as supporters of the link between PSM and public employment are also largely based in western-style, economically developed democracies, with the majority of early studies occurring in the United States (Hondegheem and Perry 2009). Therefore, the findings based on Perry's (1996) Public Service Motivation scale lose some of their applicability in other contexts (Vandenabeele 2008) due to the varied relationship between the public and private sectors under different economic and cultural conditions which differ by country and with time (Flynn 2007).

It is therefore widely acknowledged that the link between public service (as employment) and PSM varies widely between countries (Horton and Hondegheem 2006; Kim et al. 2013; Bullock, Stritch, and Rainey 2015). Therefore, whilst it is clear that there is (in certain western developed countries) a correlation between individuals with high PSM and their employment in the public-sector, there is likewise mounting evidence that the

relationship is culturally specific (Horton and Hondeghem 2006; Kim et al. 2013; Bullock, Stritch, and Rainey 2015), and therefore as countries, cultures and institutional structures change over time, so does the potential for a changing locus of employment for PSM individuals.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.2 The Changing Locus of Public-Service-Orientated Individuals

Perry and Wise (1990, 368) first introduced the specific construct of PSM as ‘*an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations.*’ Since then, many studies have supported empirically the notion of PSM as mainly associated with employment in the public sector (Naff and Crum 1999, Lewis and Frank 2002; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016). Yet, multiple researchers have demonstrated that PSM is not found exclusively in the public sector (i.e. Rainey and Steinbauer 1999; Steen 2008).

Following Perry and Wise (1990), alternative definitions of PSM have emerged that do not refer directly to public institutions or organizations. For example, Brewer and Selden (1998, 417) define PSM as ‘*the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community and social service*’. Rainey and Steinbauer (1999, 20) view PSM as a ‘*general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind*’. Similarly, Vandenabeele (2007, 547) describes PSM 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*’.

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<sup>1</sup> A full treatment of the link between PSM and public-sector employment is provided in **Part II** of this Thesis and is therefore not discussed further here. A variation of the text under ‘The Changing Locus’ is reproduced as part of a paper in **Chapter 6**, however it is retained here to aid the development of literature review in support of the main Thesis argument.

There are many reasons later definitions do not make specific reference to public-sector institutions. First, there is a wider acceptance among researchers that PSM is an individual's behavioural tendency, not linked to employment in a specific sector (Esteve, Urbig, Witteloostuijn and Boyne 2016, p.178). A second reason is that despite the documented differences in the levels of PSM between individuals working in public, private and not-for-profit organizations, the lines between such organizations have blurred significantly in recent years (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015).

An increasing trend to outsource government contracts in developed countries has resulted in many people across all sectors of the economy routinely carrying out government work (Musolf and Seidman 1980; Steen 2008; Bullock, Stritch, and Rainey 2015). This includes work in not-for-profit organizations (Taylor 2010; Clerkin and Cogburn 2012; Rose 2012; Bright 2016) as well as volunteering work (Perry, Brudney, Coursey, and Littlepage 2008; Costello, Homberg and Secchi 2017). In many developed countries, particularly in Europe, fiscal constraints continue to limit public expenditure, and an increasing reliance on the not-for-profit sector (Lyons et al. 2006), as well as a trend for educated employees to seek meaningful work outside of traditional private and public-sector roles (Rifkin 1995).

Private organizations increasingly play a critical role in public policy making, public program implementation, and product delivery (Moulton and Feeney 2011). Equally, public institutions have increasingly adopted the ethos and practices commonly associated with the private organizations, including high-power work incentives and the principles of managerialism (Hood 1991). On the other hand, private organizations have started to pay attention to ethics through corporate social responsibility, mirroring attributes traditionally associated with PSM (Steen 2008).

Additional evidence is provided by comparative research into PSM and 'Calling' which provides further support for this conjecture by showing that people often find a sense

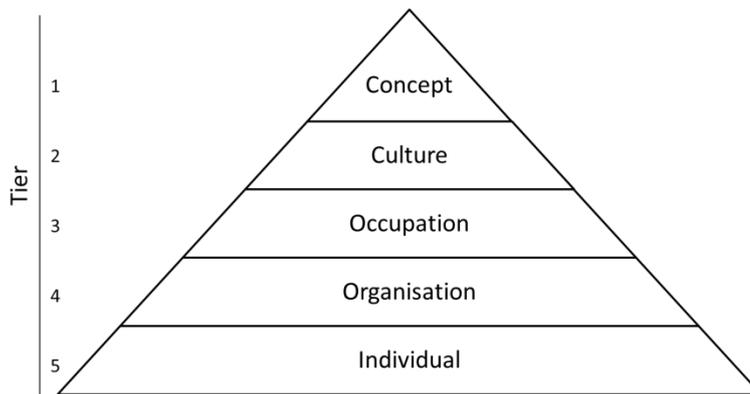
of Calling in employment outside the public sector (Thompson and Christensen 2018).

Consistent with this view, further empirical research confirms that PSM applies to all public-serving work, regardless of sector (Christensen and Wright 2011; Moulton and Feeney 2011).

Furthermore, a general study of values by Lyons et al. (2006) across private, public and parapublic-sector workers found limited overall differences in the values of employees across the various sectors, using Schwartz's (1992) value model. In summary, there is growing evidence, as presented above, that suggests that the blending of values across public and private organizations means that public-service-orientated individuals are increasingly less attracted to working in organizations in the public sector.

### **2.3 Empirically Testing the Links Between Employment, Culture and Public Values**

The preceding two sections above identified a host of potential supporting, moderating and conflicting socio-historical antecedents and factors that may affect the relationship between individuals, occupation, employment sector, culture and demographics. **Part II** of this Thesis provides an in-depth investigation of the issues raised in **Chapter 2** through two chapters written as individual papers. The first paper, presented in **Chapter 5**, is titled '*The Universal Challenge: A Conceptual Framework for Exploring the Multidimensional Antecedents of Public Service Motivation.*' **Chapter 5** presents a wide-ranging paper which seeks to explore the multidimensional nature of antecedents and develop an outline framework for ordering the different influences into a systematic tier-based framework as presented below.



**Figure 2.1** Conceptual Hierarchy of PSM Antecedents: A Framework for Analysis.

The second paper presented in **Chapter 6** of **Part II** focuses in more depth at exploring the relationship between individual's values (Tier 5), occupation (Tier 3) and employment sector (Tier 4), whilst controlling for nationality (Tier 2). Furthermore, **Chapter 6** differs from **Chapter 5** with a revised focus towards a PSM based on Schwartz's (1992) value of Universalism, titled '*Self-Transcendence, Universalism and Public Service Values: Effects on Occupational Choice and Employment Sector.*' This final chapter of **Part II** includes a specific environmental dimension in the measurement construct which is absent from the earlier PSM focused paper.

Taken together the two chapters provide evidence that PSM is generally more prevalent in the public-sector in Europe. However, evidence is presented that this is likely to be as a result of the much stronger link between PSM and occupation, through a Calling of individuals to work in service vocations. It is argued that it is the location of these service vocations within the public sector in many countries which moderates the relationship between aggregated studies comparing individuals PSM between public and private sector employment.

### **2.3.1 Exploring the Dark-Side of Public Service**

The empirical studies carried out for **Part II** of this Thesis, in addition, discovered potential evidence of a negative relationship for some occupations in relation to public-sector

employment. This new evidence builds on another aspect of the literature (Loon, Vandenabeele and Leisnk 2015; Jensen, Andersen and Holten 2017) regarding the cultural and institutional aspects of service to the state and a potential dark-side to their effect on individuals.

As stated earlier in the Thesis, further investigation of the potential dark-side of PSM was a key area of future research identified by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) in their systematic literature review. The recommended focus concerned an apparent optimism bias in PSM research that generally treats the concept as uniformly advantageous for individuals, organisations and society. In response, Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) suggest that greater focus is needed in investigating the potential negative effects, or ‘dark-side’ of PSM. The Thesis does not directly contribute to this line of research, however in **Chapter 6**, new statistical evidence from the European Social Survey data is presented that indicates that for some service vocations, public sector employment is negatively correlated with public-service-orientated values. These novel research findings provide potential additional evidence supporting the theorised dark-side postulated by PSM scholars (Loon, Vandenabeele and Leisnk 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016; Jensen, Andersen and Holten 2017).

Furthermore, by providing further supporting evidence for the theorised link between Schwartz’s (1992) value of Universalism and PSM (Witesman and Walters 2014). The linking of the two concepts also provides a potential explanatory causal relationship for the expression of a dark side of PSM, relating to the clash of values proposed by Schwartz from competing and opposed value priorities. Vogel, Homberg and Gericke (2015) provide further evidence of this relationship where they identify a link between deviant workplace behaviours and PSM triggered by poor person-organisation fit based on values alignment. Further investigation of the relationship between concepts such as cognitive dissonance, as researched in psychology, linked to the circular nature of Schwartz’s values research, could

be a key cause of some of the negative effects identified by scholars (Loon, Vandenabeele and Leisnk 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016; Jensen, Andersen and Holten 2017).

### **2.3.2 Public Service, Agency and Power**

The second reason to deviate from Horton's (2008) discourse is an alternative approach to a key sociological aspect of public service, which is the changing locus of agency and power of public service over time. By examining the origins of the ideal in a historical context it can be seen how public values, as theoretical concepts or a Weberian Ideal, may be largely consistent over time. However, the societies and context for the implementation of public service values has changed out of all recognition, from relatively discrete and powerful hierarchies, to the present day massive and dispersed bureaucracies represented by modern public administrations.

To illustrate the above points, Horton's (2008) stated purpose is to explore the history and persistence of an idea and an ideal of public service, which she achieves by drawing a thread from ancient Egyptian, Persian, Chinese and Roman civilisations to the present (B. Chapman, 1959 as cited in Horton, 2008). Horton (2008) goes on to discuss the origins of the concept of public service citing Aristotle's Politics and Plato's Republic as early occurrences of the public service ideal. However, although Horton (2008) traces the ideal through varied geographies and timelines represented by a cast of philosophers from Confucius to Max Weber, one of the commonalities of the debate about public service has been the assumption that it applies principally to rulers and formal authorities.

Whilst Horton (2008) acknowledges that the historical models are less applicable following the rise of public service bureaucracies and creation of 'states' in sixteenth century Europe, the treatment and focus on the ruling class or elites is the second point of diversion from Horton's (2008) narrative. Certainly, for the majority of human civilisation, power over the public-at-large has been held predominantly by institutions of the church and state, or

rulers in pre-states. However, the chief agents of these institutions have been, relative to general society, represented by social elites and it is these elites that the historical concept of public service has largely been directed. For example, Horton quotes O'Toole (2006) in reference to the ideal of PSM;

*'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'* (p.3 O'Toole 2006, cited in Horton, 2008.).

Note in the above it is explicit that the ideal is aimed at those in positions of official authority (who have personal, class and group interests), who are responsible for making decisions that affect the whole of society. In other words, 'with great power comes great responsibility'. The ideal of public service then becomes an appeal to the powerful to put the collective interest of the public above those of their individual and private groups.

By the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and the rise of liberal western democracies in Europe and the Anglosphere (e.g. the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Canada, USA, Australia, etc.) and their administrative bureaucracies, it can be seen that the original ideal could still be applied to the ruling elites, however, in practice, it is often applied to the entirety of public-sector workers, which now includes a much larger proportion of the population and includes many from lower economic and social classes and from positions of far limited power and agency, for example nurses and other lower paid public occupations such as teachers and social workers.

The watering down of the power of the individual state agents (when compared to the historical power of state agents) and the replacement of personal judgement with bureaucratic rules and regulations, makes the focus on positions of authority less applicable, the reverse of

the adage becomes ‘with little power comes little responsibility’, or, in the words of Winston Churchill;

*‘Where there is great power there is great responsibility, where there is less power there is less responsibility, and where there is no power there can, I think, be no responsibility.’* (Winston Churchill, 1906.)

Therefore, it is arguable that the historic ideal of public service is not an ideal for all people, but a specific ideal aimed at people in positions of power. However, none of the following four definitions of the concept of PSM (Perry and Hondeghem, 2008) contain this element of power and authority, and therefore the modern version of the public service ideal has become a wider ideal open to all citizens:

*‘an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations’* (p.368, Perry and Wise, 1990)

*‘the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community and social service’* (p.417, Brewer and Seldon, 1998)

*‘general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind’* (p.20, Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999)

*‘the belief, values, and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organisational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate’* (p547. Vandenabeele, 2007)

Whilst the requirement for power has been removed, arguably so has the responsibility, instead the new concept concerns the *motivation* to do public service rather than the *responsibility* to guarantee public benefits or *obligation* to act in the public interest.

### **2.3.3 Public Service, Office Holders and Institutions**

If, as set out above, the power, and therefore responsibility, is often absent at the level of the individual, the unit of study often then becomes the wider entity, a department, organisation,

or government. The element of duty or responsibility becomes, under this scenario, not to the motivation or values of the individual, but the individual's compliance to the values of the 'office' (as a position, i.e. Policeman) and of the institution (i.e. the Police). The problems that follow from this change of locus of the public service ideal from the individual's values and motivations to the organisational and office or role-based values are complex.

Horton (2008) acknowledges this shift of focus towards office holders in bureaucracies and indicates that concern over 'how' and 'who' to recruit to fill these positions of public power lie at the hearts of many initiatives around the promotion of codes of ethical practice and rise of academic interest in PSM. The majority of PSM research has focused around codifying, measuring and comparing PSM in individuals and organisations (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016), with resulting recommendations on how to attract individuals with PSM, how to foster PSM in individuals, and how individuals with PSM are beneficial to organisations (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

Less focus has been applied to exploring the negative aspects of individuals with high PSM in organisations that do not align with these values. There are many potential issues that can arise from such a clash of values between the office holder, institution and individual, for example; poor performance, lack of motivation, lack of commitment, ill health (which may be expressed as stress, mental or physical illness), absenteeism and/or resignation (see van Loon et al. 2015; Jensen, Andersen and Holten 2017). Psychological support for this link is provided by the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), that can arise from poor alignment between the values of an individual and their actions, in this case, actions mandated by a role or institution.

Further support is provided by Schwartz (2011), who highlights the potential effects of dissonance in particular as a result of value changes, *'The pattern of value change presumably occurs because change in one value creates temporary dissonance with the other*

*values in the structure. Change that restores consistency to the value structure resolves this dissonance.*' (p.311 Schwartz 2011). Clearly the value changes prompted above, could in some cases be the result of organisational socialisation related to institutional cultures, social expectations and norms associated with specific roles and offices.

The remedy to the above situation is often explored by academics and practitioners under the rubric of person-job fit and person-organisation fit (e.g. Steijn 2008; Christensen and Wright 2011; Gould-Williams, Mostafa and Bottomley 2015). However, what is less often explored is the extent to which the institutional bureaucracy and attendant organisational culture, within an organisation, is aligned with its nominal public service mission. Therefore, is it conceivable that a person could have a strong alignment to a public service role (job) and public service mission or ethos (as an Ideal of the organisational purpose), however the reality of the actual organisational culture and bureaucracy, i.e. the real-world lived experience within the organisation might not be fit-for-purpose in terms of living up to this public service orientation. In other words, many public-sector organisations do not in practice meet the public service ideal, and as noted by Jaakson (2010), it is highly problematic when the core values espoused by an organisation are in conflict with the actual values or basic underlying assumptions within the organisation.

#### **2.3.4 Public Service, Universal Values and Environmentalism**

The third and final deviation from Horton's (2008) investigation into the history of the public service ideal, is to widen the discussion beyond the traditional, and arguably limited, confines of public administration discourse around PSM which is often heavily aligned to a public-sector employment and public-sector organisations, as demonstrated by Hortons (2008) four definitions of public service as set out previously.

The approach to investigating public service and PSM is by focusing on underlying public values, that are at the root of an individual's PSM and often drive a desire to seek

public service as public-employment, and equally, in some cases to avoid public-employment. To start with, values are explored by searching for general and universal human values which may explain help to the underlying relationship between these values and '*the attitudes and behaviour of individuals and the functioning of organizations, institutions, and societies*' (Schwartz et al. 2001).

A literature review reveals the cultural work of Hofstede (1980, 1984, 1991, 1998, 2010) and values research of Schwartz (1992, 2001, 2011, 2012) as key researchers in this field. A further review of the literature in respect to the role of general values research in relation to PSM and public values reveals other key works which seek to bridge these literatures, most notably with the work of Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) on creating an inventory of public values, and the subsequent work of Witesman and Walters (2014) exploring public service values and PSM, and drawing heavily on the earlier public values inventory of Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007).

The importance of the above research cannot be overstated, as the collective works start to bring foundational understanding of some of the underlying meta-values that underpin the more specific expressions as PSM typically discussed in relation to public service. One of the key findings from the review of more general values research, and its subsequent integration with public values by public administration scholars, is the link between the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values (1992) value of Universalism, and the Self-Transcendent dimension, with public values. Many of the values within the Universalism 'constellation' of values (which incorporates the values of Equity, Justice and Group Interest) are directly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, linked with public values, namely; altruism, public interest, respect for human dignity, common good, social cohesion, equal treatment, justice, equity, fairness, etc. (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014).

Horton draws on the OECD (OECD 1996 in Horton 2008) to provide a list of values associated with the public service ethos that mirrors key elements of the preceding list; *‘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 responsibility to government’* (p.28 Horton 2008).

However, there are also a set of values associated with Universalism, which are not so well represented in the PSM literature, and do not feature in the OECD list, namely; sustainability, environmental protection, balancing of interests, and voice of the future (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). The theoretical linking of environmental value and public values by these scholars, and the absence, or dearth, of environmental values within the majority of PSM literature provides the impetus to the investigations presented **Chapter 4** and then tested empirically in **Part II** of this Thesis.

Note that the OECD (1996) value list includes components that lie out-with the value of Universalism, albeit with significant overlap. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Horton (2008) the values of the civil service differ between, for example, the United States, Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth and Continental Europe. Furthermore, within Europe it can be seen that differences are underpinned by historical interventions, such as the Napoleonic reforms in France and the effect of religion such as Protestantism in the Netherlands (Horton 2008). This international and cultural variation (Tier 2 in the earlier framework) forms another key element of the study into the relationship between PSM and individuals.

### **2.3.5 Public Service, Nationality and Culture**

International comparisons have revealed evidence of PSM ‘variants’ in different countries (Horton and Hondeghem, 2006), the importance of national context (Houston, 2011), and the difficulties of translation of concepts (Kim et al., 2013). In their meta-analysis, Harari et al. (2017) acknowledge that the proliferation of international PSM research has raised the issue

of variability of meaning across different cultures. Harari et al. (2017) go on to postulate that PSM has different effects on the behaviours and attitudes of workers as a result of cultural characteristics and traditions across different countries, and to explain that these differences limit any efforts at comparative analysis.

Despite widespread recognition that PSM varies by language and culture (Perry, Hondeghem and Wise 2010; Giauque et al. 2011; Kim et al. 2013; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016; Ballart and Riba 2017; Harari et al. 2017), the link made by Harari to 'behaviours and attitudes' i.e. to the individual level, and the importance of personality traits, is less well developed (Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000; Cooper et al. 2014; Esteve et al. 2016).

Acknowledging the international and cross-cultural issues set out above, whilst many international studies have been undertaken using variants of the traditional four-dimensional PSM concept, European scholars have identified culturally specific continental values related to public service. Vandenabeele (2008) was the first of these scholars to explore the potential for an culturally specific additional dimension of PSM based on 'democratic governance' and was followed by additional studies which have sought to identify additional dimensions for particular countries including Spain (Ballart and Riba 2017), Switzerland (Giauque et al. 2011), Italy (Cerase and Farinaella 2009) and Denmark (Hansen 2009). Despite these studies, at the societal or national level, there is still relatively little known about the interaction between culture and PSM, in spite of the fact that this relationship has received regular attention in PSM research (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

In the first chapter presented in **Part II** of this Thesis the cultural and nationality aspects set out above are explored and incorporated into a systematic framework for understanding the multidimensional nature of antecedents and aspects of PSM. Whereas, **Chapter 6** does not explicitly explore the effect of national culture, however, recognising its

critical influence on values, the paper controls for nationality and provide further evidence of significant effects on an individual's probability of having high PSM, with both negative and positive effects identified.

## **2.4 Summary Concerning the Idea and Ideal of the Public Good**

The first chapter of **Part I** of this Thesis has sought to examine the idea and ideal of the public good, inspired by a similar chapter by Horton in Perry and Hondeghem (2008).

Horton's chapter was selected as the majority of PSM literature is very much grounded in the present, and with notable exceptions (e.g. Inauen et al. 2010), do not look at the deeper origins of the concept of the public good and PSM.

Rather than replicating and updating Horton's (2008) historical analysis of the public good, the chapter set out above seeks to build upon, expand and widen the discussion on the public good. The chapter begun by investigating some of the different definitions of public service which make its study problematic from the outset. The discussion then moved on to focus on a number of key areas, in turn examining and summarising the relationship between Public Service and; Public-Employment; Agency and Power; Office Holders and Institutions; Universal Values and Environmentalism; and Nationality and Culture.

Many of the issues introduced in this chapter are covered in more depth in **Part II** of this Thesis in a combination of theory chapters interspersed with chapters in the style of empirical papers. The remaining two chapters of **Part I** seek to explore the interdisciplinary nature of values and motivation research and to explore and integrate the literature on public values, public service motivation and environmentalism.

## **Chapter 3: Public Values, Culture and Motivation**

The preceding chapter set out the history of the idea and ideal of public service and identified key areas where this Thesis seeks to build upon previous work in this area, including the relationship between PSM with other key variables and concepts such as occupation, employment sector, wellbeing, agency, power and environmentalism.

Following Koehler and Rainey (in Perry and Hondeghem 2008), this chapter seeks to acknowledge and explore the interdisciplinary foundations of values and motivation research, building on the work of Koehler and Rainey (2008) to widen the scope from PSM to incorporate the wider literature relating to values, culture and motivation.

### **3.1 Evidence of Interdisciplinarity in Values and Motivation Research**

Koehler and Rainey (2008) begin their chapter exploring the interdisciplinary foundations of PSM by stating that the following fields provide different perspectives from public administration and aid in understanding the complex and multi-faceted nature of PSM; socio-biology, evolutionary psychology, developmental psychology, social psychology, organisational behaviour, economics, sociology, and political science.

Similarly, the interdisciplinary nature of PSM, as set out above, is mirrored in research into environmental values, which are likewise widely interdisciplinary in the nature and breadth of research. A review of environmental values will lead a researcher to the fields of; environmental economics, environmental sociology, environmental governance, environmental psychology (Klockner 2015), to which can be added; environmental ethics, political ecology, human ecology, ecology, conservation, and natural and environmental philosophy. However, similarly to the PSM research, these individual fields do not

necessarily identify the critical component values and motivations which underlie the expression of environmental values in the various environmental related disciplines.

Furthermore, regarding interdisciplinarity in values research, in developing his Theory of Basic Values, Schwartz (2011) acknowledges his work to have been strongly influenced by Milton Rokeach (1918 – 1988). It is in the preface to Rokeach's (1973) now famous book 'The Nature of Human Values' that the importance of interdisciplinary research in the study of values can be seen. Rokeach cites his main influences as stemming from; philosophy, sociology, anthropology and psychology and states his primary audience includes all social science disciplines as well as philosophy and religion (p. ix Rokeach 1973).

Rokeach goes on to summarise the central and unavoidable interdisciplinary nature of values by stating that *"the value concept, more than any other, should occupy a central position across all social sciences – sociology, anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, political science, education, economics and history."* (p.3 Rokeach 1973).

### **3.1.1 Interdisciplinary Research and Universal Phenomenon**

After reviewing multiple fields, Koehler and Rainey (2008) conclude that it is difficult to develop a simple unifying theory of service-orientated motivation. However, they acknowledge that the wider literature across multiple fields points towards common characteristics of people displaying service-orientated behaviour (p. 34 Koehler and Rainey 2008). It is one of the central arguments of this Thesis that Schwartz's (1992) value dimension of Self-Transcendence, and in particular, the value constellation of Universalism, is this commonality to which Koehler and Rainey (2008) refer.

Moreover, in addition to the hypothesis in relation to PSM and public values, it is also hypothesised that the various strands of environmentalism and environmental values that are

threaded through the environmental related disciplines are themselves underpinned by the same value dimension of Self-Transcendence and by the value constellation of Universalism, defined by Schwartz as '*Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature*' (Schwartz 1992).

Given the above, the central hypothesis is that behaviours, including job choice, occupation, employment sector, and other individual choices and decisions are influenced and motivated by core values held by an individual. It is argued that individuals who place a high value on the Self-Transcendent dimension, and on the value constellation of Universalism (Schwartz 1992), are the same people that are often targeted in PSM and public values research.

It is further argued, alongside new supporting empirical evidence, that people with these values will be attracted to service vocations, and depending on the national and cultural context, public-sector, not-for-profit or private employment. Further detailed discussion of the antecedents and consequences of having high Universalism and PSM is provided in **Part II**.

### **3.2 Psychology, Motivation and Needs**

In the above section the contribution of multiple interdisciplinary fields to the study of public service, public values and environmentalism were discussed. One key domain of study that features repeatedly in the discussion above is psychology. The study of sociology is therefore impossible to separate entirely from the study of human nature and key research completed by psychologists (evolutionary psychology, developmental psychology, social psychology, environmental psychology).

Multiple psychologists and sociologists have focused on universal aspects of human nature, of which some of the most famous, and relevant to the study of public values and PSM are; Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1969), Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self Determination Theory, Personality Traits (i.e. Big 5 aka OCEAN, CANOE, see Goldberg 1990, HEXACO see Lee and Ashton 2004), Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Values, and Hofstede's (1980) work on Cultural Dimensions and the Software of the Mind (Hofstede et al 2010).

Before going into more depth on Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values and Hofstede's Software of the Mind and Cultural Dimensions, the other three theories are briefly explored to explain how they relate to the Thesis research.

### **3.2.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs**

Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs' was first published by Maslow in 1943 and then subsequently extended by Maslow's work published in 1954. In essence, the theory describes a hierarchy of needs starting at the base level with physiological survival needs (such as water, food, shelter) followed by the need for security and companionship, and then moves on to more personal developmental needs of self-esteem, fulfilment and ultimately self-actualisation. Towards the end of his life, Maslow (1969) further amended the theory to include the aspect of self-transcendence as a separate aspect above self-actualisation (Koltko-Rivera 2006).

Maslow's hierarchy is a useful framework for thinking about the different and sometimes competing aspects of an individual's needs. Maslow's work will be returned to in relation to the exploration of motivation and PSM (which is often linked to needs) and also to Maslow's later focus on self-transcendence. It should be noted that self-transcendence in Maslow's later work can be considered other-regarding and may involve service to others as

well as devotion to an ideal or cause (i.e. Social Justice, Environmentalism) (Koltko-Rivera 2006) and therefore has clear links to PSM and the use of Schwartz’s (1992) Self-Transcendent value dimensions, to which the Thesis will later return.

Motivational level	Description of person at this level
Self-transcendence	Seeks to further a cause beyond the self <sup>a</sup> and to experience a communion beyond the boundaries of the self through peak experience. <sup>b</sup>
Self-actualization	Seeks fulfillment of personal potential.
Esteem needs	Seeks esteem through recognition or achievement.
Belongingness and love needs	Seeks affiliation with a group.
Safety needs	Seeks security through order and law.
Physiological (survival) needs	Seeks to obtain the basic necessities of life.

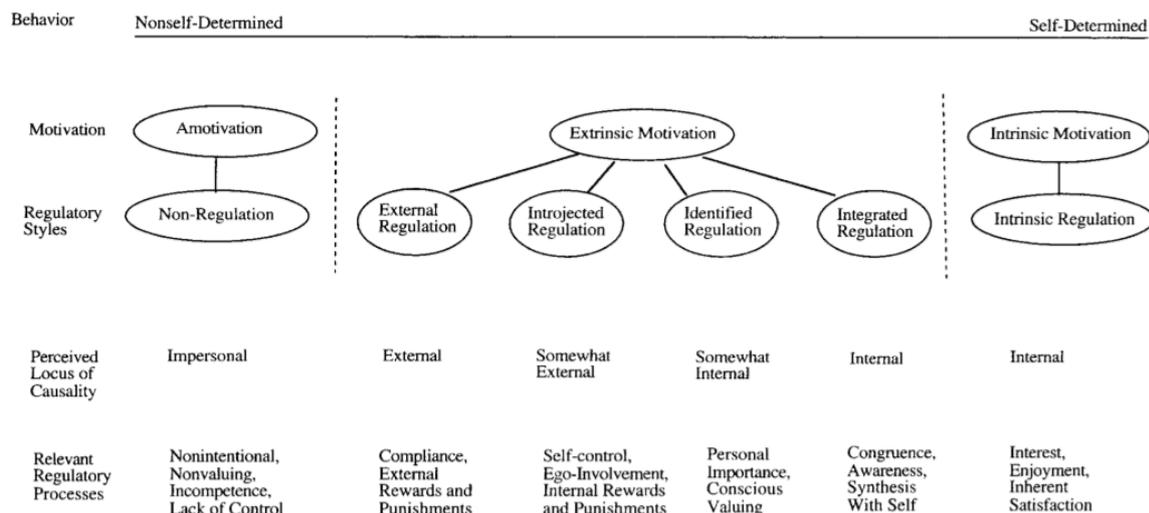
<sup>a</sup> This may involve service to others, devotion to an ideal (e.g., truth, art) or a cause (e.g., social justice, environmentalism, the pursuit of science, a religious faith), and/or a desire to be united with what is perceived as transcendent or divine.

<sup>b</sup> This may involve mystical experiences and certain experiences with nature, aesthetic experiences, sexual experiences, and/or other transpersonal experiences, in which the person experiences a sense of identity that transcends or extends beyond the personal self.

**Figure 3.1** Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (adapted from Koltko-Rivera 2006 p.303)

### 3.2.2 Self-Determination Theory

Ryan and Deci (2000) are described by Koehler and Rainey (2008) as social psychologists and are of interest to PSM scholars for their work investigating intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Ryan and Deci’s (2000) findings indicate that humans have certain innate psychological needs, namely, competence, autonomy and relatedness. The key theory being that when these needs are met, individuals will demonstrate higher self-motivation and wellbeing, and when the needs are thwarted, the reverse effect will occur.



**Figure 3.2** The Self-Determination Continuum (from Ryan and Deci 2000, p.72)

One of the key overlaps between Self-Determination Theory (SDT) and other work on PSM are the focus on motivations, and in particular, the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, which is relevant to the later discussion of Knoke and Wright-Isak’s (1982) identification of rational, affective, and normative motivations, which was used in the original formulation of the concept of PSM by Perry and Wise (1990). Furthermore, the Thesis will return to the concepts of competence, autonomy and relatedness in the later investigation into PSM and Self-Transcendent value dimensions.

### 3.2.3 Personality Traits

The effect of personality traits, both inherited and learned, are examined in a later section through the discussion of Hofstede’s Software of the Mind (see Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010) in relation to personality as a potential antecedent or moderator on an individual’s PSM. However, first, the key research into personality traits is briefly reviewed. One of the most famous pieces of research into personality traits is the Big 5 Personality Traits, also known by the acronyms OCEAN or CANOE (see McCrae and Costa 1985; Goldberg 1990), these traits are: Openness to Experience, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Neuroticism. However, despite the model being widely accepted and

applied, particularly in business settings, '*its cross-cultural replicability has not matched its cross-cultural popularity*' (p. 168, De Raad et al. 2010).

Following on from the early development of five-dimensional models a further six-dimensional model known as HEXACO (Honesty-Humility, Emotionality, eXtraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to Experience) was developed (Ashton and Lee 2001; 2007; Lee and Ashton 2004), which is considered by some to be an improvement on the 5-factor model. Nevertheless, there is ongoing criticism of both the Big 5 and HEXACO on the basis of the psycholexical origins and problems with factor analysis, and some argue that there are only three traits that have universal evidence, namely; Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness (De Raad et al. 2010).

PSM and public administration scholars have made some inroads into investigating the relationships between public values and personalities using HEXACO (Van Witteloostuijn, Esteve, and Boyne 2017) and the Big 5 Personality Traits (Jang 2012). Although suffering from several limitations the two studies show potential insights into the relationship between personality traits and PSM and altruistic behaviours. Furthermore, the studies identify that different aspects of personalities load on different aspects of the PSM construct (Van Witteloostuijn, Esteve, and Boyne 2017) indicating a more nuanced picture, which echoes the work of Brewer, Seldon and Facer (2000) in identifying different priorities within individuals with respect to the different dimensions of the PSM construct.

Both Jang (2012) and Van Witteloostuijn, Esteve, and Boyne (2017) support differentiation of motives, which supports in theory Perry and Wise (1990) and Perry's (1996) separation of motivational aspects into affective and non-affective motives. Witteloostuijn et al.'s (2017) article ends with a call for future studies to examine the

antecedents of PSM by exploring values and attitudes. Answering this call is one of the central aims of this Thesis.

### **3.3 Public Values and Public Service Motivation**

Earlier in the Thesis, both public service motivation (PSM) and public values concepts were introduced. To expand on this further, this subsection seeks to explore in more detail the fundamental relationship between public values and PSM, by briefly revisiting Perry and Wise (1990) concerning the original rationale and definition of PSM.

Firstly, with regard to the link between public values and PSM, Perry and Wise (1990) state that their initial investigation into PSM was prompted by political leaders '*calling for a recommitment of Americans to the values associated with public service*' (Perry and Wise 1990 p.367). To attempt to unpack the different motivations that may lead civil servants to this commitment to public service, Perry and Wise (1990) identified three types of underlying motivational causes with regard to public service. Following Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982), Perry and Wise (1990) identified rational, affective, and normative motivations;

*Rational* motives involve actions grounded in individual utility maximisation.

*Affective* motives refer to triggers of behaviour that are grounded in emotional responses to various social contexts.

*Norm-based* motives refer to actions generated by efforts to conform to norms.

The following summaries seek to explore these three types, with commentary relating these motivations back to the earlier discussion on the idea and ideal of public service presented earlier in the **Chapter 2** of the Thesis.

#### **3.3.1 Rational Motives**

Rational motives are related to material circumstances and can be likened to the lower tiers of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which states that basic survival and shelter needs will be

prioritised before individuals concentrate their attention on higher needs such as social cooperation. Applying these principles to the earlier discussion concerning a comparison of the ancient and modern concepts of public service, it can be assumed that one of the historic privileges of being a member of an elite was the reduction in the rational motivation to secure income and prestige, as inherited wealth, family connections, and privilege ensured that rational motivations to secure Maslow's 'survival needs' were less of a key motivating factor.

Therefore, the ideal of public service in ancient elites would be more related to the opposite end of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, to concepts around esteem and self-actualisation. Using Perry and Wise's three-part division of motivations, these higher needs would be more aligned to normative (depending on the culture) and affective (depending on the individual) motivations.

Again, comparing the ancient situation to modern circumstances, it is logical to argue that modern elites would still conform to the public service values of ancient elites, with regard to the primacy of normative and affective over rational motivations. However, as argued later in this Thesis, it is unclear to what extent the public service ideal is a strong normative cultural element in modern western society due to the prevalence of private companies and public bureaucracies. This would leave individual affective motives as the prime candidate for PSM in modern western elites, hence the importance of exploring personality and personal values which may be the antecedent of affective motives.

Regarding the non-elites, which have always formed the majority of the population, they now also form the majority of those employed in public sector organisations, including managerial and leadership positions. It is these modern public sector workers who are often linked to the public service ideals, however there is mounting evidence (see **Chapter 2**) that for many in public employment the rational motives of; job security, pensions, quality of life, salary, availability etc. are more likely to factor in an individual's rational motives for public

service. This is particularly likely to be the case for those from poorer backgrounds with less education who are unable to rely on family wealth or connections to secure their independent survival and shelter needs.

### **3.3.2 Affective Motives**

The affective motivations are those most grounded in the individual's personal feelings and emotional responses, and some researchers argue that the public administration literature has largely neglected the importance of personality traits (Cooper 2012; 2014). It would be harsh to say the same of Perry, the 'founding father' of PSM, who has consistently acknowledged the importance of values and ideology as antecedents of PSM in an individual (Perry 1990; 1996; 1997; 2000). However, while recognising the importance of individual antecedents, it is perhaps true of Perry, and the majority of other PSM researchers, that the field of 'personality', as studied in psychology, have not been a major focus to date.

Perry's (1997) work on PSM antecedents sought to categorise key personal sociohistorical and demographical indicators, which he identified as; parental socialisation, religious socialisation, political ideology, and demographics, i.e. gender, age, etc. however, whilst these influence the individual's affective motivation they are arguably more normative in effect. Building on Perry's indicators (Perry 2000), it is arguable that personality should be added as a key antecedent to better capture the affective motivation of an individual's orientation to public service (Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000; Witteloostuijn et al. 2016). Recent research has explored this area and has noted that very little is understood concerning the personality and PSM (Witteloostuijn et al. 2016). These findings further reinforce the consensus amongst scholars on a lack of knowledge on the antecedents of an individual's levels of PSM.

One line of enquiry has been with respect to the constancy or otherwise of PSM within an individual over time, with the hypotheses that tracking at the individual level can

give greater insights into causal factors and can be used to better test the temporal dynamics of PSM and its antecedents (Jensen and Vestergaard 2017). There is evidence from a limited number of longitudinal studies, for tracking individual's levels of PSM and how it adapts over time (Georgellis and Vurain 2010) and exploring if PSM is a trait (stable within an individual over time) or a state (a fluctuating aspect of an individual's personality over time) with a study by Vogel and Kroll (2016). The addition of longitudinal elements is important for answering questions such as PSM change within individuals over time and the stability or otherwise of public service motivation as a personality trait.

A number of authors have explored PSM as traits versus states with Vogel and Kroll (2016) identifying that PSM related values of public employees are stable rather than dynamic but tend to increase with age and decrease with organizational membership. Other authors have also found evidence of both stable and dynamic elements (Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Pedersen 2015; Christensen et. al. 2017), with Christensen et al. summarising that PSM appears to be largely stable as a result of formative socialisation but is still subject to fluctuation based on external influences such as organisational practices (Christensen et. al. 2017).

Homberg and Costello (2019) provide a recent comprehensive summary of the trait versus state research where they identify a dozen PSM studies on the topic, before concluding in line with Christensen et al. (2017) that PSM displays both trait-like and state-like properties. Homberg and Costello (2019) redefine these concepts as 'baseline PSM' and 'dynamic PSM' respectively. The relatively stable, trait-like baseline PSM can be related to antecedents such as early childhood, education and parental influence, whereas the more dynamic, state-like PSM can be related to organisational socialisation and managerial interventions (Homberg and Costello 2019). This combination of trait-like baseline PSM and

state-like dynamic PSM further add to the difficulty in understanding the affective motivations in specific individuals.

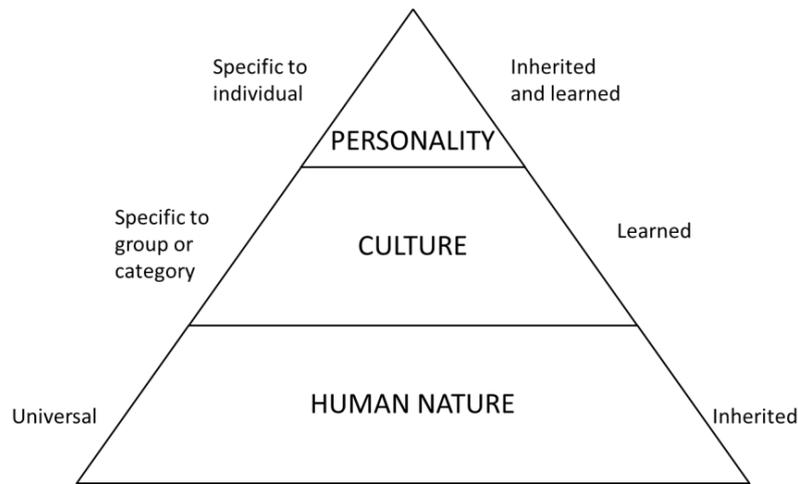
### **3.3.3 Normative Motives**

As shown in the earlier discussion, the ancient concept of a public service ideal seeks to appeal to the powerful individual via normative and affective motivations in order to self-regulate potential abuse of power, in the absence of other effective controlling mechanisms. In this ancient regime the normative elements would have been largely cultural and religious with respect to the traditions, customs and moral expectations of elite members of society in positions of public office.

In the modern context, as in the historic context, normative motivations will differ considerably between individuals and will depend on a wide range of socio-historical aspects including socially-derived norms from; family, religion, gender, class, nationality, organisations, institutions, and occupational cultures that the individual is exposed to. Before exploring these individual aspects of normative culture in more detail, the general effect of culture on the individual is first explored, using Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov's (2010) concept of the 'Software of the Mind'.

### **3.3.4 Hofstede's Software of the Mind**

To investigate the normative effects of culture and socio-historical socialisation effects on an individual Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov's (2010) work on cultures and organisations is drawn on, which has been recognised internationally and is used widely in both academia and business settings. However, to quickly summarise the concepts, without reproducing Hofstede's work, some key figures are reproduced to illustrate the key points that are being highlighted with respects to concept of the 'software of the mind'.



**Figure 3.3** Three Levels of Uniqueness in Mental Programming (from Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010 p.6)

The above figure sets out the role of culture and its position relevant to personality and human nature, including the aspects that are learned versus inherited (nature/nurture) and the level to which they are specific to the individual or universal to the human species. The diagram is a useful lens through which to interpret the three motivational factors utilised by Perry and Wise (1990) to assess PSM.

Based on the above, basic ‘rational motives’, akin to Maslow’s basic needs, would lie within universal and inherited physio-biological needs that are part of the human natural condition. Additional rational motives, such as acquisition of wealth (salary) and security, would be moderated by the values of the individual, both from a perspective of inherited and learned aspects of personality and learned cultural values. The second of the motivational forces, ‘affective motives’ are harder to define, but are associated with personality in terms of the software of the mind. However, these affective motives are hard to separate from the effects of inherited and learned behaviours which are subject to multiple and numerous socialisation influences on normative behaviour and values.

The final motivational force, ‘normative motives’ can be associated broadly with the cultural tier of the software of the mind figure presented above. The wide range of normative

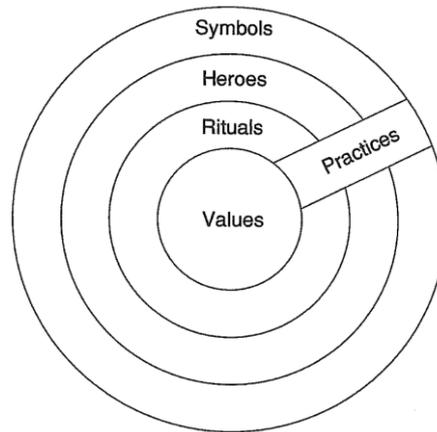
influences identified earlier as incorporating socio-historical factors such as: family, religion, gender, class, nationality, organisations, institutions, and occupational cultures will all influence and interact with the inherited personality and human nature to determine an individual's values.

In summary, whilst the separation of motivation into three aspects is useful to unpack and examine the different sources of motivational type, there are many potential opportunities for interacting, moderating and confounding relationships between the different motivational types, with the diagram from Hofstede's software of the mind, showing the additional aspects of learned vs inherited behaviours. Given this complexity of motivations, and the difficulty in subsequently separating them in empirical sociological research, one approach is to focus instead on the outcomes of these various influences, rather than the causes, and to capture these 'terminal' positions through the study of values. This focus on terminal positions or 'value preferences' is not as strange as it seems, indeed, values are precisely the mental constructs that provide central touchstones in an otherwise complex web of inherited and learned behaviours, which allow an individual to navigate the social world.

### **3.4 Values, Culture and Public Service**

Values are central to the concept of the software of the mind. Hofstede et al. (2010) describes the constituent elements of culture as a multi-layered onion, with 'Symbols' representing the most superficial layer, 'Values' the deepest, and with 'Heroes' and 'Rituals' in between.

Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) further divide the layers into two main types, 'Values' and 'Practices', with practices encompassing symbols, heroes and rituals.



**Figure 3.4** The ‘Onion’: Manifestations of Culture at Different Levels of Depth (from Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010 p.8)

Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) state that while practices are visible and can be observed by an outsider, their cultural meaning remains invisible and depends on the interpretation of the individual insiders. The core of culture is therefore the values that underpin the practices and guide the preferences or broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others. The authors describe values as *‘feelings with an added arrow indicating a plus and minus side’* (p.9 Hofstede et. al. 2010) and suggest that these values come in pairings (i.e. evil vs good, irrational vs rational etc.). Applying this logic to a public service ethic it might be said that it deals with these types of value pairings:

- Public versus Private
- Individual versus Collective
- Moral versus Immoral
- Compassion versus Dispassion
- Selfless versus Selfish
- Responsible versus Irresponsible

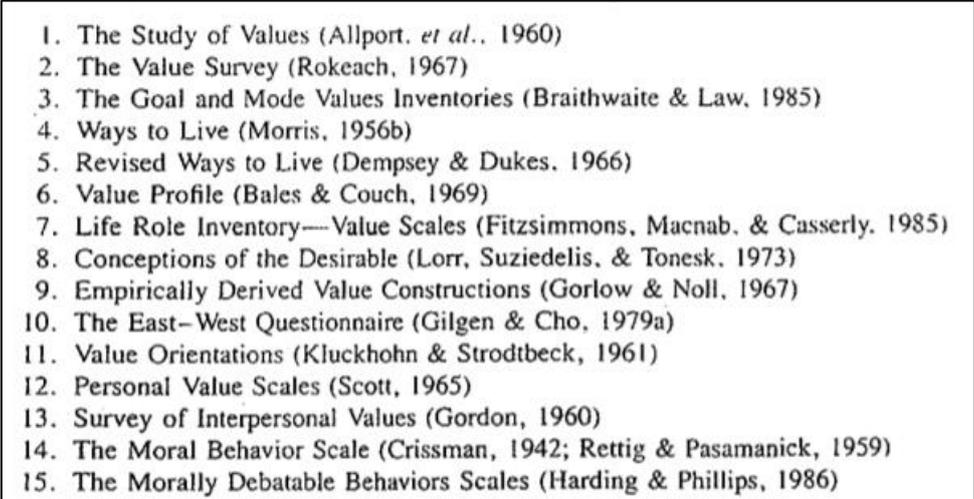
Before exploring these values associated with public service in more detail it is first important to look at what other researchers have discovered with respect to investigations

into general human values, and then turn attention specifically into the values associated with public service.

### 3.4.1 The Nature of Individual Values

The above passages set out the range and scope of the interdisciplinary nature of research specific to PSM and public values, before exploring some of the background to motivational aspects of PSM and the concept of the ‘software of the mind’. Given the central Thesis revolves around the concept of values, in this section an overview is provided of some of the key issues and foundations of more general attempts to research values to further set the context of the research.

Academic investigations into the nature of values has been moving in the direction of consensus since the 1950s (Braithwaite and Scott 1991). Braithwaite and Scott (1991) reviewed fifteen different value measures (see **Figure 3.5** below), before pointing towards Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) as one of the most promising directions of research, citing Schwartz and Bilsky’s work as seeking to address some of the criticisms of the earlier efforts relating to lack of explanative theory and cross-cultural application.

- 
1. The Study of Values (Allport, *et al.*, 1960)
  2. The Value Survey (Rokeach, 1967)
  3. The Goal and Mode Values Inventories (Braithwaite & Law, 1985)
  4. Ways to Live (Morris, 1956b)
  5. Revised Ways to Live (Dempsey & Dukes, 1966)
  6. Value Profile (Bales & Couch, 1969)
  7. Life Role Inventory—Value Scales (Fitzsimmons, Macnab, & Casserly, 1985)
  8. Conceptions of the Desirable (Lorr, Suziedelis, & Tonesk, 1973)
  9. Empirically Derived Value Constructions (Gorlow & Noll, 1967)
  10. The East–West Questionnaire (Gilgen & Cho, 1979a)
  11. Value Orientations (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961)
  12. Personal Value Scales (Scott, 1965)
  13. Survey of Interpersonal Values (Gordon, 1960)
  14. The Moral Behavior Scale (Crissman, 1942; Rettig & Pasamanick, 1959)
  15. The Morally Debatable Behaviors Scales (Harding & Phillips, 1986)

**Figure 3.5** Development of Values Instruments (from Braithwaite and Scott 1991)

Schwartz and Bilsky's research (1987; 1990), built on Rokeach's (1967) earlier work and was carried forward individually by Schwartz (1992; 1994; 1999; 2011; 2012) and in numerous collaborative papers with other academics (i.e. Schwartz et al 2012; Davidov, Schmidt and Schwartz 2008). In defining values, Schwartz refers to six key aspects that he cites as having a broad consensus among researchers (e.g., Allport, 1961; Feather, 1995; Kluckhohn, 1951; Morris, 1956; Rokeach 1973; all cited in Schwartz 2012) and apply to all values as listed below in **Figure 3.6**.

- (1) **Values are beliefs** linked inextricably to affect. When values are activated, they become infused with feeling. People for whom independence is an important value become aroused if their independence is threatened, despair when they are helpless to protect it, and are happy when they can enjoy it.
- (2) **Values refer to desirable goals** that motivate action. People for whom social order, justice, and helpfulness are important values are motivated to pursue these goals.
- (3) **Values transcend specific actions and situations.** Obedience and honesty values, for example, may be relevant in the workplace or school, in business or politics, with friends or strangers. This feature distinguishes values from norms and attitudes that usually refer to specific actions, objects, or situations.
- (4) **Values serve as standards or criteria.** Values guide the selection or evaluation of actions, policies, people, and events. People decide what is good or bad, justified or illegitimate, worth doing or avoiding, based on possible consequences for their cherished values. But the impact of values in everyday decisions is rarely conscious. Values enter awareness when the actions or judgments one is considering have conflicting implications for different values one cherishes.
- (5) **Values are ordered by importance** relative to one another. People's values form an ordered system of priorities that characterize them as individuals. Do they attribute more importance to achievement or justice, to novelty or tradition? This hierarchical feature also distinguishes values from norms and attitudes.
- (6) **The relative importance of multiple values guides action.** Any attitude or behavior typically has implications for more than one value. For example, attending church might express and promote tradition and conformity values at the expense of hedonism and stimulation values. The tradeoff among relevant, competing values guides attitudes and behaviors (Schwartz, 1992, 1996). Values influence action when they are relevant in the context (hence likely to be activated) and important to the actor.

**Figure 3.6** 'The Nature of Values' (from Schwartz 2012, p.2-3)

Broadly speaking, values research has tended towards two broad streams of study, the values of individuals and values associated with cultures. The study of individual values is typified by research such as Rokeach's (1973) Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) and Schwartz's

(1992) Theory of Basic Values. Likewise, research into cultural values is perhaps best typified by Hofstede's (1980) work on Cultural Dimensions. Other areas of research, such as into the values of occupations and institutions, is perhaps less well studied and often draw on methods or theories from the study of individuals or cultures.

### **3.4.2 Measuring Individual Values**

Based on the increasing consensus around the nature of values set out above, work on creating measurement instruments, and validating them, continued. Over time, a set of more popular scales developed around the work of Hofstede (1980; 1991), Rokeach (1967; 1973), Inglehart (1971) and Schwartz (1992). Hofstede is returned to later in the section on cultural values. Regarding individual values, the early leading work of the Rokeach (Rokeach Value Survey 1967; 1973) was built upon and improved by Schwartz (1992), who developed the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) and Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) based the Schwartz Theory of Values.

Multiple studies have tested and validated Schwartz SVS and PVQ using data from over 82 countries (Schwartz 2012) and have been applied to a wide range of different demographics with representative national samples from 37 countries (Bilsky, Janik and Schwartz 2011; Davidov et al. 2008; Schwartz 2006). Taken together the studies identify that the 10 basic values are distinguished in 90% of the samples (Schwartz 2012). Further work has subsequently further defined 19 constituent elements under the 10 basic values (Schwartz et al. 2012)

One of the key practical achievements of Schwartz was in the early 2000's, when Schwartz managed to get a shortened version of Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) included in the European Social Survey (ESS). The ESS is an academically-driven multi-country survey, which has been administered in 31 countries to date; Austria, Belgium,

Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom (European Social Survey, 2016). The ESS is repeated biannually and has had 8 Rounds so far, starting in 2002 (Round 1) to 2016 (Round 8) to date.

The inclusion of the short form of Schwartz's PVQ means that researchers now have access to data on the values of 382,555 (up to Round 8) individuals along with a host of socio-demographic data to explore correlations, antecedents and consequences. Furthermore, as the ESS covers multiple countries it also facilitates opportunities to compare individual values using the PVQ against cultural values, such as Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions. The ESS and the PVQ series provide a critical resource for the Thesis in terms of empirically testing the applicability of theories to one of the largest and most comprehensive social survey databases available.

### **3.5 Influence of National and Organisational Cultural Values**

In the preceding section the discussion has focused on values held by individuals. The second main area of study with regard to values has been the study of cultural and national values. To a lesser extent, additional research has investigated the culture of organisations, the results of which are introduced briefly below.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Amended versions of the following two subsections are reproduced in the **Chapter 5** of the Thesis but have been included here for completeness.

### **3.5.1 Normative Influence of National Culture**

In many cases, culture is recognisable on a national scale, which provides a relatively consistent sociohistorical context regarding laws, customs, educational systems, religions and institutions. At such a large scale in comparison to the individual, the cultural influence of nationality on the expression of PSM is likely to be at a very broad scale (based on the wide heterogeneity within modern societies) and can be expected to exhibit significant variations at the individual level. However, concerning generalisations, it is anticipated that there will be consistent trends or patterns identifiable at the cultural/national level in comparison with other cultures/nations.

Perhaps the most well-known research in management which seeks to acknowledge and understand national cultural differences is Hofstede (1984; 1991; 2011) Hofstede recognised that culture as a term could be used in different contexts; i.e. by anthropologists (referring to tribes and ethnic groups) and by political scientists, sociologists, and managers (referring to nations and organisations) as well as acknowledging the existence of cultures of occupations (Hofstede et al. 2010) along the six dimensions of Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism/Collectivism, Masculinity/Femininity, Long/Short Term Orientation, and Indulgence/Restraint.

HRM professionals and managers have subsequently operationalised many of the findings from Hofstede, for example in the training of managers and leaders within international companies. Researchers and academics across disciplines continue to reference the work of Hofstede. For example, Song et al. (2017) refer to Hofstede to contextualise culture within Korean civil servants. Similarly, Humphries and Whelan (2017) used Hofstede's dimensions to investigate the relationship between national culture and corporate governance codes. One study by Kim (2017), explicitly explores the relationship between five of Hofstede's cultural dimensions and PSM using data from 32 countries, providing

*'partial empirical support for the idea that national culture is associated with individuals' public service motivation'* (p.35 Kim 2017). While Kim's (2017) paper acknowledges several limitations and caveats, it is further proof that national culture is a contributing socio-historical antecedent of PSM.

Putting Hofstede's general theories to one side, there is specific evidence of cultural influence in PSM research, and it is now broadly acknowledged wisdom that PSM varies across different societal cultures (Ritz and Brewer 2013; Kim et al. 2013; Harari et al. 2017). This variation factor has meant that testing PSM internationally has not proved as straightforward as just replicating the measures developed in the United States using international samples. Vandenabeele and Walle (2008), using international survey data, showed that the constituent dimensions of PSM are not necessarily universal and suggested that sociohistorical differences are the likely cause of different patterns of PSM in different countries. A multi-country study by Kim et al. (2013) referred to the problems in translation and meaning of words when using international scales for comparative purposes, advocating that further country-specific knowledge is required to understand specific dimensions and to decipher differences in PSM as a general construct.

Notwithstanding the international and cross-cultural issues set out above, many empirical studies have been undertaken using variants of the traditional four-dimensional PSM concept outside of the US, as listed by Ballart and Riba (2017) who cite studies in Belgium (Vandenabeele et al. 2004), France (Castaing 2006), Malta (Camilleri 2006), Italy (Cerase and Farinella 2006), Australia (Taylor 2007), the Netherlands (Steijn 2008), Switzerland (Giauque et al. 2011; Ritz 2009), South Korea (Kim 2009), China (Liu et al 2008), and Germany (Ritz and Walder, 2011) as examples. In total, based on a meta review study by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016), 447 PSM studies were identified covering 71 different countries, demonstrating the proliferation of the concept internationally.

In terms of identifying culturally specific variations of the US-derived PSM concept, European scholars have identified specific continental values related to public service. Vandenaabeele (2008) was the first of these scholars to explore the potential for an culturally specific additional dimension of PSM based on ‘democratic governance’ and was followed by additional studies which have sought to identify additional dimensions for particular countries including Spain (Ballart and Riba 2017), Switzerland (Giauque et. al. 2011), Italy (Cerase and Farinaella 2009) and Denmark (Hansen 2009). Despite these studies, at the societal or national level, there is still relatively little known about the interaction between culture and PSM, in spite of the fact that this relationship has received regular attention in PSM research (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017). These challenges of using a measure derived in the United States for an international comparative study is addressed by Kim et al. (2010) and Houston (2011) who both stress the importance of national context in PSM research. This recurring theme of problems of comparative studies and compatibility are acknowledged in Perry and Vandenaabeele's (2015) meta-analytic review of PSM research.

The problems identified by multiple scholars with respect to differential results in cross-cultural studies as set out above, suggest that use of other theories, such as Hofstede's cultural dimensions, can aid in providing explanatory links between the cultural variation in constructs such as PSM (i.e. in Kim 2017). However, there are also valid concerns of the reliability of Hofstede work, despite their popularity, with a notable critique by McSweeney (2002) pointing out multiple limitations to Hofstede's methodology and the reliability of the findings. A key criticism in McSweeney (2002) is that whilst Hofstede (1980; 1991) acknowledges that nations contain sub-cultures, as do organisations, ‘*any constitutive interplay between different levels and types of culture are precluded*’ (p.109 McSweeney 2002).

In summary, despite the practical difficulties in establishing firm evidence of the effect of national culture on the normative motives of individuals with respect to PSM, it has been established that national cultures do vary considerably via Hofstede's cultural dimensions as well as reviewing the evidence from ongoing academic interest by PSM scholars that these national cultural differences effect the expression of PSM in individuals.

### **3.5.2 Normative Influence of Organisational Culture**

The following provides a very brief overview of some of the research concerning the role of organisational culture and its influence on the individual expression of PSM. Drawing on Moynihan and Pandey's (2007) work on the role of organisations fostering PSM, and Wright's (2007) and Wright and Pandey's (2008; 2011) work on the organisational mission, person organisation fit and mission valence. The literature associates the following organisational factors with the expression of PSM in individuals: organisational leadership, mission valence, levels of red tape and hierarchical authority, and length of organisational membership. Furthermore, it could be argued that organisational factors around location, department or function, could also be relevant influences based on the recognition of variation of culture within organisations and the concept of organisational sub-cultures (Hofstede 1998).

As demonstrated above, as with national culture, the level of organisation and its influence on individual's expression of PSM is a complex area. For example, an organisation with historically negative impacts on an individual's expression of PSM may be reversed by new leadership with a strong commitment to a programme of reform (Moynihan and Pandey 2007) and one expects vice versa. There may be complex person-environment or person-organisational fit issues related to an individual's identification with the mission of the organisation which may increase or decrease the expression of PSM in a person over time (see Wright 2007; Wright and Pandey 2008; 2011).

Length of organisational membership is also identified as a potential source of decreasing PSM over time (Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013; Kjeldsen 2014; Vogel and Kroll 2016). Harari et al. found evidence that this element of organisational tenure was a significant factor in Germanic nations but found no evidence of the same effect in Anglo nations (Harari et al. 2017). In summary whilst the relative strength and legitimacy of these various organisational cultural factors is still a matter of debate, the evidence suggests that there are indeed organisational cultural effects on normative motives for public service.

### **3.6 Summary and Future Directions for Public Values Research**

Given the wide ranging and vast quantity of research and materials across the fields identified in this chapter, one can begin to understand the desire and the necessity of dividing research into more discreet and manageable disciplines. However, when faced with an interdisciplinary subject of research, such as the thorny issue of values and motivation, it is perhaps counter-productive to the goals of the research and the discovery of meaningful contributions to advance human knowledge.

Therefore, a review and understanding of the interdisciplinary nature of values and motivation research necessitates the researcher to strike a balance between creating, from an empirical sense, a manageable and quantifiable set of variables upon which to test hypotheses and make observations, against the understanding of the incredible complexity of the subject of investigation. Maintaining this wider perspective is essential to avoid oversimplification of empirical research, which at face value provides insight, but taken in a wider context, is found to be unsuitable, or subject to so many caveats, as to be unsuitable for any generalised or universal theoretical application.

To conclude, this chapter has set out the interdisciplinary nature of values and motivation research and highlighted some of the key research pertinent to any attempt to

study public values, public service values and motivation. The Thesis takes forward a number of the identified avenues of research, the first of which is presented in **Chapter 5** which seeks to create a theoretical framework of antecedents for values by delineating ‘tiers’ of study which can guide research efforts at a narrower level of investigation. The purpose of the framework is to aid a systematic understanding of the complex relationships between values, culture, organisations, occupations and individuals. **Chapter 6** further builds on the hypothesised framework to explore the association of individuals with high public values with their choice of occupation and employment sector.

## **Chapter 4: Public Values, PSM and Environmentalism**

The purpose of this chapter is to seek to integrate environmentalism into the public values scholarship. The integration of environmentalism with PSM for example would provide insights to managers and researchers into the motivation of employees and reveal a new facet of the PSM concept. The following discussion seeks to articulate a research agenda that challenges some of the unconscious anthropocentric bias in existing PSM research, further explore the environmental dimension of PSM, and provide evidence of the importance of environmental values to the public service ideal.

To compare and then integrate PSM and environmentalism, an overview of environmentalism is first provided. The research and scholarship on environmentalism and related topics is considerable. Therefore, this summary cannot do justice to the literature, nevertheless, the chapter seeks to provide a high-level summary of some of the key aspects of environmentalism, environmental values, motivation and behaviour. The chapter finishes by setting out a future research agenda which is then taken forward in **Part II** of the Thesis. These later chapters present new empirical data and supporting theories to provide compelling evidence of the importance of environmental values to the public service ideal.

### **4.1 Universalism, Environmentalism and Public Values**

In **Chapter 2** the initial links between public values and environmentalism were identified through the common association of both public values and environmentalism within the Schwartz (1992) basic value of Universalism. The explicit link between public values and Schwartz's Universalism value was made by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) on their work on identifying an inventory of public values.

Once the link had been made between Universalism and public values, a comparison of the other values in the Universalism constellation, namely; altruism, public interest, human

dignity, sustainability, common good, social cohesion, protection of rights of the individual, balancing of interests, equal treatment, justice, social justice, equity, fairness, protection of minorities, voice of the future, and stakeholder or shareholder value (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014), reveals, in addition to the ‘traditional’ public values presented in public administration research, a number of strong environmental values.

**Chapter 2** concluded that the public administration literature rarely attributes explicit environmentalism with the concept of public service, i.e. such as the OECD values (OECD 1996 in Horton 2008) associated with the public service ethos; ‘*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 responsibility to government*’ (p.28 Horton 2008). Nor does Perry’s (1996) PSM scale capture or contain explicit environmental items in measuring the four key components of PSM: commitment to the public interest / public values, compassion, attraction to public policy making and self-sacrifice.

Although at first glance the public service ethos is not often explicitly environmental in description, public management and public administration are closely tied to the management of; pollution, public health, resource management and environmental protection. Therefore, even if the value of environmentalism is not a priority, the management of the environment is. The questions then become to what end is the environment being managed? If it is to maximise the utility of natural resources to mankind, then one can say there is an inherent anthropocentric bias (See **4.1.1**) in public management. This issue of anthropocentrism is at the root of many environmental and ecological critiques of traditional government, public and private business and management practices and is explored further in the following discussion.

#### 4.1.1 PSM and Anthropomorphism

To explore how anthropocentrism expresses itself in public administration one may look no further than PSM, one of the more popular areas of public administration research in recent years. Perry and Wise first defined public service motivation as ‘*an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations*’ (p.368, Perry and Wise 1990). Later scholars have redefined PSM as ‘*the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community and social service*’ (p.417, Brewer and Seldon 1998) the ‘*general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind*’ (p.20, Rainey and Steinbauer 1999) and ‘*the belief, values, and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organisational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate*’ (p547. Vandenabeele 2007).

A key feature of these definitions is their anthropocentric and social focus revealed by their choice of language; institutions and organisations (Perry and Wise 1990), community and social service (Brewer and Seldom 1998), communities, states, nations and humankind (Rainey and Steinbauer 1999), and political entities (Vandenabeele 2007).

This anthropocentric focus is probably unconscious, and likely be a product of educational and institutional bias within the social science dominated field of public administration. This chapter therefore seeks to explore the evidence and interrelationships between the theories surrounding public values and environmental values. The goal of the chapter is to better understand if the absence of environmental aspects in much of the public values and PSM discourse is a justified position or an error to be rectified.

Perry and Hondeghem (2008) start ‘Motivation in Public Management: The Call of Public Service’ with a key question, why should we care about Public Service Motivation? They state that one of the key reasons is to understand ‘*the nature of ‘human nature’ with*

*respect to rational versus other-regarding motives'* (p.7 Perry and Hondegheem, 2008).

Building on this sentiment it is argued in this Thesis that one pressing societal aspect of human nature with respect to rational vs other-regarding motives is the declining relationship with Nature and the natural environment. The challenge of climate change, biodiversity conservation and sustainable development have never been more urgent, and the role of the public sector and public administration, never more critical.

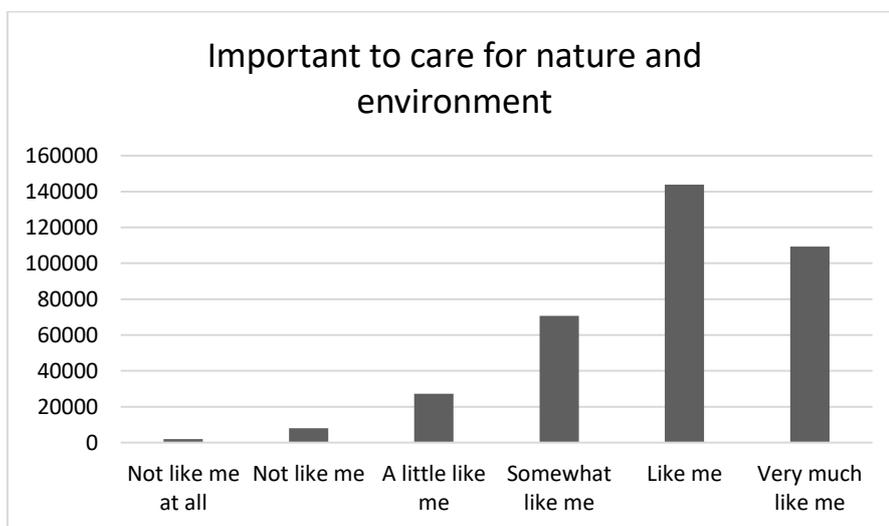
## **4.2 Environmental Values and the Public**

The Oxford dictionary definition of environmentalism is '*concern about and action aimed at protecting the environment*' and an environmentalist as '*a person who is concerned about protecting the environment.*' (Oxford Living Dictionary 2018). However, in practice, the term environmentalist is often reserved for those persons that are actively engaged in an environmental career or vocation or exhibit a stronger than normal environmentalism in their lifestyle choices.

Whilst these professional or volunteer environmentalists are a minority of the population, multiple studies have shown that within many nations, environmental values are held by the majority of the public, whilst not necessarily being identified, or self-identifying, with the label 'Environmentalists'. Therefore, environmental values, like many value systems, are a continuum rather than a binary condition, with one extreme being anti-environmentalists and the other extreme being environmentalists. A key feature of environmentalism when seen as a continuum, or cultural dimension, is that the norm is heavily skewed in the positive direction toward environmentalism.

The figure below uses data from the European Social Survey (ESS) using data from 8 rounds between 2002 and 2016. The ESS is an academically-driven multi-country survey, which has been administered in 31 countries to date with rigorous survey design and review protocols (European Social Survey, 2016). The data shows that for the 326,179 respondents

to the question it is ‘Important to care for nature and environment’ a total of 89.67% rated it between ‘somewhat like me’ and ‘very much like me’ and 70.11% rated it as ‘like me’ or ‘very much like me’. Therefore, it can be said that caring for nature and the environment is a normative position in Europe. This European evidence supports earlier findings in the United States which found 80% of respondents identified themselves as ‘environmentalists’ (Gutfeld 1991) and in another study 72% agreed that ‘environmental problems are urgent’ (Milbrath 1985).



**Figure 4.1** Environmental Values in European Public (ESS, 2004-2016)

Another metric suggesting that environmentalism is an increasingly normative stance, is the statistics of ‘green’ and ‘environmental’ political party’s vote shares which have increased steadily in several countries since the 1980’s, with the UK increasing its vote share from 0.3% to 3.8%, Germany from 5.1% to 8.4%, and France from 1.1% to 5.5% (Dobson 2016). Whilst the overall percentage is low, it should be worth noting that there is a myriad of political and social factors that influence voting behaviours. Nevertheless, the figures represent more than 1000% increase in the UK, 500% increase in France and 65% increase in Germany over the period and therefore these trends are indicators of increasing environmental values over time.

Having established that positive environmental values are a normative (and potentially growing) position in the general public, the question arises as to why environmental behaviours are not more widely adopted. One theory put forward by Green-Demers, Pelletier and Menard (1997) is that motivation driven by environmental values is moderated by the perceived difficulty of environmental behaviours. For example, you may be concerned about petrol use, and would prefer an electric car, but you cannot afford the more expensive electric car that meets your needs. If the theory is correct that the difficulty of carrying out the environmentally responsible behaviour (ERB) moderates an individual's motivation, then one way to foster ERBs is to make the actions easier to complete. For example, one recent study found that access to finance was a barrier to electric vehicle adoption in Norway (Anton and Kallbekken 2019).

Similarly, it has long been established that aiding provision of curb-side recycling increases recycling of households (Vining and Ebreo 1992; Oskamp 1995). The concept of barriers to implementation moderating the activation of ERBs was addressed in one study (Green-Demers, Pelletier and Menard 1997) which investigated the relationship between self-determined motivation (i.e. SDT Deci and Ryan 1985) and the association with environmental behaviours. The study by Green-Demers, Pelletier and Menard (1997) indicated that self-determination was significantly related to ERBs and that the relationship increased with the difficulty of the environmental behaviour. In other words, where environmental actions were relatively easy, and required less or little effort, there was less need for an individual to have high levels of self-determination. Conversely, where an ERB required major effort, there was a significant effect between the self-determination and carrying out ERBs.

In summary, regarding environmental values, there are consistent findings that environmental concern is high in the general public (Milbrath 1985; Dunlap 1987; Shetzer,

Stackman and Moore 1991; Gutfield 1991; ESS 2016). However, it is less clear that this level of general environmental concern translates into strong enough levels of motivation to undertake ERB (Balsassare and Katz 1992; Green-Demers, Pelletier and Menard 1997). Therefore, similar to investigations of PSM, research has subsequently sought to investigate socio-historic, intrinsic and extrinsic antecedents, moderators, enablers and inhibitors that effect the relationship between values and behaviours. The following sections explore in more detail some of these factors.

#### **4.2.1 Antecedents of Environmental Behaviour**

Environmental values, environmentalism and pro-environmental behaviour is a complex subject that crosses multiple academic disciplines. However, the unifying theme is normally concerned with environmental problems, usually as a result of human agency. Over time, different approaches have arisen in response to tackling these environmental problems, for example: environmental technology, environmental economics, environmental sociology, environmental governance and environmental psychology (Klockner 2015). Given the competing epistemological paradigms inherent in these different disciplines some scholars have argued for an integrated model of individual behaviour that takes account of these different social contexts, for example by combining sociological and psychological perspectives for a more comprehensive understanding of motivation (Whitmarsh, O'Neil and Lorenzoni 2011).

In these integrated models, the individual is represented as an agent within several rings of external influence. At the centre of the model the individual has attitudes, personal norms, habits, intentions and other psychological constructs which guide their behaviour (i.e. Arnesen, 2013 in Klockner 2015). These individual behaviours are then subject to the same types of socio-historical context that PSM scholars (i.e. Perry 1997) have identified as

potential antecedents of PSM, such as friends and family, organisations, religion and culture that influence individuals and interact to influence behaviours.

Another avenue of research, building on the concept of the person as an agent, is the field of psychology, personality and traits research. In **Chapter 3** of the Thesis some of the concepts in psychology relevant to values and motivation were introduced, including; Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1969), Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self Determination Theory, Personality Traits (i.e. Big 5, OCEAN, CANOE, Goldberg 1990, HEXACO see Lee and Ashton 2004), Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Values and Hofstede's (1980) work on Cultural Dimensions and the Software of the Mind (Hofstede et al. 2010). In this section some of the literature that has investigated environmental values in relation to personality, psychology and motivation are briefly reviewed.

#### **4.2.2 Environmentalism and Pro-Social Behaviour**

In a simplistic sense, environmentalists could be considered as those at the more extreme end of the value system of environmentalism. Using the ESS data, concentrating only on those who responded with the maximum agreement of 'very much like me', it is a significant minority, representing 30.27% of the survey population. Earlier in the chapter we alluded to the fact that those self-identifying as environmentalists normally move beyond theoretical values and express their values in behaviours, such as environmentally responsible behaviour (ERB), which can manifest in pro-environmental choices and attitudes with regard to shelter, food, consumption, mobility, and leisure activities (Klockner 2015).

These ERBs are in most cases pro-social behaviours in the sense that driving an electric car is quieter (less noise pollution), does not pollute the air (less public health impacts), and does not emit carbon (less contribution to climate change). The degree to which ERBs are pro-social is further underlined by the numerous pieces of legislation, policy and regulations that are socially motivated but environmentally based.

What motivates these individuals to move beyond a broad agreement with the value of environmentalism to a position of an environmentalist displaying pro-social ERBs? Some scholars have argued that ERB is driven by social-psychological theories suggesting that most people desire to behave consistently with their values to avoid cognitive dissonance (Thøgersen 2004). It then follows that the strength of the value would correlate to the strength of the cognitive dissonance felt by acting incongruently with those beliefs. This would then explain why it is only when the strength of commitment to the value of environmentalism reaches a level at which it influences outward ERBs that the individual and society at large labels the person an environmentalist.

#### **4.2.3 Environmentalism, Altruism and Other-Regarding Values**

According to one early empirical study in the 1980's environmentalists exhibit higher than normal compassion towards those outside their immediate circle of friends and family, displaying a more generalised compassion to people and individuals in remote countries, future generations and to other species (Milbrath 1984). This empirical study supports the theoretical work of authors such as Naess (1987) and Fox's (1990) work on Transpersonal Ecology which stresses the 'identification with others' as a key psychological aspect of Deep Ecology.

Another study linking other-regarding values with environmentalists is the work of Schultz and Zelezny (1999) who undertook an international survey which tested respondent's environmental values and Schwartz's universal value scale. The findings from this comparative research identified strong positive associations between environmentalists and the value of Universalism and to a lesser extent, Conformity. The value of Universalism in Schwartz (1994) is associated with the values of social justice, wisdom, equality, broad mindedness and protection of the environment (Schultz and Zelezny 1999) and the goal of

Universalism is defined by Schwartz as '*understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.*' (p.7 Schwartz 2012).

Schwartz goes on to contrast this with the focus on in-groups in the Benevolence value, as opposed to the focus of Universalism on others beyond the extended group (Schwartz 2012). The study by Schultz and Zelezny (1999) also showed environmentalists to be strongly negatively associated with the value of Power and to a lesser extent Tradition. Schwartz (1994) associates Power values with authority, wealth and self-enhancement and the goal of power is defined as '*social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources*' (p.5 Schwartz 2012).

#### **4.2.4 Environmentalism and Intrinsic Motivation**

Even within the smaller group of individuals who are identified as environmentalists a spectrum of ERBs can be seen that correlate to their values. One of the key areas of contention amongst environmentalists concerns the degree and scope of environmentalism. The main source of contention is often with regard to the degree of anthropocentrism at the root of the environmental concern, i.e. is environmental value directly related to its use for, and benefit to, humans (extrinsic benefits or utility), or does the environment have intrinsic values, and rights, regardless of human needs or values?

Environmentalists have used various terms such as: shallow vs deep ecology (Naess, 1973) moral vs utilitarian (Seligman 1989), ecocentric vs. anthropocentric (Eckersley 1992; Merchant 1992; Thompson and Barton 1994) or biocentric vs social-altruistic or egocentric (Stern and Dietz 1994). Many environmental scholars now use biocentric/ecocentric and social-altruistic/anthropocentric interchangeably (Schultz and Zelezny 1999). These terms (and the values behind them) may represent the difference between the adoption of some limited ERBs versus deeper commitment to multiple forms of ERB. These divisions within environmental values regarding the degree to which environmental concerns are related to

extrinsic or intrinsic benefits are returned to in the later section on a comparison between environmentalism and PSM.

#### **4.2.5 Ecologism and a New Ecological Paradigm**

Another key concept within environmentalism is the concept of a New Ecological Paradigm (NEP) being required to move away from a Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP) that is the cause of many of the environmental impacts that are the cause of widespread concern (Milbrath 1984). A more recent expression of the NEP versus DSP argument is often expressed in the concept of ecologism vs environmentalism. Under these conceptualisations, environmentalism is described as corresponding to shallow ecology and is concerned with a managerial approach to environmental problems, working within existing social frameworks and systems represented by the DSP.

In contrast, ecologism is more aligned to deep ecology and represents a value system which argues that a radical overhaul of existing social and political systems is necessary (NEP), replacing a DSP which is environmentally damaging and fundamentally unsustainable (Dobson 2016). Key areas of overlap between the NEP concept and ecologism are a belief in the intrinsic value of the environment and in the concept of limits to growth. Regarding intrinsic values, these have already been covered in the earlier discussion on ecocentric versus anthropocentric motivation.

In terms of limits to growth, this represents a fundamental disconnect between the globally dominant liberal and social market economy model which uses economic growth, often measured as gross domestic product (GDP), as the key metric of societal progress. This ideological focus on infinite growth does not rationally comply with a global scientific consensus which has established finite natural resources and ecological limits to growth.

## **Part II – Empirical Studies**

*“The ESS public archive is a treasure trove of information for values researchers. It includes hundreds of questions on a vast number of social science topics.”* p.309 Schwartz 2011.

*“the concept of values, more than any other, is the core concept across all the social sciences”*  
p.ix Rokeach 1973.

**Part II** of the Thesis presents three stand-alone empirical articles informed by the literature reviews carried out in **Part I**:

- **Chapter 5:** The Universal Challenge: A Conceptual Framework for Exploring the Multidimensional Antecedents of Public Service Motivation.
- **Chapter 6:** Self-Transcendence, Universalism and Public Service Values: Effects on Occupational Choice and Employment Sector.
- **Chapter 7:** Environmentalism as a Missing 5<sup>th</sup> Universal Dimension of Public Service Motivation

## **Chapter 5: The Universal Challenge - A Conceptual Framework for Exploring the Multidimensional Antecedents of Public Service Motivation**

### Abstract

*This paper sets out some of the key challenges in making further progress with determining universal antecedents of Public Service Motivation (PSM), before concluding that, due to the multidimensional complexity of human motivations, robust universal generalisations on definitions, measurement and antecedents of PSM are potentially unattainable, and for the purpose of practical management interventions, potentially unhelpful. To demonstrate the complexity and multi-layered nature of antecedents, a new framework is presented for the analysis of PSM using a tiered approach to socio-historical antecedents. The five-tier structure explores PSM at the conceptual, national, occupational, organisational, and the individual levels. Element of the framework are tested using data from the European Social Survey (ESS) for 132,975 workers from across 30 European countries. The findings support the presence of PSM as a universal motivation within European public-sector workers while revealing significant variations in the expression of PSM values by nationality and occupation. The implications for PSM research and management practice are discussed. By and large, less effort should focus on universal PSM definitions and measurement scales, and more emphasis should be placed on understanding the socio-historical context of particular groups of workers.*

## **5.1 Key Challenges in PSM Research**

Published research into Public Service Motivation (PSM) has undergone rapid expansion in recent years, taking over 25 years to reach 100 publications between 1982 and 2009. Only three years later, in 2012, articles had doubled to 200; and barely over a year on, reached 300 publications (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). However, despite this threefold increase, recent comprehensive reviews of PSM research revealed that the increase in research effort has not resulted in similar gains in the advancement of theory or practice (Perry and Vandenberg 2015; Bozeman and Su 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

One of the key challenges is the seemingly contradictory situation whereby substantial effort continues to focus on analysing measurement tools, but without any corresponding breakthroughs in measurement development (p.694, Perry and Vandenberg 2015). At least 22 separate papers on the development of measurement instruments have been published and have mainly focused on developing, testing and comparing various permutations of Perry's 1996 scale (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016.) However, despite the research discovering ample evidence of its limitations (Wright 2008; Kim and Vandenberg 2010; Wright, Christensen and Pandey 2013), nobody has yet managed to develop a new widely used and robust scale in the past 20 years.

This difficulty in measurement is perhaps indicative of the uncertainty around the definition of the concept, with over 23 different definitions of PSM in use (Bozeman and Su 2015). In addition to problems of definition, Bozeman and Su undertook a detailed analysis of the concept of PSM utilising Gerring's (1999) eight criteria for assessing concepts. While PSM scored well on most of the factors, the study identified differentiation as a fundamental problem, with PSM being problematic to separate from other related concepts such as service motivation, other-directedness, or altruism (Bozeman and Su 2015).

The problem of concept definition is complicated further by the importance of socio-historical context as a primary antecedent of PSM (Perry 2000). As the field has expanded from its roots in the United States (Hondeghe and Perry 2009), it is perhaps unsurprising that U.S. based measurements scales do not provide consistent results when applied to the 72 different countries identified by Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) in their review of international research into PSM. International comparisons have revealed evidence of PSM 'variants' in different countries (Horton and Hondeghe 2006), the importance of national context (Houston 2011), and the difficulties of translation of concepts (Kim et al. 2013). In their meta-analysis, Harari et al. (2017) acknowledge that the proliferation of international PSM research has raised the issue of variability of meaning across different cultures. Harari et al. (2017) go on to postulate that PSM has different effects on the behaviours and attitudes of workers as a result of cultural characteristics and traditions across different countries, and to explain that these differences limit any efforts at comparative analysis.

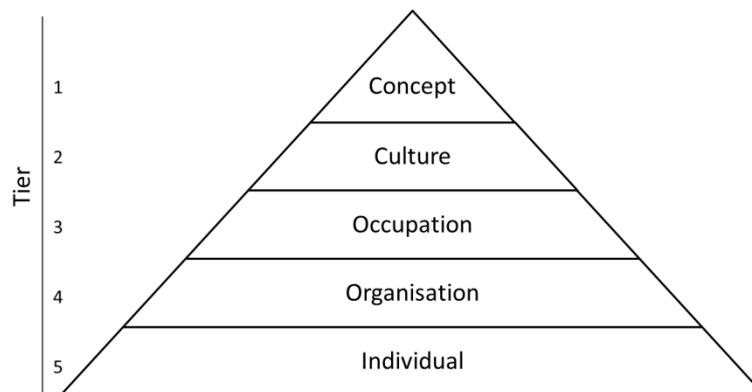
Despite widespread recognition that PSM varies by language and culture (Perry, Hondeghe and Wise 2010; Kim et al. 2013; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016; Harari et al. 2017), the link made by Harari to 'behaviours and attitudes' i.e. to the individual level, and the importance of personality traits, is less well developed (Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000; Cooper et al. 2014; Esteve et al. 2016). At the societal or national level, there is still relatively little known about the interaction between culture and PSM, in spite of the fact that this relationship has received regular attention in PSM research (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

Given the difficulties highlighted, Bozeman and Su (2015) question whether PSM has reached the limit of its explanatory powers and suggest that researchers and theorists need to take bold strides toward broader and deeper explanation. Furthermore, recognising the complex and multi-level nature of antecedents, there have been calls for research that can

examine PSM across multiple levels of analysis, i.e. between societies, communities and individuals (p. 31, Witteloostuijn et al. 2017). Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) conclude that the development of any new measurement approaches should recognise the importance of the presence of mixed motives within an individual concerning their commitment to public service and explicitly include these missing elements to avoid the situation of theory departing from reality.

## 5.2 Towards an Overarching Conceptual Framework of Antecedents

Seeking to respond to calls for a broader and multi-level analysis (Bozeman and Su, 2015, Witteloostuijn et al. 2017), this paper attempts to re-conceptualise PSM into a five-tiered framework for use in international and comparative analysis (see **Figure 5.1** and accompanying **Table 5.1**). The conceptual framework builds on Perry's (2000) process theory, which separated and demonstrated the importance of interactions between socio-historical and motivational context as well as the interaction between individual characteristics and behaviours.



**Figure 5.1** Conceptual Hierarchy of PSM Antecedents: A Framework for Analysis.

The proposed PSM conceptual framework aligns Perry's process theory and operationalises the categorisation and measurement of sociohistorical aspects of culture (socialisation/ institutions), occupation, organisation and the individual. Such a conceptual

hierarchy introduces a framework that allows qualitative and quantitative analysis at different tiers of conception. The framework enables researchers to set their study in the context of the hierarchy, relating a case study to a particular organisational, occupational and cultural context, as a variation or expression of, but still related to, the ideal type concept of PSM.

This paper contributes to the PSM literature in a number of ways. It explains the theory behind the development of the conceptual framework and seeks to test it by applying it to 30 countries using data from 94,233 private sector workers and 38,742 public sector workers from the European Social Survey (ESS). One of the main contributions of the paper is to demonstrate in some detail the sheer complexity and multi-dimensional nature of the potential antecedents of PSM, and therefore indicates extreme caution in taking the findings of PSM research papers claiming universal generalisations, often based on small samples using single countries, single occupations, and single organisations. The discussion goes on to translate the findings of the paper, and the development of the five-tiered framework, into implications for practitioners and HRM professionals and identifies avenues for useful further research.

Another contribution of the research is further validation of the presence of public-sector-orientated motivations using one of the largest multi-cultural, multi-occupational samples used to date, identifying universal presence of PSM at the European scale, while demonstrating the notable variance between national scales; providing further data to support Bullock et al.'s (2015) international comparison, as well as confirming, using different methods and data, the high levels of PSM within the Nordic countries of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

### 5.3 The Challenge of Universal Application

Despite the quantity and quality of research focused on PSM, Perry and Vandenberg (2015) acknowledge that there are still many unanswered questions, and in particular highlighted two key challenges; problems of quality and quality control; and difficulties associated with universal measurement instruments. Bozeman and Su (2015) are more critical still, identifying several challenges, the most serious of which arguably being their verdict that after over two decades of research, the status of knowledge on socio-historical antecedents of PSM remains “*woefully underdeveloped as a dependent variable.*” (pp.705-706). Ritz et al.'s (2016) systematic review support Bozeman and Su's results, concluding that empirical findings on the antecedents of PSM are not very consistent and citing differences in samples and measures as possible explanatory factors.

To explain these problems, Perry and Vandenberg (2015) argue that scholars have put simultaneously too much and too little focus on measurement. In a similar vein, Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) found an over-reliance on Perry's (1996) original scale with over three-quarters of studies using measures based on it. According to Perry (2000), over-reliance on this measure is problematic because it fails to account for the socio-historical context and the broad array of socio-historical institutions as a primary influence of PSM, which includes five main sets of correlates: parental socialisation, religious socialisation, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics.

One crucial aspect that Perry did not include in the development of the measurement scales and formulation of the PSM construct was the potentially significant sociohistorical factor of nationality, and by extension, national cultural context. A potential reason for this omission is that Perry's work and the early development of PSM are predominantly based on case studies and data from the United States (Perry, 1996; Coursey and Pandey 2007; Bright

2008; Coursey et al. 2008). Due to the United States-centric heritage, it is acknowledged that as a measurement tool it loses some of its ability in other environments (Vandenabeele 2008).

Furthermore, this North American heritage has led some authors to question if the whole PSM concept is, in fact, a United States phenomenon (Horton and Hondeghem 2006). However, following international investigations, a consensus of scholars has accepted that the evidence supports PSM as an international phenomenon (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Bullock et al. 2015; Ritz et al. 2016). The primary caveat from the comparative studies being the limitations in the universal application of Perry's scale and its constituent items (Horton and Hondeghem 2006; Liu et al. 2008; Kim 2009a; 2009b; Ritz 2009; Vandenabeele 2008a; 2008b; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; and Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). In summary, the findings from the PSM meta-analyses and reviews suggest support for widespread presence of '*PSM-like constructs*' in different countries indicating the presence of a robust universal phenomenon (Kim and Vandenabeele 2010), in the words of Horton and Hondeghem, the international studies have identified '*variants*' of PSM (Horton and Hondeghem, 2006).

Where does this leave us today? The overemphasis on measurement and lack of progress in determining the antecedents of PSM (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Bozeman and Su 2015) are hampered by the focus of scholarly work on defining a universal definition and measurement scale for international application. This lack of a global measure has meant that Perry's scale, developed in the United States, is used as a proxy internationally. However, due to national and cultural socio-historical variation in the expression of PSM in different countries; the results have proved inconclusive, in particular concerning the identification of antecedents.

## 5.4 Developing a Universal Framework

This paper proposes a tiered approach to the international application of PSM. There is clear evidence that PSM as a general concept exists (Perry and Wise 1990 to Bullock et al. 2015), although clarity on the concept is elusive (Bozeman and Su 2016). PSM at the universal level is, therefore, a 'Tier 1' concept, necessarily opaque in its correlation to any particular case study, and it can be considered an Ideal –Type concept in the Weberian tradition. The remaining tiers follow Perry's identification of sociohistorical context and sociohistorical institutions as a primary influence on the antecedents of PSM (Perry 2000), which have been broken down based on the literature review into four further dimensions or tiers as shown in

**Table 5.1.**

**Table 5.1** Conceptual Tiers of the PSM Framework

<b>Tier</b>	<b>Context/Influence</b>	<b>Description</b>
1	Concept	Commitment to the Public Interest / Public Values Compassion Attraction to Public Policy-Making / Public Participation Self-Sacrifice User Orientation
2	Culture	Supra-National National Sub-National
3	Occupation	Type of Work Occupational Sector Occupational Role (Profession / Career) Professional Membership
4	Organisation	Organisational Leadership Mission Valence Levels of Red Tape and Hierarchical Authority Length of Organisational Membership Location / Department / Function
5	Individual	Parental Socialisation Religious Socialisation Political Ideology Demographics (i.e. Gender, Age, Education, Income etc.) Personality and Psychology

#### **5.4.1 Tier 1: PSM as an Ideal-Type**

Tier 1 is the highest level of analysis in the framework, representing a theoretical idea, and in the case of PSM a concept that is itself a construct of ideas or a multi-dimensional concept. PSM can, therefore, be related to Weber's description of Ideal Types, i.e. it is not expected that any individual case will perfectly match the textbook definition of the PSM concept. On this basis, the framework assumes that the variance in the definition in the literature is due to the multiple 'variants' or 'expressions' of the concept due to socio-historical influences from the lower tiers interacting with the tier 1 concept of the PSM construct. In the current study, the concept of PSM is considered to be a multi-dimensional construct based on the standard PSM dimensions originating from Perry's (1996) conceptualisation.

Although there is no single agreed definition, there is broad consensus that PSM is a universal concept that is related to individual behaviours and motivations orientated towards service for the public good (Hondeghem and Perry 2009). The proposed framework is not based upon, nor dependent upon, a specific PSM definition, and therefore researchers can use this framework with any variant of the PSM definition or construct. For example, in one international study (Bullock et al. 2015), the authors wanted to explore PSM, however, the data did not include explicit measures for PSM (i.e. a dedicated PSM scale based on Perry 1996), therefore the researchers relied on proxies, based on public-service-oriented motives.

Bullock et al. (2015) justified the use of the proxy measures by relating them to the PSM literature, and by doing so utilised the concept of PSM as proposed by the tiered framework presented here, i.e., that at the conceptual level PSM can be legitimately, and often necessarily, defined broadly. By moving away from detailed PSM specific measures, it is possible to analyse much larger international data sets (which do not include dedicated PSM measurement scales), which allow researchers to break out of the often country-specific,

occupation-specific and relatively small sized samples used in many studies, which are difficult to generalise from in any universal sense.

Based on the above, it is worth noting that it would be plausible to use the same framework to investigate not only PSM but also other similar concepts such service motivation, other-directedness, or altruism (Bozeman and Su 2015). For further potential use of Public Values as a complementary and inter-related concept with PSM see Anderson et al. (2012).

#### **5.4.2 Tier 2: National Cultural Context**

In many cases, culture is recognisable on a national scale, which provides a relatively consistent sociohistorical context regarding laws, customs, educational systems, religions and institutions. As the second level in the tier structure, the cultural influence on the expression of PSM is still at a broad level and can be expected to exhibit significant variations. However, concerning generalisations, it is anticipated that there will be consistent trends or patterns identifiable at the cultural/national level in comparison with other cultures/nations. The idea that behavioural differences are related to nationality is not a new idea, featuring as a central premise on page 1 of George Orwell's 1941 work, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, '*...one must admit that the division between nation and nation are founded on real differences of outlook. Till recently it was thought proper to pretend that all human beings are very much alike, but in fact, anyone able to use his eyes knows the average of human behaviour differs enormously from country to country.*' (p.1-2, Orwell 1941)

Perhaps the most well-known research in management which seeks to acknowledge and understand cultural differences is Hofstede (1984; 1991; 2011) Hofstede recognised that culture as a term could be used in different contexts; i.e. by anthropologists (referring to tribes and ethnic groups) and by political scientists, sociologists, and managers (referring to

nations and organisations) as well as acknowledging the existence of cultures of occupations (Hofstede et al. 2010) along the six dimensions of Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism/Collectivism, Masculinity/Femininity, Long/Short Term Orientation, and Indulgence/Restraint.

HRM professionals and managers have subsequently operationalised many of the findings from Hofstede, for example in the training of managers and leaders within international companies. Researchers and academics across disciplines continue to reference the work of Hofstede. For example, Song et al. (2017) refer to Hofstede to contextualise culture within Korean civil servants. Similarly, Humphries and Whelan (2017) used Hofstede's dimensions to investigate the relationship between national culture and corporate governance codes. One study in particular, by Kim (2017), explicitly explores the relationship between five of Hofstede's cultural dimensions and PSM using data from 32 countries, providing '*partial empirical support for the idea that national culture is associated with individuals' PSM*' (p.35, Kim 2017). While Kim's (2017) paper acknowledges several limitations and caveats, it is further proof that a tier based on national culture is a useful and justified component of the proposed framework.

Putting Hofstede to one side, there is other evidence of cultural influence, and it is now broadly acknowledged wisdom that PSM varies across different societal cultures (Ritz and Brewer 2013; Kim et al. 2013; Harari et al. 2017). This variation factor has meant that testing PSM internationally has not proved as straightforward as just replicating the measures developed in the United States using international samples. Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008), using international survey data, showed that the constituent dimensions of PSM are not necessarily universal and suggested that sociohistorical differences are the likely cause of different patterns of PSM in different countries. A multi-country study by Kim et al. (2013) referred to the problems in translation and meaning of words when using international scales

for comparative purposes, advocating that further country-specific knowledge is required to understand specific dimensions and to decipher differences in PSM as a general construct.

These challenges of using a measure derived in the United States for an international comparative study is addressed by Kim et al. (2010) and Houston (2011) who both stress the importance of national context in PSM research. This recurring theme of problems of comparative studies and compatibility are acknowledged in Perry and Vandenberg's (2015) meta-analytic review. Tier 2 attempts to recognise, and take account of, the differences found in PSM studies when compared internationally by acknowledging the role of culture on the sociohistorical antecedents of PSM.

When implementing the tiered framework, caution is advised if drawing on a sample from a distinct culture within a nation, for example, using a purely Northern Irish or Scottish sample as indicative of a United Kingdom cultural expression of PSM. Culture, as a tier, has therefore been subdivided into three or more subsets; 2.1) Supra-National (i.e. Northern European, Southern European), 2.2) The National level, and 2.3) A Sub-National level. For the sub-national level, there are many potential reasons why it may be necessary to define the specific group where the cultural influences differ substantially from the nation-state, as it is often the case of particular groups of indigenous or ethnic minorities within a country.

### **5.4.3 Tier 3: Occupational Context**

The third tier represents socio-historical factors influenced by occupation or profession; this is a broad category that includes education, socialisation and institutions. Returning to the earlier discussion on cultural dimensions, Hofstede acknowledged that the culture of occupations is a relatively unexplored field (Hofstede et al. 2010). This tier recognises that when you make comparisons between multiple sources of data that there are likely to be

distinct influences from an occupation that result in variations in the expression of PSM within and between individuals.

This tier can be further subdivided into three types of occupational classification: 3.1) Type of Work, i.e. public, private or non-governmental / charity, 3.2), Occupational Sector, i.e. Healthcare, 3.3) Occupational Role, i.e. Nurse, Doctor, etc., and 3.4) Professional Membership. The idea that there are differences in the levels of PSM between public, private and not for profit sectors has been a recurrent theme in PSM since its early conception by Perry and Wise (1990) and has been supported by the results of multiple empirical studies (Perry and Vandenberghe 2015).

Furthermore, there is an increasing acknowledgement that in recent decades the lines between public, private and non-profit have blurred significantly in many countries, with people carrying out the governments work across all sectors (Piatak 2014). In general, the shift and evolution of people undertaking public service roles outside of public employment have made it increasingly difficult, and overly simplistic, to divide individuals into broad categories like the public, private and not for profit for the purpose of generalising about PSM. However, despite the lack of accuracy of this approach in predicting individual behaviour, it is still evident that generalisations regarding PSM and work type hold true in general. The advantage of the tiered approach is that it reveals layers of antecedents, which allows a more detailed and nuanced approach, without resorting to simple generalisations, nor to ignore the factors that the generalisations represent.

Finally, the next sub-tier, professional membership, explains differences between individuals of similar professions, but with varying degrees of seniority and commitment to the profession, as demonstrated by membership of professional bodies. The idea of a profession as an antecedent is as old as PSM itself with Perry recognising that historically the

professions were a key repository of PSM values (Perry 1997). Fifteen years later, Bogh, Andersen and Pedersen (2012), undertook a dedicated examination of the links between professionalism and PSM and found complex interactions before concluding that close study of professional norms and institutional contexts can provide insights into PSM in professionals. Hence the subdivisions within the occupational tier of the framework allow for a more nuanced interpretation and comparison of PSM taking into account the occupational and professional influences between groups and individuals.

#### **5.4.4 Tier 4: Organisational Context**

The organisational level tier represents the organisational culture and its influence on the individual expression of PSM. Drawing on Moynihan and Pandey's (2007) work on the role of organisations on fostering PSM, and Wright's (2007) and Wright and Pandey's (2008, 2011) work on the organisational mission, person organisation fit and mission valence. The literature associates the following organisational factors with the expression of PSM in individuals: 4.1) Organisational Leadership, 4.2) Mission Valence, 4.3) Levels of Red Tape and Hierarchical Authority, 4.4) Length of Organisational Membership. To these four subcategories can be added 4.5) Location, Department or Function, based on the recognition of variation of culture within organisations and the concept of organisational sub-cultures (Hofstede 1998).

As demonstrated above, the level of organisation and its influence on individual's expression of PSM is a complex area. For example, an organisation with historically negative impacts on an individual's expression of PSM may be reversed by new leadership with a strong commitment to a programme of reform (Moynihan and Pandey 2007) and one expects vice versa. There may be complex person-environment or person-organisational fit issues related to an individual's identification with the mission of the organisation which may

increase or decrease the expression of PSM in a person over time (see Wright, 2007; Wright and Pandey 2008; 2011). Length of organisational membership is also identified as a potential source of decreasing PSM over time (Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013; Kjeldsen 2014; Vogel and Kroll 2016). Harari et al. found evidence that this element of organisational tenure was a significant factor in Germanic nations but found no evidence of the same effect in Anglo nations (Harari et al. 2017). This finding is particularly interesting because it shows the linkages between tier 2, culture and nationality, with tier 4 organisation factors, and indicates the potentially complex interactions between potential antecedents. Again, the lesson here is to be cautious of overly simplistic generalisations when looking for PSM causality.

While it is problematic to provide a comprehensive sub-tier structure to adequately capture the role of organisational culture on an individual's expression of PSM, there is evidence that it is necessary to try. Let us take two theoretical groups of people from similar tier 2 and 3 backgrounds, for example, English public sector secondary school teachers. It would not be surprising to find that the teachers from a school (organisation tier 4) that had been employed there for a long number of years, in a situation with poor leadership, high levels of red tape, multiple levels of hierarchy and a mission that they did not identify with (i.e. exam results maximisation) would exhibit lower PSM than a similar group of English public sector secondary school teachers with a visionary leader implementing a reform programme aimed at a mission of child-centred teaching excellence, with low levels of red tape and high levels of teacher autonomy, and where the teacher is newly qualified and recently employed. Similar to the tier 3 occupational level, the tier 4 sub levels allow for a more nuanced and qualitative approach to identifying explanatory and confounding factors in case studies and data comparisons between groups of similar nationalities and occupations through the prism of organisational setting.

#### **5.4.5 Tier 5: Individual Context**

The final tier is the most specific and looks at an individual's antecedents of PSM. Some researchers argue that public administration literature has largely neglected the importance of personality traits (Cooper 2012; 2014). It would be harsh to say the same of Perry, who has consistently acknowledged the importance of values and ideology as antecedents of PSM in an individual (Perry 1990; 1996; 1997; 2000). However, while recognising the importance of individual antecedents, it is perhaps true of Perry and the majority of other PSM researchers that the field of 'personality', as studied in psychology, have not been a major focus.

The fifth tier of the conceptual framework utilises Perry's work of 2000 where he sought to categorise key personal sociohistorical and demographical indicators. Following Perry, the sub-tier is divided into; 5.1) parental socialisation, 5.2) religious socialisation, 5.3) political ideology, and 5.4) demographics, i.e. gender, age, etc. Building on Perry's indicators (Perry, 2000), the tier also takes account of the link between PSM, personality and an individual's orientation to public service (Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000; Esteve et al. 2016), to include the territory of personality as the fifth sub-tier (i.e. 5.5). Recent research has explored this area and has noted that very little is understood concerning the personality and PSM (Esteve et al. 2016). Homberg and Costello (2019) further build on this uncertainty by identifying that an individual's concept of PSM as meaningful service may be contingent not only on personal identity but the individuals most salient identity in a given context (for more on identity salience arguments see also Schott, van Kleef and Steen 2015). These findings further reinforce the consensus amongst scholars on a lack of knowledge on the antecedents of an individual's levels of PSM.

It should not be a surprise to suggest that this final tier is not well suited to extensive questionnaire type data collection and quantitative statistical analysis of meta-populations. Although aspects of the individual can be tested in this manner, for example through

demographics, the elements of personality and more detailed discussion of antecedents such as parental, religious socialisation and political ideology identified by Perry (2000) are perhaps too complicated for Likert scale responses. This methodological constraint also perhaps partially explains the reason for the lack of focus on individual and personality based PSM research, given the predominance of survey techniques and statistical analysis (Qualitative analytical methods represented only 4.3% of published PSM research according to findings by Ritz et al. 2016.). Therefore, to explore the individual antecedents, it is recommended that more interpretative and qualitative techniques are adopted. Methods such as semi-structured interviews, discourse and narrative analysis, alongside personality and psychological testing such as HEXACO (see Esteve et al. 2016), are both useful and necessary to establish more nuanced personal and individual antecedents.

Perry et al. (2008) provided an example of the different findings that can result from different methods when they employed mixed methods using both a questionnaire survey and a smaller number of more detailed interviews. In Perry et al.'s study, the survey element was naturally restricted to multiple choice answers and Likert scales responses, and mostly captured the demographic style information that is typical of PSM based surveys of this nature. However, in the conclusions of the paper, the importance of personal values and beliefs as antecedents were picked up from the more qualitative interviews rather than the survey. The in-depth interviews identified the importance of spiritual and other transcendent values in addition to the impact of life-changing events, all contributing to the development of PSM. Perry et al. found that the motives of volunteers were complex and consisted of a mixture of self-perceptions around integrity and purpose, as well as the importance of community (Perry et al. 2008).

It is clear that these complex self-perceptions cannot be quickly discovered and analysed through conventional questionnaire-style survey techniques. The need for more

qualitative approaches is expressly acknowledged and recommended in Perry and Vandenabeele's call for future directions in PSM research where they suggest that emergent narratives and stories should be sought which can provide a deeper understanding of the motivations of those who serve the public (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015).

The limitation of traditional techniques in establishing causality has also fuelled calls for the use of more experimental designs, particularly tracking individuals PSM over time using longitudinal studies and panel data (Gould Williams et al. 2013; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Harari et al. 2017). Tracking at the individual level can give greater insights into causal factors and can be used to better test the temporal dynamics of PSM and its antecedents (Jensen and Vestergaard 2017). There is evidence from a limited number of longitudinal studies, for tracking individual's levels of PSM and how it adapts over time (Georgellis and Vurain 2010) and exploring if PSM is a trait (stable within an individual over time) or a state (a fluctuating aspect of an individual's personality over time) with a study by Vogel and Kroll (2016). The addition of longitudinal elements is important for answering questions such as PSM change within individuals over time and the stability or otherwise of PSM as a personality trait.

A number of authors have explored PSM as traits versus states with Vogel and Kroll (2016) identifying that PSM-related values of public employees are stable rather than dynamic but tend to increase with age and decrease with organizational membership. Other authors have also found evidence of both stable and dynamic elements (Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Pedersen 2015; Christensen et. al 2017), with Christensen et al. summarising that PSM appears to be largely stable as a result of formative socialisation but is still subject to fluctuation based on external influences such as organisational practices (Christensen et. al 2017). Homberg and Costello (2019) provide a recent comprehensive summary of the trait versus state research where they identify a dozen PSM studies on the topic, before concluding

in line with Christensen et al. (2017) that PSM displays both trait-like and state-like properties. Homberg and Costello (2019) redefine these concepts as ‘baseline PSM’ and ‘dynamic PSM’ respectively. The relatively stable, trait-like baseline PSM can be related to antecedents such as early childhood, education and parental influence, whereas the more dynamic, state-like PSM can be related to organisational socialisation and managerial interventions (Homberg and Costello 2019). This combination of trait-like baseline PSM and state-like dynamic PSM further add to the difficulty in understanding the affective motivations in specific individuals.

## **5.5 Testing the Conceptual Framework**

To test some of the foundations underlying the tiered framework approach, an analysis was performed using data from the European Social Survey (ESS) to compare indicators of PSM using 132,975 public and private sector workers from across 30 countries.

The ESS data does not include a specific PSM measurement scale. Therefore, it cannot be said to directly measure PSM in the sense of Perry's (1996) construct. However, the ESS provides a series of 21 value statements, which cover a range of attitudes and values. A comparison of the value statements and the PSM literature allows the development of proxies that are indicative of the PSM concept, and its constituent components. For a more detailed explanation of the validity of using PSM proxies by way of public-service-oriented motives, see Bullock et al. 2015. For this study, four key value statements correlate to the ideas of commitment to the public interest, compassion and user orientation, and by extension, with public values and PSM. These are statement 3, ‘*Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities*’; statement 8, ‘*Important to understand different people*’, and statement 12 ‘*Important to help people and care for others well-being*’. It would also be predicted, based on the literature, that public sector workers would not value statement 2,

*‘Important to be rich, have money and expensive things’*, in comparison to private sector workers, representing their focus on public service rather than personal reward as a key motivational driver.

It should be noted that the following tests do not provide the full evidence for each of the tiers, the literature supporting the theoretical development of the tiers has been provided in the preceding sections. The subsequent tests here are illustrative to provide further support for some elements of the tiered framework, using a much larger survey sample size, and breadth than the majority of PSM studies. The advantage of using such a large and diverse sample is that it gives greater credence to any claims for universal antecedents, as well as contributing additional evidence in its own right for findings already claimed in other studies, but not tested at this scale or within these specific countries and occupations.

### **5.5.1 Testing Tier 1**

If PSM exists as an ideal type concept, then it follows that some evidence of it should be expressed in empirical data. The literature strongly links (although not exclusively) PSM with public sector employees (Perry and Wise 1990; Naff and Crum 1999; Lewis and Frank 2002; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015). Furthermore, PSM is considered an international phenomenon, not related to a particular nationality, although varying in its expression within different cultures. Therefore, the first hypothesis is that PSM exists as a concept and will be reflected in the data from 30 countries, as public-service-orientated motives and expressed in public sector workers.

**H1** – Public sector workers will have higher public service values than private sector workers.

### 5.5.2 Testing Tier 2

Tier 2 of the framework recognises the importance of national culture on the expression of PSM. To test the validity of nationality as a tier, a second hypothesis is proposed that will build on the first hypothesis. While it is expected that as a European whole, a public sector worker will have higher public service motivation values (statements 2, 3, 8 and 12), when analysed individually by country, it is expected that the weighting on each of the four components will differ significantly, representing different cultural norms.

**H2** – At a national scale, public sector workers will rank the public service motivation values (statements 2, 3, 8 and 12) more highly than private sector workers. However, the full profile of significant public-sector values (using all 21 values) will vary considerably between countries.

An additional hypothesis for Tier 2 is proposed, building on the work of Kim (2017), who identified that the Hofstede dimensions of masculinity and indulgence are positively related to PSM and that individualism is negatively associated. The third hypothesis seeks to validate and build on Kim's (2017) findings. From Hofstede, within the sample we have the following countries in **Table 5.2**. The cell colour is shaded with the darker shades representing a potential negative impact on PSM and a lighter shade having a potentially positive effect on PSM. The \* represent missing data.

Based on **Table 5.2** it can be seen that while some countries, such as the UK may have high levels of Masculinity and Indulgence, which Kim suggests are positively related to PSM, the UK also has very high individualism, which Kim suggests is negatively associated with PSM, which may therefore reduce the overall PSM effect from the dimensions.

Nevertheless, to test the findings from Kim (2017) it might be expected that Austria, having relatively high Masculine and Indulgence and medium Individuality will show higher

levels of PSM values in its public-sector workers. Conversely, Estonia and Lithuania, with low Masculinity, low Indulgence and high Individualism will be predicted to have lower levels of PSM in comparison to the other countries.

**H3** - Austrian public sectors workers will be comparatively near the top of the sample countries regarding PSM values, and Estonia and Lithuania will be near the bottom based on their cultural dimensions.

**Table 5.2** Cultural Dimensions Affecting PSM within Sample

Country/Dimension	Indulgence	Masculinity	Individualism
Austria	63	79	55
Belgium	57	*	*
Bulgaria	16	40	30
Croatia	33	40	33
Cyprus	*	*	*
Czech Republic	29	57	58
Denmark	70	16	74
Estonia	16	30	60
Finland	57	26	63
France	48	43	71
Germany	40	66	67
Greece	50	57	35
Hungary	31	88	80
Iceland	67	*	*
Ireland	65	68	70
Israel	*	47	54
Italy	30	70	76
Lithuania	16	19	60
Netherlands	68	14	80
Norway	55	8	69
Poland	29	64	60
Portugal	33	31	27
Russia	20	36	39
Slovakia	28	110	52
Slovenia	48	19	27
Spain	44	42	51
Sweden	78	5	71
Switzerland	66	*	*
Turkey	49	45	37
Ukraine	14	*	*
United Kingdom	69	66	89

### **5.5.3 Testing Tier 3**

The third tier seeks to establish the effect of occupation or profession on the expression of PSM. The literature suggests that occupational socialisation may be a factor or that person job fit dynamics will align people's values to appropriate work. To test this element of the model using the European data set, it would be expected that typical public-sector occupations such as social workers, teachers and health workers would have a higher PSM level than other public-sector professionals.

**H4** – Social workers, health workers and education workers will have higher PSM levels than other public-sector occupations when controlling for other variables.

### **5.5.4 Testing Tier 4 and 5**

The European Social Survey data utilised to test the first three tiers does not provide sufficient information on organisations and the socialisation of effect of organisational culture to evaluate the tier 4 factors in depth. Furthermore, while the survey provides data on general demographic variables they do not capture the detailed qualitative aspects relating to the socio-historical factors such as parental socialisation and personality which influence the dimensions within tier 5. Therefore, tier 4 and tier 5, organisational and individual factors, are not well suited to being tested using this type of statistical analysis of large survey data sets. However, the earlier discussion on the development of the tiered framework provides ample justification for tier 4 and tier 5, citing evidence in the literature to support organisational and individual antecedents of PSM. This element of the framework is best used for case study approaches, using either qualitative or mixed methods to discover organisational and individual aspects of PSM.

## **5.6 Method**

### **5.6.1 Data and Variables**

The data was collected from the combined first seven rounds of the European Social Survey Round (ESS) 2002 - 2014. The ESS uses extensive survey protocols, review procedures, quality control and peer review processes to provide robust data for policy and research purposes. The ESS is an academically-driven multi-country survey, which has been administered in 31 countries to date; Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom (European Social Survey, 2016). For this study, the data for Turkey did not include any valid responses, and therefore the study utilised only 30 of the 31 countries. The ESS method involves strict random probability sampling, a minimum target response rate of 70% and rigorous translation protocols. The hour-long face-to-face interview includes questions on a variety of core topics repeated from previous rounds (ESS 2017). For the analysis, the results of all seven rounds were combined to form a single dataset.

The question series utilised were the 'Importance of different values/attitudes' series that are repeated in all seven rounds of the ESS. For each of these twenty-one questions, the respondents were asked to rate their agreement with the statement with a Likert scale answer from (1) 'Very much like me', to (6) 'Not like me at all'. For statistical controls, the following demographics were utilised based on their widespread use within PSM studies in the literature; country, ESS round, age group, gender, household income and educational level.

To test the PSM conceptual framework the theoretical population of interest for this study consisted of those in private or public employment, which totalled 121,193 valid cases

consisting of 34,850 public workers and 87,499 private sector workers from across 30 countries based on responses to question ‘What type of organisation work/worked for’.

### **5.6.2 Analysis**

The ESS data were analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 24). For the analysis of the dataset as a whole, and for individual countries, design weights and population weights were used to correct unequal probabilities for selection due to the sampling design used. The data was prepared for binary logistic regression by process of re-coding each of the question response data into new variables that excluded any answers outside of the Likert scale.

To test Hypothesis 1, the model was run using all countries combined along with the previously described demographic controls. The outputs of the model provide data on the odds (log-odds) of a person being a public-sector employee based on their response to these value questions. The values were then compared to the literature on PSM to look for indicators of statistically significant variance between values held by public sector workers and private sector workers. Value statements 2, 3, 8 and 12, in particular, were examined as potential proxies for public values and PSM.

Hypothesis 2 was then tested using the same binary logistic regression model by selecting only cases from an individual country, to create a series of models based on nationality. Similar to the outputs of the Hypothesis 1 test, the models provide data on the odds of a person being a public-sector employee based on their response to these value questions. This approach allowed the development of a national profile or signature for public sector worker values for each country.

Regarding individual sample size, different countries had different sizes of public sector worker samples. For Hypothesis 1 these populations were combined, however, to test Hypothesis 2 the countries were split into their constituent country data. The countries with

less than 500 public sector workers in the sample were not used for the analysis, reducing the number of countries tested for Hypotheses 2 to twenty-one. Hypothesis 3 was tested using the data from the Hypotheses 2 test and then comparing the relative strength of the PSM values, between Austria, Estonia and Lithuania in comparison to the group.

For the analysis for Hypothesis 4 the same model was utilised as that used for the first hypothesis, once again using data from all countries, this time the model was filtered to only include public sector workers and then compared 15 specific occupations (using the ISCO88 classification) to all other public-sector occupations. The occupations were selected based on having sample sizes of around 200 or more cases and also selecting for 'typical' occupations that have been associated with PSM in past literature, along with some that are not, i.e. cooks. These occupational models provided data on the odds of a person being a particular occupation based on their response to these value questions. These odds provided a representation of the strength of conviction of each value statement by each occupation group to allow a comparison of the relative weight placed on each value statement by occupations and thereby identify indicators of occupational value norms.

## **5.7 Results**

### **5.7.1 Hypothesis 1 – Evidence of PSM**

The table below provides the combined results of the test for all countries including controls. It should be noted that the questions measure the level of disagreement with the statement. Furthermore, the binary logistic regression is based on Public Sector Workers being coded as 1 and Private Sector Workers coded as 0. Therefore, a positive log-odd (B in **Table 5.3**) indicates increasing odds of public sector employment with each level of disagreement to the statement, and a negative log-odd represents reduced odds of public sector employment with each level of disagreement to the statement.

**Table 5.3** Public Sector Worker Values from All Countries Combined

Q#	Value Statement	B	Wald	Exp(B)
1	Important to think new ideas and being creative	0.011+ (0.006)	3.198	1.011
2	Not important to be rich, have money and expensive things (r)	-0.084*** (0.006)	170.915	0.919
3	Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities	-0.063*** (0.008)	65.76	0.939
4	Important to show abilities and be admired	0.012+ (0.006)	3.261	1.012
5	Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	0.059*** (0.007)	72.929	1.061
6	Important to try new and different things in life	0.025*** (0.006)	16.133	1.025
7	Important to do what is told and follow rules	0.003+ (0.006)	0.334	1.003
8	Important to understand different people	-0.075*** (0.008)	90.382	0.928
9	Important to be humble and modest, not draw attention	0.022*** (0.006)	12.142	1.023
10	Important to have a good time	0.029*** (0.007)	18.103	1.029
11	Important to make own decisions and be free	0.04*** (0.007)	33.612	1.041
12	Important to help people and care for others well-being	-0.087 *** (0.009)	96.371	0.917
13	Important to be successful and that people recognise achievements	0.019** (0.007)	7.16	1.019
14	Important that government is strong and ensures safety	-0.01+ (0.007)	2.082	0.99
15	Important to seek adventures and have an exciting life	0.017** (0.006)	7.439	1.017
16	Important to behave properly	-0.018** (0.007)	6.763	0.982
17	Important to get respect from others	-0.037*** (0.006)	37.189	0.963
18	Important to be loyal to friends and devote to people close	0.00+ (0.01)	0.002	1.00
19	Important to care for nature and environment	-0.044*** (0.008)	29.568	0.957
20	Important to follow traditions and customs	-0.019** (0.006)	10.127	0.981
21	Important to seek fun and things that give pleasure	0.017* (0.006)	6.697	1.017

Notes: Standard Errors in parentheses; +  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Model Chi-square 16162.100 DF56 Sig. 0.000, Cox and Snell R Square 0.124 Nagelkerke R Square 0.177.

The B column in **Table 5.3** provides the odds of a person being a public-sector worker with every increasing level of disagreement with the value statement. So, for example, for each level on a 1 to 6 scale that a person disagrees with the statement it is ‘Important to help people and care for others well-being’ the odds of being a public-sector worker decrease from 1.0 to 0.913 ( $=e^{-0.087}$ ; **Table 5.3**). If a person responded with the maximum disagreement to the statement valuing the importance of helping people and caring for others well-being, the odds decreased from 1.0 to 0.565 ( $=e^{5 \times [-0.0435]}$ ).

Put simply, the greater the disagreement with the Statement 12; ‘Important to help people and care for others well-being’, the lower the odds of that person being a public sector rather than private sector worker. Therefore, the statistics suggest that the values represented by Value Statement 12 are public-sector values. Taking another example, the greater the disagreement with the Statement 8 ‘Important to understand different people’ the lower the odds of being a public-sector worker. Therefore, it can be said that values represented by Statement 8 are also public-sector values.

From this analysis, it can be seen that sixteen of the twenty-one value statements show a statistically significant difference in the odds of being a public versus private sector worker. Of these sixteen, they were divided evenly, with eight of the value statements were associated positively with public-sector workers and eight being negatively associated. **Table 5.4** below lists, in order of strength of odds, the value statements that were identified most strongly with public-sector workers.

**Table 5.4** Values held by Public Sector Workers

Q#	Values Statement	Strength of Relationship
12	Important to help people and care for others well-being	-0.087 *** (0.009)
2	Not important to be rich, have money and expensive things (r)	-0.084*** (0.006)
8	Important to understand different people	-0.075*** (0.008)
3	Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities	-0.063*** (0.008)
19	Important to care for nature and environment	-0.044*** (0.008)
17	Important to get respect from others	-0.037*** (0.006)
16	Important to behave properly	-0.018** (0.007)
20	Important to follow traditions and customs	-0.019** (0.006)

Notes: Standard Errors in parentheses; +  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table 5.5** below lists, also in order of strength of odds, the value statements that were rejected most strongly by public-sector workers.

**Table 5.5** Values rejected by Public Sector Workers

Q#	Values Statement	Strength of Relationship
5	Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	0.059*** (0.007)
11	Important to make own decisions and be free	0.040*** (0.007)
10	Important to have a good time	0.029*** (0.007)
6	Important to try new and different things in life	0.025*** (0.006)
9	Important to be humble and modest, not draw attention	0.022*** (0.006)
13	Important to be successful and that people recognise achievements	0.019** (0.007)
15	Important to seek adventures and have an exciting life	0.017** (0.006)
21	Important to seek fun and things that give pleasure	0.017* (0.006)

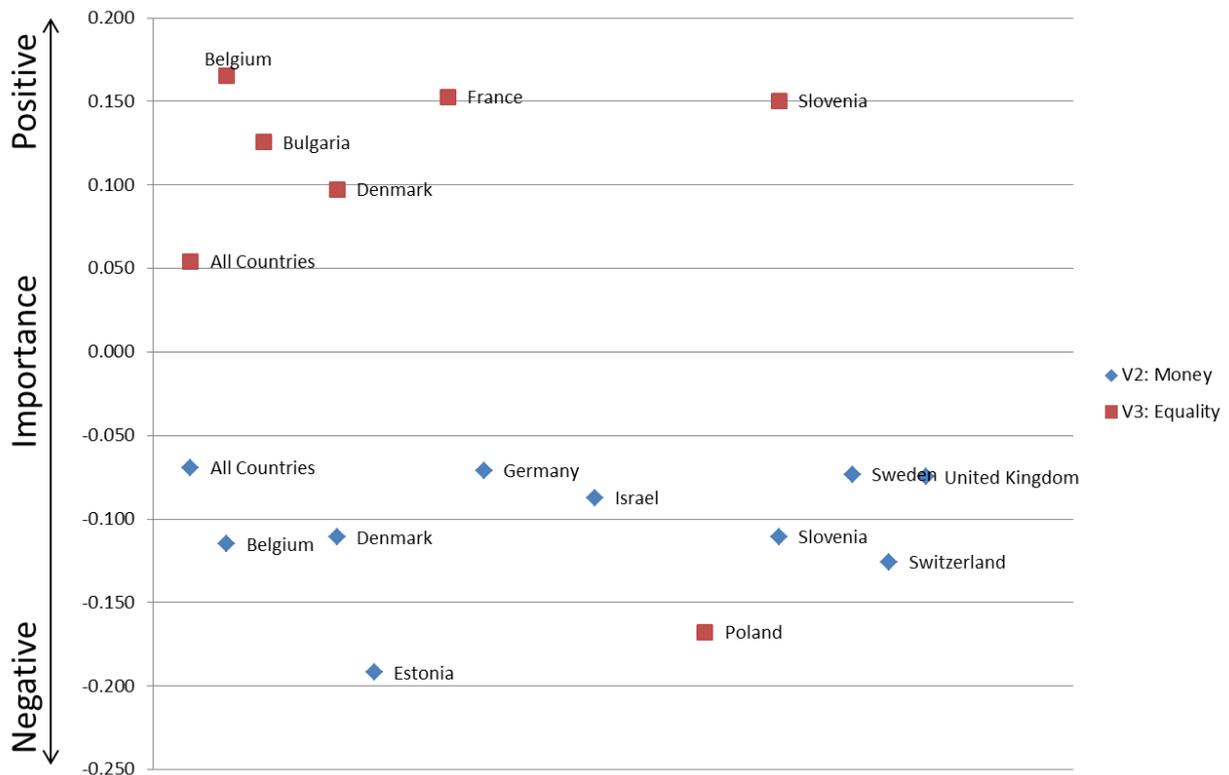
Notes: Standard Errors in parentheses; +  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Returning to the first hypothesis, it was predicted that value statements 2, 8, 3 and 12 are potential proxies for public service motivation and public values. It can be seen from the **Table 5.4** above that all four of these value proxies provided significant results and that they were also the top four in terms of the strength of the relationship (in terms of the odds). It was also noted that value statement 19 'Important to care for nature and environment' was the next most strongly identified value, something which was not hypothesised based on the PSM literature review and potentially indicative of an additional public-sector value worthy of further consideration.

In summary, the test to identify evidence of the tier 1 concept of PSM within public sector workers identified statistically significant differences in the values of public sector versus private sector workers. The Hypothesis 1 was therefore supported, confirming that there is a statistically significant difference between the values of public sector workers and private sector workers for value statements 2, 3, 8 and 12. These findings are consistent with the existing literature on PSM that the concept exists as a universal construct.

### **5.7.2 Hypothesis 2 – Influence of Nationality**

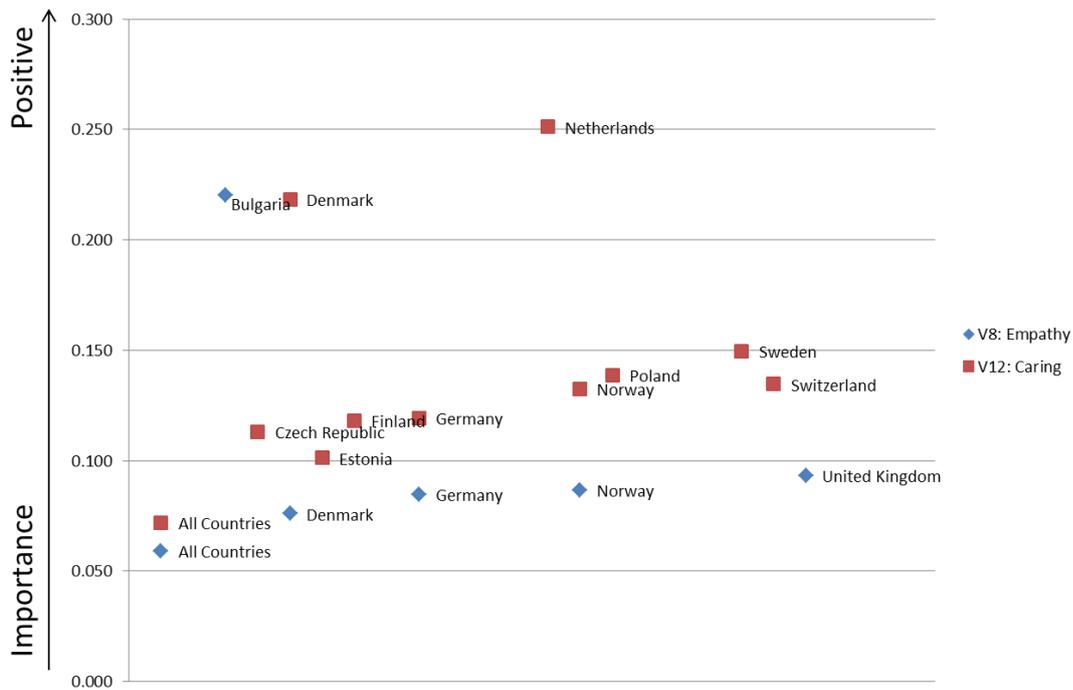
The two figures below provide the combined results of the test for all countries and individual countries for value statements 2, 3, 8 and 12. All figures shown are statistically significant findings ( $p > 0.05$ ). Looking at the values selected as proxies for PSM, it can be seen in **Figure 5.2.1** that for value statement 2 on the importance of being rich, the data shows a negative correlation with public sector employment for the 'All Country' results. However, only nine individual countries (Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Israel, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom) had statistically significant results when modelled as individual countries and within these countries, the strength of the odds varied.



**Figure 5.2.1** Comparative Values 2 and 3

For value statement 3 the overall findings are that the value of equality is positively associated with public sector workers generally, and specifically within only five individual countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France and Slovenia), however, based on the Polish data, equality as a value statement is negatively associated with public sector employment.

In **Figure 5.2.2** it can be seen that value 8, on the importance of understanding different people, is similarly held to be universal, but again with only five specific countries (Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Norway and the United Kingdom) recording statistically significant results. Value 12, on the importance of caring for others, is consistently identified as a positive value, to varying degrees, for public sector employees in ten countries (Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland).



**Figure 5.2.2** Comparative Values 8 and 12

The purpose of the second hypothesis was to demonstrate the difference that culture and nationality play about the values held by public sector workers. From the findings, it can be seen that the values are not consistent across countries, with some values held more strongly in certain countries than others, and indeed, some countries indicating signs of holding opposing values. Therefore Hypothesis 2 which sought to identify significant variation across nationality is supported, reinforcing the importance of national cultural context on PSM research.

### 5.7.3 Hypothesis 3 – Cultural Dimensions

Based on the cultural dimension findings of Kim (2017) it was predicted that Austria would feature highly in the PSM values, with significant findings and directions. Examining the results for Hypotheses 2, it can be seen that Austria did not provide any significant results on any of the four PSM values, either positively or negatively. Likewise, it was predicted that Estonia and Lithuania would be comparatively weaker on PSM values than other countries.

The results from the country analyses identified no significant results for Lithuania on the four PSM values, in any direction. However, Estonia provided two significant results, concerning the PSM value of negatively valuing wealth (value 2), and the value of positively caring for others (value 12), furthermore, the Estonian data had the most significant anti-wealth value for its public-sector workers out of the entire sample. Therefore, the hypothesis was proved false. The use of the cultural dimension linked to PSM (identified by Kim 2017), when controlling for other factors, was not a useful predictor for PSM values in public sector workers in the study.

#### 5.7.4 Hypothesis 4 - Occupational Factors

For occupations, the figure series presented in **Figure 5.3.1** to **5.3.3** provide the results of the analysis of 15 different specific occupations within public sector workers and compares them against all other public worker occupations. The positive and negative labels on the Y axis in the figures below provide the occupation and the odds of a person being that occupation in comparison to another occupation with every increasing level of agreement with the value statement. All figures shown are statistically significant findings ( $p > 0.05$ ). The total sample size for the test was based on 29,077 public sector workers from all countries in the sample, the occupational sample sizes that were compared are shown in **Table 5.6** below.

**Table 5.6** Public Sector Occupations and Sample Size

Occupation	Sample Size
Nurse and Midwife	292
Medical Doctors	287
Police Officers	263
Child Care Workers	282
Higher Ed Teachers	369
Helpers Cleaners	356

Occupation	Sample Size
Inst. Personal Care Workers	464
Nurse Associate Professionals	748
Other Office Clerks	355
Primary Teaching Professionals	564
Secondary Teaching Professionals	1080
Secretaries	308
Armed Forces	206
Public Service Administrative Professionals	194
Cooks	206

Concerning the key PSM related values as identified by the analysis carried out for Hypotheses 1 and 2, there are some interesting results depicted in **Figures 5.3.1 to 5.3.3**. For example, for value statement 2, 'Important to be rich, have money and expensive things', you would expect the majority of the public-sector occupations to hold this value negatively, as confirmed by the meta-analysis carried out by all countries. However, of the 15 occupations tested, only the armed forces provided a significant result concerning negative direction on this value statement (see **Figure 5.3.1** with red squares indicating direction and significance). Moreover, nursing associates held this value positively, contrary to expectations. One potential explanation is that nursing associates are poorly paid (at least in the United Kingdom) and that this may increase the importance of money as a value. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow 1954) states that when individuals cannot provide for their necessities, an essential need takes precedence over higher goals such as altruism and PSM. Further research could explore if and why this is the case for nursing associates.



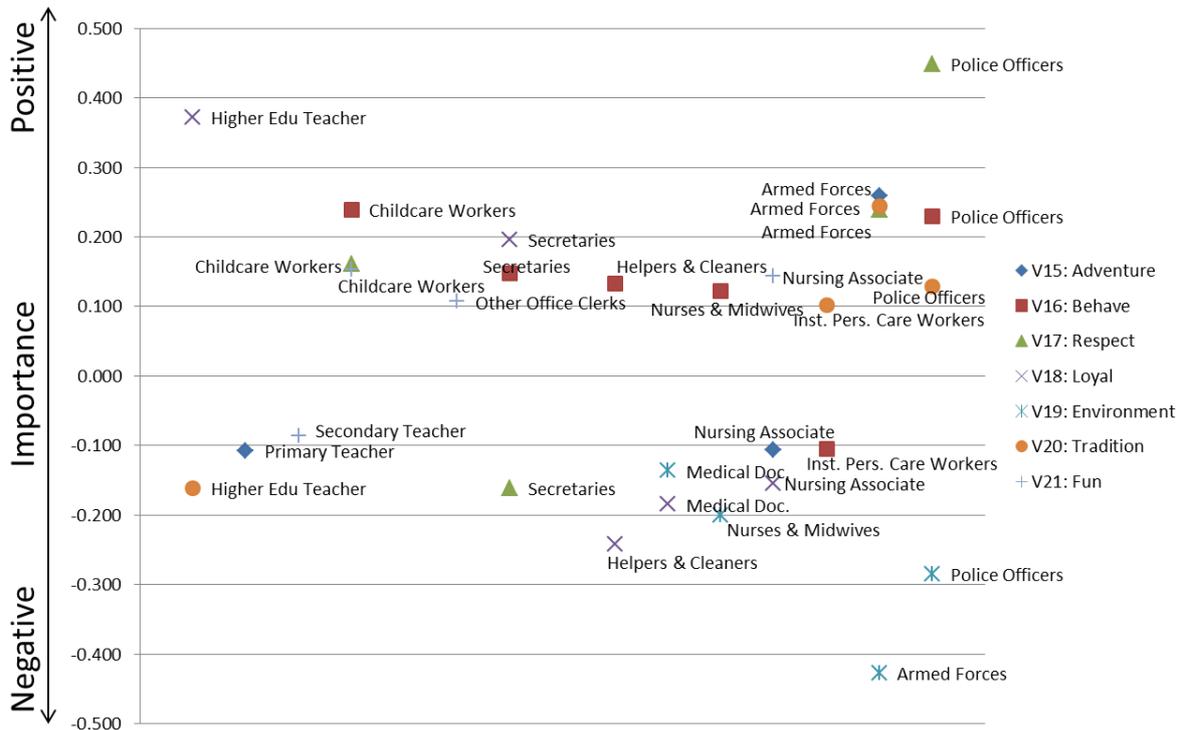


Figure 5.3.3 Occupational Values 15-21

Another interesting finding is for value statement 12, ‘Important to help people and care for others well-being’. The evidence from the earlier models was that this was a value held positively by public sector workers. However, the findings from the occupational model indicated that while this was true for the healthcare sector occupations and childcare workers, the higher and primary education teaching professionals held the value negatively. The difference in opinion between these occupations is unexpected for this value statement and demonstrates further the danger of making general assumptions about public sector workers and the potential importance of different occupation factors as contributing antecedents for aspects of PSM.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that there would be significant differences in values held by health, social and education workers with these occupations having higher PSM values than general public-sector worker occupations. Figure 5.3.1 to 5.3.3 proves that there are indeed statistically significant differences in occupational levels of PSM. However, the hypothesis

that health, education and social workers would have higher PSM values was found to be false. The results reveal that there is a far greater level of complexity in the statistically significant variations in the values held by different public-sector occupations as demonstrated within the sample, both across sectors and within sectors. While the hypothesis was not valid, the findings reinforce the importance of the need to understand the occupational factors within the tiered framework of antecedents.

## **5.8 Limitations and Further Research**

The development of the tiered framework seeks to raise awareness of the multi-layered nature of sociohistorical influences and antecedents on PSM. It provides at best an outline to set individual pieces of research into context. It cannot on its own provide direct insight into the specific cause or antecedents of PSM in a particular individual. However, it does provide clues and points towards potential sources of contributing factors in a structured framework.

Concerning the models tested it is recognised that as the value question series from the ESS was not designed to test PSM specifically, it cannot, therefore, be said to measure PSM in the strict sense of Perry's (1996) scale. However, in line with the tiered framework approach advocated by this paper, the value series provides sufficient evidence of PSM, regarding consistency of broad concepts, indicating a set of values held predominantly by public sector workers and typified by non-monetary motivation, caring/compassion, empathy and equality. For a more detailed defence of the legitimacy of using PSM as variable via proxy measures based on public-service-oriented motives, for large international data sets, see Bullock et al. 2015.

In addition to supporting the concept of a tiered framework of sociohistorical antecedents, the research has determined several areas of potential additional research. In the test for Hypothesis 1, ten of the countries in the study (Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia,

Germany, Norway, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom) all had statistically significant results for at least two of the four PSM values. Comparing this data to Bullock et al.'s (2015) data, five of these countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and United Kingdom) show as correlated with high PSM, with Bulgaria and Slovenia showing low PSM in Bullock et al. and the other countries not present in both data sets and therefore nor comparable.

By comparing Bullock et al.'s (2015) and these new findings the Nordic nations of Denmark, Sweden and Norway all score highly in both studies, which provide validation between the analyses, and also pointing to further directions for research into the antecedents of Nordic countries cultural features that appear to promote or cultivate PSM. Further investigation of the socio-historical situation in these countries may shed light on the nature and extent of the influence of national culture and institutions as antecedents of PSM in public sector workers.

Furthermore, Denmark is the only country to have statistically significant values for all four of the PSM values. Therefore, an early indication is that Denmark showed the highest signs of evidence of PSM in public sector workers and these findings match those of Bullock et al. who also ranked Denmark as having the highest public-sector-oriented motives, using different methods and data (p.485, Bullock et al. 2015). Further research could investigate if this is related in any way to Denmark's position as No.1 for happiness and work-life balance (Biswas-Diener 2010).

Sticking with the analysis of nationality, by drawing on Kim (2017), an attempt was made to test the initial findings linking Hofstede's cultural dimensions of Masculinity, Indulgence and Individualism to the country samples. However, the tests did not show any clear correlation between these dimensions and the expression of PSM values in the public-

sector workers across these countries, with Estonia coming out with relatively high PSM values in the sample, despite having dimensions in the opposite direction associated with PSM in Kim's study (2017).

Regarding the occupational tier, the findings of the tests suggest real differences between individual occupational norms and values, and also between sectors, such as education and health. Therefore, research using only one sector, or combining two or more occupations, should be wary of the effect of occupation masking other findings. Whilst it could be argued that occupation is a consequence rather than antecedent of PSM, this does not fully explain the differences found within and between similar occupations, such as between primary, secondary and higher education occupations. Therefore, there is clearly further scope to expand upon this tier of the framework to investigate and establish in more detail a classification of occupational norms to assist the contextualisation and comparison of future research.

## **5.9 Implications for Practice**

The chapter started by identifying some of the ongoing challenges identified by meta-reviews that have been carried out for PSM research, key findings being problems with measurement, international comparison, and the identification of causality and antecedents. The next section proposed the development of a five-tiered approach to contextualising PSM research into antecedents, identifying the five key underlying aspects of; concept, culture/nationality, occupation, organisation, and the individual.

To test the framework, a combination of literature review and quantitative analysis of international survey results were utilised to test the hypotheses underpinning the tiered model. The findings support the concepts of Public Values and PSM as a concept (tier 1), while revealingly notable variations in the expression of these values by nationality and

occupation (tiers 2 and 3). While not appropriate to test tiers 4 and 5 using the survey analysis, these two final tiers are well supported by the literature, as demonstrated in the earlier sections.

The findings have important practical implications. The five-tiered framework could potentially be used by HRM practitioners in employee selection to improve chances of person-organisation, person-job and person-environment fit. Previous work by Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry (2017), who undertook a meta-review of PSM research since 2008 to identify the lessons for practice identified by researchers internationally. In summary, they identified five key strategy recommendations for practitioners that are supported by the research, 1). Integrate public service motivation into HRM processes, 2). Create and convey job meaning, 3). Create a supportive work environment for PSM, 4). Integrate public service into an organisational mission, strategy, and leadership, and 5). Obtain external legitimacy for public service.

However, as demonstrated throughout this paper, the tiered framework demonstrates the multidimensional breadth and depth of PSM, by different dimensions or tiers. Therefore, any attempt by practitioners or HRM professionals to implement the five strategies recommended by the literature (set out above) are reliant on those professionals understanding how PSM is expressed in their workplace context. The tiered hierarchy allows a mental framework, or checklist, that can be applied to a given organisational setting, to consider the influence of the national, occupational, organisational and personal antecedents on the practical expression of PSM in the workplace. Just as the general assumption of PSM being expressed in a universally coherent form does not bear out from the evidence from the ground, so too the generic implementation of the practitioner lessons arising from the PSM research cannot be replicated without contextual modification.

The implication of these findings is that scholars should seek to focus less effort on creating un-verifiable, and potentially unhelpful (for practitioners), generalisations based on extrapolations from small socio-specific samples. Instead, scholars should seek to develop tools to allow practitioners and HRM professionals to 'quick scan' or 'audit', their organisational context to determine how PSM is expressed in reality at the level of the organisational unit, or team, and use that knowledge to implement the practical findings summarised by the research.

## **5.10 Conclusions and Contributions**

While the understanding of PSM has undoubtedly grown with the near exponential growth in research indicated by the increase in publications over the past two decades (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016), a number of challenges remain concerning concept definition, universal measurement, international comparison, antecedents and causality (Bozeman and Su, 2015; Perry and Vandenberg 2015). In respect to understanding antecedents and causality, to which this paper has sought to contribute, scholars should not neglect the multidimensional nature of human motivation (Ryan and Deci 2000; Pedersen 2015).

Whilst employees may be strongly motivated by PSM they are also subject to a host of other intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, such as national culture (Hofstede 1981; 1994; Hofstede et al. 2010; Vandenberg and Van de Walle 2008; Perry 2010; Houston 2011; Kim et al. 2010; 2013; Harari et al. 2017; Kim 2017), occupational and organisational cultures and socialisation (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 1997; Hofstede 1998; Hofstede et al. 2010; Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Wright 2007; Wright and Pandey 2008; 2011; Bogh, Andersen and Pedersen 2012; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013; Kjeldsen 2014; Perry and Vandenberg 2015; Harari et al. 2017), and individual motivations in relation to upbringing, psychology and personality (Perry 1990; 1996; 1997; 2000; Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000; Georgellis

and Vurain 2010; Cooper 2012; 2014; Gould Williams et al. 2013; Perry and Vandenberg 2015; Esteve et al. 2016; Jensen and Vestergaard 2017; Harari et al. 2017).

This paper has sought to respond to some of the key challenges of PSM research as identified in recent meta-reviews via the development of a tiered framework for the comparative analysis of antecedents. The chapter attempts to answer calls for a '*broader and deeper analysis*' (Bozeman and Su 2015) for '*multi-level analysis*' (Witteloostuijn et al. 2017), and for '*new measurement approaches*' (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). The approach taken has been to seek to re-conceptualise the antecedents of PSM using a multi-level analysis using a five-tiered framework aimed at contextualising PSM for comparative analysis. The overall logic underpinning the framework rests solidly on the existing research, building on Perry's process theory of PSM (Perry 2000), and drawing heavily on the recent meta and systematic reviews carried out by some of the field's leading scholars.

One of the main contributions of the paper is to demonstrate in some detail the sheer complexity and multi-dimensional nature of the potential antecedents and consequences of PSM, and therefore indicates extreme caution in taking the findings of PSM research papers claiming universal generalisations based on small samples using single countries, single occupations, and often single organisations. Conversely, the very complexity of antecedents and consequences of PSM means that it is likely that *only* small samples using single countries, occupations and organisations, with similar demographics, will be useful to practitioners for informing local management interventions. The key here is that the study target should be the cohort or group that the management wishes to target for intervention.

Another contribution of the research is further validation of the presence of public-sector-orientated motivations using one of the largest multi-cultural, multi-occupational samples used to date, identifying universal presence of PSM at the European scale, while

demonstrating the notable variance between national scales; providing further data to support Bullock et al.'s (2015) international comparison, as well as confirming, using different methods and data, the particularly high levels of PSM within the Nordic countries of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Additional minor contributions arise from seeking to test early findings from Kim's (2017) work on linking Hofstede cultural dimensions to PSM, by comparing PSM levels of public sector workers by nationality and linking the cultural dimension predictions to the data to investigate support for Kim's findings; and by examining 15 different public sector occupations by public-sector-orientated values to explore consistency of PSM conception within public sector occupations, and revealing marked divergence between occupational groups, whilst identifying significant findings within occupational value norms across countries and controlling for other key demographics.

The final section on implications for practice seeks to place the tiered framework in practical terms of personality-job fit, person-organisation fit, and person-environment fit concerning operationalising PSM research, giving examples of how HRM professionals might utilise the framework to inform practice. The tiered framework aids users to be more cognizant of the potential explanatory and confounding antecedents which may be affecting their specific circumstances or needs. In the final analysis, the main contribution of this research is to provide a tiered framework to help both the theorist and practitioner in placing their particular research or management recommendations into the appropriate context.

## **Chapter 6: Self-Transcendence, Universalism and Public Values - Effects on Occupational Choice and Employment Sector**

### Abstract

*Research in the field of public service motivation (PSM) has historically linked individuals with public values with employment in the public sector. However, more recent research has indicated that PSM can be found across sectors and varies between cultures. Further research has linked the concepts of public values and PSM with Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values and the self-transcendent value of Universalism. This article uses data from the European Social Survey 2008-2016 (N=170,732) across 30 countries to explore whether individuals with Universalism values are associated with employment in the public sector. The findings confirm that Universalism is correlated with public sector employment, reinforcing the hypothesised link between public values, PSM and Schwartz's Universalism values. However, the data indicates that Universalism values are also strongly correlated with employees in key service vocations regardless of sector. Furthermore, the findings suggest that for certain service vocations, public employment impacts negatively on Universalism. The managerial ramifications of these findings for fostering public values in organizations outside the public sector are discussed.*

**Keywords:** Self-Transcendence, Universalism, Schwartz Theory of Basic Values, Service Vocation, Public Values, Public Service Motivation.

*'There is no more important topic in public administration and policy than public values.'*

(Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007, p.355)

Public Administration scholars have described public values as a subset of a wider constellation of basic human values (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). Studies that explore personal (Schwartz 1992; 1994; 2012; Schwartz et al. 2012), cultural (Hofstede 1991; Schwartz 1999) and organizational values (Quinn and Rohrbaugh 1983; Hofstede 1991) identify such general human values. Adopting this view, this chapter argues for a strong association between public values and Schwartz's (1992; 2012) self-transcendent value of Universalism. If such an association exists, then a question arises whether the value of Universalism exerts a strong influence on individuals' occupational choice, work preferences, and public employment attraction. The existing literature provides some answers by focusing mostly on public service motivation (PSM), which is underpinned by public values (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 2000; Homberg and Costello 2019). For example, studies examine PSM in relation to job choice and performance (Wright, Hassan and Christensen 2017), person-organization fit and person-job fit (Christensen and Wright 2011; Gould-Williams, Mostafa and Bottomley 2013). Similarly, studies explore how PSM influences user orientation, job satisfaction, public employment preferences (Liu, Tang and Zhu 2008; Bright 2008; Andersen and Kjeldsen 2013; Cooper et al. 2014; DeHart-Davis, Davis and Mohr 2014; Homberg, McCarthy and Tabvuma 2015), attraction, and socialization by employment sector (Clerkin and Cogburn 2012; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2012; Andersen and Kjeldsen 2012; Asseburg, Homberg and Vogel 2018). Nevertheless, existing research is inconclusive on the fundamental assumption that individuals with high levels of PSM are attracted to, and found within, public employment. This is despite theoretical arguments supporting the existence of such a link (i.e. Perry and Wise 1990; Naff and Crum 1999, Lewis and Frank 2002; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

However, a large volume of scholarly work challenges the strength of the association between PSM and public employment. A key reason for the weakening of this association is

the increase in public services outsourcing, resulting in private organizations providing traditional service roles (Moulton and Feeney 2011; Bullock, Stritch and Rainey 2015). Also, there is an increasing trend for individuals to be carrying government work across all types of organizations, irrespective of whether they are public, private or non-profit (Bullock, Stritch and Rainey 2015). Other reasons for the presence of individuals with strong PSM in non-public roles include differential wages, changing nature of work, and market conditions, influencing individuals' motives to pursue public employment (Dur and Zoutenbier 2014). It is also likely that job availability and opportunity often prevent individuals from making the best career choices (Lewis and Frank 2002). Under such circumstances, individuals may base their choice of public employment on a perception of potentially higher levels of job security compared to private employment (Tepe and Vanhuysse 2017). Differential conditions therefore contribute to individual utility-maximization considerations and the choice of government employment within certain populations (Dur and Zoutenbier 2014). Yet, not all explanations are likely to be equally applicable across all countries. An international dimension to consider is the large differences across government organizations and cultures in terms of their alignment to PSM (Giauque et al. 2011; Bullock, Stritch and Rainey 2015).

Despite arguments in support of the association between PSM and public-sector employment, scholars recognize its contextual nature. One proposal is to shift emphasis away from the simple dichotomy of public vs. private employment to the nature of the occupation itself (Christensen and Wright 2011; Wright, Hassan and Christensen 2017). The type of vocation, combined with specific cultural and national environments, could explain part of the variation in empirical findings. For example, Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012) identify that for Danish physiotherapists the nature of the job differed little between sectors and therefore sectoral differences in the effect of PSM were not significant.

This article explores the importance of vocation as a predictor of public values (using Universalism as a proxy) across multiple cultural settings, using data on more than 170,000 individuals from the European Social Survey. The findings show that individuals with public values are widespread across public and private employment. Further, the findings show that employees with public values are often found within service vocations and not necessarily in the public sector. Finally, evidence is identified that for certain vocations, public employment has a negative effect, moderating the strength of the association between vocation and public values. Such findings question the relative weight placed on public-sector employment as a signal of high PSM. The overemphasis on public sector for demarcating PSM could actually prove to be misleading as for some occupations, public employment is negatively associated with public values.

In the next section, the link between public values, PSM and Schwartz's (1992) basic human value of Universalism is discussed, providing the theoretical justification of the use of Universalism as a proxy for public values. Then, it is argued that public values occur widely within the private sector, within service vocations. The data and methods used to test the main hypotheses are discussed in the next section, followed by the presentation of the analysis and results. Finally, the implications of the findings and a forward research agenda is identified, to further explore how public service values can influence management practices in both private and public organizations.

### **6.1 Self-Transcendent Values Across Vocations**

Schwartz's (1992) ten universal values include: Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, Power, Security, Conformity, Tradition, Benevolence, and Universalism. The latter two are related by the dimension of Self-Transcendence. The basic human value of Universalism is defined as '*understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature*' (p.7 Schwartz 2012). In addition, Witesman and Walters

(2014) relate Universalism to the values of Equity and Group Interest. Schwartz (1992, 2012) associates a constellation of values under the Universalism banner, including; *'broadminded, social justice, equality, world at peace, world of beauty, unity with nature, wisdom, protecting the environment'* (p.7 Schwartz 2012). Drawing on work by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007), Witesman and Walters (2014) built on this constellation of values to produce an overarching structure of public service values and goals. Drawing on these contributions, the structure, proximity and hierarchy of public values is examined along with their influence on individuals' choice of vocation and public employment.

Assigning employees into the broad categories of public vs private employment for theorizing and researching about individuals with PSM has become increasingly difficult, and perhaps too simplistic. In response, it is proposed that an alternative approach can be made to identify groups and individuals that hold self-transcendent values of Universalism by focusing on occupations. A focus on occupation was a recommended subject of further research in Harari et al.'s (2017) meta-review of two decades of research on the organizational correlates of PSM. The article specifically called for an examination of *'job characteristics as moderators of PSM's relationships with important organizational correlates'* (p.82 Harari et al. 2017). Further, the validity of the argument by Christensen and Wright (2011), and more recently by Wright, Hassan and Christensen (2017), that PSM is a strong predictor of vocation choice is explored. It is argued that individuals with high PSM select vocations that match their public values and allow them to express these values through their work.

Following this logic, it is argued that characteristics of certain vocations are more strongly associated with individuals' self-transcendent values than the characteristics of public vs private employment. The focus on occupation rests on the premise that certain professions have a long history of association with greater PSM (Perry 1997). Such

professions or occupations can be referred to as '*service vocations*' and can be defined as occupations which have an integral public service remit or purpose which attracts individuals with high PSM. Typical occupations that fall into this category have traditionally included health care, education and social work professionals.

High PSM individuals are attracted to service vocations because they identify with the public values that are encapsulated in the self-transcendent values of Universalism. These values include: altruism, public interest, human dignity, sustainability, common good, social cohesion, protection of rights of the individual, balancing of interests, equal treatment, justice, social justice, equity, fairness, protection of minorities and voice of the future (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). The location of these service vocations, in public or private organizations, depends on cultural and demographic characteristics in different countries. For example, the extent to which public health is privatized or is in public ownership determines whether nursing or medical vocations are within private or public organizations. Further, individual choices about employment opportunities are also affected by a wide range of demographics such as age, education and household income. To control for such demographic and country differences, the empirical analysis uses data from the European Social Survey (ESS), a large-scale, multi-country social survey. The ESS covers 31 countries and provides 170,732 cases to analyse for the study. Key variations across different socio-historic settings and national cultures are accounted for before we explore whether PSM is associated with service vocations irrespective of private or public employment. Thus,

<p><b>Hypothesis 1:</b> There is a positive association between employment in service vocations and PSM.</p>
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Although the international evidence is mixed (see Kim et al. 2013), many studies associate PSM with public employment (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 1996; Brewer and Selden 1998; Lewis and Frank 2002; Holt 2018). This is based on the premise that individuals with high PSM seek employment in organizations with strong service- and community-oriented missions, which often reside in the public sector (Wright, Moynihan and Pandey 2012). However, it is less clear whether these public-service-oriented motives are best served by public organizations and whether individuals who express altruistic motives prefer government jobs (Vandenabeele 2008). Thus, it is hypothesized:

**Hypothesis 2:** Public employees have higher PSM than private-sector employees.

However, there are alternative suggestions that individuals with high PSM are likely to choose vocations with intrinsic attributes associated with PSM (Christensen and Wright 2011; Wright, Hassan and Christensen 2017). If public-employment is increasingly less reliable for identifying individuals with high PSM, then it is possible the real locus of individuals with high PSM is within service vocations and not necessarily the public sector. Yet, while public employment has become less reliable in predicting the occupational choice of individuals with high PSM, it is still possible that it moderates the association between service vocation and high PSM. The reasoning is that in many countries the public employment remains the home of most service vocations. By definition, the public-sector organizations are not-for-profit and therefore they stress the importance of nonmonetary intrinsic motivation, which is central in both the PSM and Calling literatures. Therefore, it can also be hypothesized that, for the sample as a whole, *within* service vocations there will be higher PSM among public employees compared to private employees. This will partially account for cultural and demographic variations within certain jurisdictions.

**Hypothesis 3:** Public employment moderates the relationship between service vocation employment and PSM.

## 6.2 Data and Methods

### 6.2.1 Sample Data

The data are from the ESS, which is a multi-country survey covering the period 2008 to 2016.

In the analysis, data is used from 30 countries (see **Table 6.5** for individual countries).

Information in the ESS is collected using strict random probability sampling, a minimum target response rate of 70% and rigorous translation protocols. The hour-long face-to-face interviews include questions on various core topics repeated from previous rounds (ESS 2019). **Table 6.1** presents summary statistics.

**Table 6.1** Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs.*	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Public Service Motivation (PSM) Group - PSM Group: 32,260 - Rest of Sample: 138,472	170,732	0.189	0.391	0	1
Not Important to be rich, have money and expensive things	168,668	2.962	1.376	1	6
Important to help people and care for others well-being	168,612	2.162	1.003	1	6
Important to understand different people	168,181	2.330	1.070	1	6
Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities	168,441	2.054	1.050	1	6
Important to care for nature and environment	168,539	2.119	1.044	1	6
Type of Sector, Public Vs Private Employee 1. Central or Local Government or Other Public Sector (i.e. education / health): 48,564 2. A Private Firm: 122,168	170,732	0.284	0.451	0	1
Gender (Female: 89,985 Male: 80,676)	170,661	0.527	0.499	0	1
Age Band	169,858	2.602	1.140	1	5
Educational Band	169,881	3.487	1.357	1	5
Income Band	169,252	2.925	0.860	1	4
Religiousness	169,223	4.441	2.962	0	10

\* Valid N.

From Round 4 (2008) to Round 8 (2016) the surveys include questions on sector of work. For the analysis, the sample is limited to 170,732 responders who were employed, either working for the government or in private organizations. Those who self-report as working for a state-owned enterprise, self-employed, or other are excluded from the sample.

### 6.2.2 Dependent Variable

Accepting the premise that Schwartz's value of Universalism incorporates the public values that underpin PSM, the Schwartz short PVQ question series in the ESS can be utilised to test the association between individuals with public values and occupational and sector choice. Thus, to measure PSM as the dependent variable in the analysis, the ESS series covering the 'Importance of different values/attitudes' is utilised. For each of the ESS Schwartz questions, the respondents rate their agreement with the statement using a Likert scale answer from (1) 'Very much like me', to (6) 'Not like me at all'. In the first step, the value statements were reviewed and compared against the PSM literature to identify suitable proxies.

Following Witesman and Walters (2014), as shown in **Table 6.2**, the following four questions in the ESS were identified that approximate a PSM construct that relates to Schwartz's (1992) self-transcendent dimension of Universalism: 1) *Important to care for nature and environment*; (2) *Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities*; (3) *Important to help people and care for others well-being*; and (4) *Important to understand different people*. Additionally, the statement '*Important to be rich, have money and expensive things*', was identified as being associated with the Schwartz (1992) value of 'Power'. This statement is in opposition to the value of Universalism and is associated with extrinsic monetary motivation and negatively associated with high PSM. For ease of reporting and analysis the coding of this item was reversed so that low values represent *non-monetary* motivation.

**Table 6.2** Schwartz Values and the ESS (Adapted from Witesman and Walters, 2014)

Meta Value	Value	Theoretical Value Goal	Operational Value Goal	Values	ESS Question
Self-Transcendence <sup>1</sup>	Universalism <sup>1</sup> (Equity) <sup>2</sup> (Group interest) <sup>2</sup>	<p>Universalism: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Equity: Support of systems and actions that promote fairness and equality for individuals and groups<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Group interest: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of subsets of people<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>Promoting the welfare of society as a whole<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Distributing social benefits without discrimination or favouritism<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Promoting the welfare of a group or segment of all people<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>Altruism<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Public interest<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Human dignity<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Sustainability<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Common good<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Social cohesion<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Protection of rights of the individual<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Balancing of interests<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Equal treatment<sup>1,3</sup></p> <p>Justice<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Social justice<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Equity<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Fairness<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Protection of minorities<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Voice of the future<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Stakeholder or shareholder value<sup>3</sup></p>	<p>Important to care for nature and environment</p> <p>Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities</p> <p>Important to help people and care for others well-being</p> <p>Important to help people and care for others well-being</p>
Self-Enhancement <sup>1</sup>	Power <sup>1</sup>	Power: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources <sup>1</sup>	Achieving control or dominance over people and resources <sup>2</sup>	<p>Being in charge<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Decisiveness<sup>1,2</sup></p> <p>Competitiveness<sup>3</sup></p>	Important to be rich, have money and expensive things

<sup>1</sup> Schwartz (1992)

<sup>2</sup> Witesman and Walters (2014)

<sup>3</sup> Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007)

Using these five items, individuals were defined as *high PSM* individuals when they recorded strong agreement (1 or 2) with all five statements. As shown in **Table 6.1**, the high PSM group represents 18.9% of the total sample, with 32,260 cases out of 170,732 respondents.

### 6.2.3 Independent Variables

*Public employment.* This variable takes value 1 if the respondent is a public-sector employee (central or local government or other public services such as education and health) and a value of 0 if the respondent works for a private firm.

*Profession/occupation.* Occupational categories are based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). During the period of ESS coverage the ISCO system changed between rounds from ISCO08 to ISCO88. Therefore, the data combines ISCO08 and ISCO88, which has been checked to ensure that they capture the same occupations. Occupations with over 1000 cases and those that are historically associated with key public service occupations were selected (e.g. from Perry 1997).

**Table 6.3** Occupation Sample Size

Occupation	Sample
Accountants	1,264
Administrative and executive secretaries	1,834
Child-care workers	1,947
College, university, higher education teaching prof	1,033
Domestic helpers and cleaners	1,422
Helper, cleaner in office, hotel, other establishment	4,079
Home-based personal care workers	1,314
Nursing associate professionals	2,569
Primary education teaching professionals	3,233
Secondary education teaching professionals	3,537
Secretaries	1,872
Shop, stall, market salesperson, demonstrators	10,124

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Sample</b>
Social work associate professionals	1,827
Public accountants	284
Public administrative and executive secretaries	726
Public child-care workers	559
Public college, university, higher education teaching prof	977
Public domestic helpers and cleaners	394
Public helper, cleaner in office, hotel, other establishment	1,303
Public home-based personal care workers	645
Public nursing associate professionals	2,042
Public primary education teaching professionals	2,945
Public secondary education teaching professionals	3,395
Public secretaries	699
Public shop, stall, market salesperson, demonstrators	178
Public social work associate professionals	1,401
<b>Sample size</b>	<b>170,732</b>

Notes: The public sector versions of each occupation are included in the first figures, i.e. there are a total 1,947 child-care workers in the sample, 559 of these are public sector child-care workers.

For comparative purposes three occupations (sales assistants, cleaners and accountants) were also included that are not typically associated with public service vocations.

*Controls.* In all estimations, demographic characteristics, country and time effects are all controlled for. Besides capturing potential business cycle effects on PSM, the inclusion of year dummies as controls accounts for inflation in income over the years. Including religiousness and country dummies is also necessary to control for the influence of cultural, religious, and institutional settings on PSM. Because of the potentially strong influence of gender on public service motivation (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe and Pandey 2006), gender is controlled for in all estimated models. To capture well-documented differences in PSM between younger and older employees (Moynihan and Pandey 2007) and between those with

higher educational qualifications and those with lower or no educational qualifications (Wright and Pandey 2008), age and education are also included as controls.

#### 6.2.4 Analysis Method

To test the hypotheses about the relationship between the different variables in this international sample, binary logistic regression is used to estimate the following four models:

$$\text{(Model A): } \text{Prob}(PSM)_i = \beta Z_i + \gamma (Vocation)_i + e_i,$$

$$\text{(Model B): } \text{Prob}(PSM)_i = \beta Z_i + \delta (Public)_i + e_i,$$

$$\text{(Model C): } \text{Prob}(PSM)_i = \beta Z_i + \gamma (Vocation)_i + \delta (Public)_i + u_i,$$

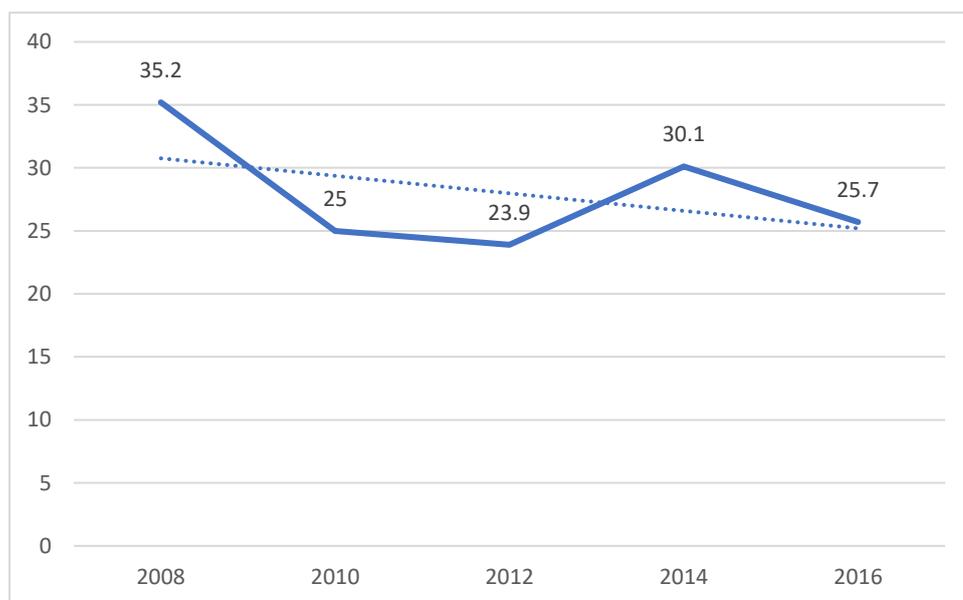
$$\text{(Model D): } \text{Prob}(PSM)_i = \beta Z_i + \gamma (Vocation)_i + \delta (Public)_i + \zeta (Public)_i \times (Vocation)_i + v_i,$$

where *PSM* is the five-item index of PSM, taking value 1 for high PSM individuals and 0 otherwise,  $Z_i$  is a vector of independent variables and controls, *Public* is a dummy variable for public employment, and *Vocation* is a vector of specific occupations. The coefficients  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  and  $\zeta$  are coefficients to be estimated. A positive and statistically significant coefficient  $\gamma$  provides support for the benchmark hypothesis on the link between PSM and employment in service vocations (Hypothesis 1). Similarly, a positive and statistically significant coefficient  $\delta$  provide support for the second hypothesis linking PSM with employment in the public sector (Hypothesis 2). A comparison of the  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  coefficients in Model C offers a test of the main Hypothesis 3 on the superiority of vocation as a predictor of PSM. The estimated coefficient  $\zeta$  of the interaction terms in Model D tests Hypothesis 4 on the moderating influence of PSM in the public sector on the relationship between vocation and sector. More specifically, a positive coefficient  $\zeta$  implies that PSM strengthens the relationship between vocation and public employment, while a negative  $\zeta$  attenuates this relationship. To estimate

Models A-D, the data from rounds 4 (2008) to 8 (2016) of the ESS is pooled and the logistic regression model is estimated using SPSS 24.

### 6.3 Results

To verify the weakening of the association between PSM and government employment overtime, simple correlation coefficients (using logistic regression) of the two variables are plotted, controlling for demographics and country effects. As **Figure 6.1** illustrates, the strength of the correlation between PSM and public employment has been declining in recent years. Except for a stronger correlation in 2014, the correlation coefficient decreased from 35.2 in 2008 to 25.7 in 2016. This is consistent with the notion that public employment is no longer as strong a predictor of PSM as previously thought. These initial findings provide an incentive to further explore the occupational, demographic and socio-historical antecedents of PSM using multiple regression. **Table 6.4** presents the main results of multivariate logistic analyses of Models A-D. The estimated coefficients show the odds of an employee being in the high PSM group.



**Figure 6.1** Correlation between PSM and Public Sector Employment (European Social Survey, 2008-2016; Authors' own calculations).

As the coefficients of Models A-D suggest, demographic and socio-economic characteristics have a statistically significant impact on PSM. Female employees are more public service oriented than male employees. Being female increases the odds of an individual being in the high PSM group from 1.0 to between 1.409 and 1.446 across the models. The effect of gender is notably higher than the odds increase associated with public employment alone (0.251 to 0.286 in **Table 6.5**) which increased the odds of being in the high PSM group from 1.0 to 1.251 and 1.256 (depending on the model).

**Table 6.4** Demographic, Occupation and Sector Correlates with PSM

Variable	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
Gender (0Male 1Female)	0.446*** (0.014)	0.409*** (0.014)	0.418*** (0.014)	0.414*** (0.014)
Age Band (5levels)	0.276*** (0.006)	0.263*** (0.006)	0.262*** (0.006)	0.261*** (0.006)
Education (5levels)	0.041*** (0.005)	0.033*** (0.005)	0.026*** (0.006)	0.024*** (0.006)
Household Income (4levels)	-0.054*** (0.009)	-0.057*** (0.009)	-0.059*** (0.009)	-0.058*** (0.009)
Religiousness (11levels)	0.029*** (0.002)	0.029*** (0.002)	0.029*** (0.002)	0.029*** (0.002)
ESS round (4levels)	0.036*** (0.005)	0.039*** (0.005)	0.038*** (0.005)	0.038*** (0.005)
Type of Work (0Private 1Public)		0.282*** (0.015)	0.251*** (0.016)	0.286*** (0.017)
Accountants	0.005+ (0.081)		0.044+ (0.081)	-0.006+ (0.094)
Administrative and executive secretaries	-0.039+ (0.056)		-0.60+ (0.056)	0.024+ (0.071)
Child-care workers	-0.083+ (0.065)		0.091+ (0.065)	-0.089+ (0.077)
College, university, higher education teaching prof	0.440*** (0.074)		0.301*** (0.074)	0.996*** (0.271)
Domestic helpers and cleaners	-0.073+ (0.070)		-0.060+ (0.070)	-0.087+ (0.080)
Helper, cleaner in office, hotel, other establishment	-0.101* (0.041)		-0.123** (0.041)	-0.071+ (0.049)
Home-based personal care workers	0.274*** (0.064)		0.226*** (0.064)	0.441*** (0.088)
Nursing associate professionals	0.230*** (0.057)		0.148* (0.057)	0.311** (0.108)

Variable	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
Primary education teaching professionals	0.289*** (0.044)		0.163*** (0.045)	0.556*** (0.140)
Secondary education teaching professionals	0.134** (0.045)		-0.002+ (0.046)	0.295+ (0.200)
Secretaries	-0.049+ (0.060)		-0.057+ (0.06)	-0.009+ (0.075)
Shop, stall, market salesperson, demonstrators	-0.184*** (0.031)		-0.120*** (0.031)	-0.105** (0.032)
Social work associate professionals	0.135* (0.067)		0.089+ (0.067)	0.384** (0.121)
Public accountants				0.215+ (0.185)
Public administrative and executive secretaries				-0.217+ (0.113)
Public child-care workers				-0.011+ (0.141)
Public college, university, higher education teaching prof				-0.767** (0.281)
Public domestic helpers and cleaners				0.132+ (0.163)
Public helper, cleaner in office, hotel, other establishment				-0.161+ (0.085)
Public home-based personal care workers				-0.445*** (0.126)
Public nursing associate professionals				-0.214+ (0.127)
Public primary education teaching professionals				-0.452** (0.147)
Public secondary education teaching professionals				-0.333+ (0.205)
Public secretaries				-0.133+ (0.123)
Public shop, stall, market salesperson, demonstrators				-0.221+ (0.215)
Public social work associate professionals				-0.409** (0.144)
<b>Sample size</b>	<b>159,617</b>	<b>161,315</b>	<b>159,617</b>	<b>159,617</b>

Notes: Standard Errors in parentheses; +  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; Dummy variables for country are included in all models.

Model A: Chi-square 17473.356 DF 49 Sig. 0.000, Cox and Snell R Square 0.078 Nagelkerke R Square 0.126.  
 Model B: Chi-square 13758.712 DF 37 Sig. 0.000, Cox and Snell R Square 0.079 Nagelkerke R Square 0.128.  
 Model C: Chi-square 13643.284 DF 50 Sig. 0.000, Cox and Snell R Square 0.080 Nagelkerke R Square 0.128.  
 Model D: Chi-square 13701.508 DF 63 Sig. 0.000, Cox and Snell R Square 0.080 Nagelkerke R Square 0.129.

As shown in **Table 6.4**, age is positively associated with the PSM group, with each additional 15-year step increasing the odds from 1.0 to 1.261-1.276, up to a maximum

increase from 1.0 to 2.104 ( $= e^{4 \times [0.276]}$  under Model A) for those in the oldest age band. Again, based on the data, age represents a quantitatively stronger effect than that of public employment. Odds of being in the high PSM group increases also with educational attainment and religiousness.

Educational level is positively associated with the PSM group, although with a more moderate effect. Each added increase in educational level increases the odds of being in the PSM group from 1.0 to 1.024 and 1.041 up to a maximum increase from 1.0 to 1.164 for those in the most educated category. In comparison to the other controls, the effect of religiousness was incrementally small at 0.029 per level of effect. However due to the large number of levels in the measure, individuals reporting the highest level of religiousness would provide odds increase from 1.0 to 1.29 compared to the base level.

Household income is the only general demographic control negatively associated with the PSM group. With each incremental step towards the top of the income distribution the odds of being in the PSM group decrease from 1.0 to 0.946-0.941 (i.e. reduction by  $e^{-0.054}$  to  $e^{-0.059}$ ), to a maximum reduction from 1.0 to 0.823 ( $= e^{3 \times [-0.059]}$  in Model C) for those with the highest income. The positive estimated coefficient for ESS round is indicative of an increasing PSM trend between 2008 and 2016, which coincides with the period following the 2008 financial crisis. The ESS round control shows the more recent surveys increase the odds of being in the PSM group by between 0.036 and 0.039 per round. While the incremental effect is relatively small, it is statistically significant and therefore indicative of increasing PSM in the European sample over time.

The estimated coefficients for country effects are presented separately in **Table 6.5**. As these coefficients show, country effects are pronounced, with statistically significant effects identified in Model D for 27 of the 30 countries and a range of effects from an

increase from 1.0 to 2.173 (Spain) and reduction from 1.0 to 0.018 (Lithuania Model D e-0.982). These findings illustrate the importance of controlling for country effects when using multi country data, reinforcing international variations in PSM identified in the literature (Horton and Hondeghe 2006; Houston 2011; Andersen and Kjeldsen 2013; Bullock, Stritch and Rainey 2015).

**Table 6.5** Effect of Country

Country	Sample	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
Austria	3041	0.755*** (0.88)	0.778*** (0.105)	0.758*** (0.106)	0.747*** (0.106)
Belgium	6329	1.262*** (0.056)	1.290*** (0.074)	1.264*** (0.075)	1.252*** (0.075)
Bulgaria	4016	0.707*** (0.067)	0.710*** (0.105)	0.686*** (0.106)	0.684*** (0.106)
Switzerland	6130	1.710*** (0.057)	1.740*** (0.74)	1.714*** (0.75)	1.704*** (0.75)
Cyprus	2082	1.640*** (0.186)	1.658*** (0.215)	1.640*** (0.215)	1.63*** (0.215)
Czechia	7172	-0.413*** (0.089)	-0.393*** (0.110)	-0.428*** (0.111)	-0.434*** (0.111)
Germany	10785	1.642*** (0.041)	1.678*** (0.061)	1.651*** (0.061)	1.642*** (0.062)
Denmark	5475	1.302*** (0.074)	1.318*** (0.087)	1.280*** (0.088)	1.274*** (0.088)
Estonia	7573	0.835*** (0.130)	0.842*** (0.151)	0.820*** (0.151)	0.813*** (0.151)
Spain	6872	2.169*** (0.043)	2.204*** (0.062)	2.182*** (0.063)	2.173*** (0.063)
Finland	7240	1.432*** (0.065)	1.432*** (0.084)	1.414*** (0.085)	1.410*** (0.085)
France	7068	1.495*** (0.042)	1.534*** (0.062)	1.503*** (0.062)	1.494*** (0.062)
UK	8639	1.476*** (0.043)	1.496*** (0.062)	1.463*** (0.062)	1.453*** (0.062)
Greece	2394	0.772*** (0.088)	0.809*** (0.115)	0.784*** (0.116)	0.779*** (0.116)
Croatia	862	1.352*** (0.121)	1.336*** (0.185)	1.328*** (0.186)	1.323*** (0.186)
Hungary	4953	0.258** (0.069)	0.258** (0.092)	0.240* (0.094)	0.236* (0.094)
Ireland	8423	1.283*** (0.075)	1.316*** (0.093)	1.283*** (0.094)	1.278*** (0.094)

Country	Sample	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
Israel	7156	0.426*** (0.078)	0.450*** (0.101)	0.415*** (0.102)	0.398*** (0.102)
Iceland	1167	1.393** (0.348)	1.414*** (0.404)	1.375** (0.406)	1.368** (0.406)
Italy	2082	1.027*** (0.050)	1.074*** (0.069)	1.021*** (0.069)	1.013*** (0.069)
Lithuania	4305	-0.996*** (0.184)	-0.968*** (0.264)	-0.978*** (0.264)	-0.982*** (0.264)
Netherlands	6607	1.005*** (0.053)	1.017*** (0.071)	0.982*** (0.072)	0.975*** (0.072)
Norway	6300	1.210*** (0.072)	1.200*** (0.088)	1.183*** (0.089)	1.173*** (0.089)
Poland	4679	1.098*** (0.045)	1.097*** (0.065)	1.071*** (0.066)	1.064*** (0.066)
Portugal	5954	0.712*** (0.064)	0.760*** (0.082)	0.719*** (0.082)	0.711*** (0.083)
Russia	6016	0.010+ (0.043)	-0.009+ (0.062)	-0.015+ (0.063)	-0.023+ (0.063)
Sweden	6958	1.359*** (0.057)	1.364*** (0.074)	1.326*** (0.075)	1.321*** (0.075)
Slovenia	3307	1.932*** (0.091)	1.943*** (0.118)	1.913*** (0.120)	1.905*** (0.120)
Slovakia	3124	-0.202+ (0.128)	-0.175+ (0.164)	-0.213+ (0.165)	-0.214+ (0.165)
Turkey	657	-0.020+ (0.113)	-0.063+ (0.136)	-0.051+ (0.140)	-0.061+ (0.140)

Notes: Standard Errors in parentheses; +  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Turning attention to the main coefficient of interest in this study, the estimated Model A shows there is a positive association between PSM and certain vocations. Specifically, PSM has statistically significant association with teaching professionals at primary (+0.289), secondary (+0.134) and tertiary levels (+0.44), home-based personal care workers (+0.274), nursing associate professionals (+0.23), and social workers (+0.135). These occupations align to the traditional vocations associated in the literature with PSM. Therefore, the results provide empirical support for Hypothesis 1 that service vocations do indeed have increased odds of having individuals with high PSM than other occupations in the European sample. As hypothesized, Model A revealed two occupational groups, sales persons and cleaners, not typically associated with public-service-oriented motivation, to be negatively associated with

PSM. The odds of high PSM decrease by -0.184 from 1.0 to 0.816 for shop, stall and market sales persons (reduced likelihood of being in PSM group) and from 1.0 to 0.899 (e-0.101) for helpers and cleaners in offices and hotels.

Model B includes sector of employment and the key demographic controls but does not include specific occupations. The results from the estimated Model B shows there is a positive association between government employment and PSM. Specifically, government employment increases the odds from 1.0 to 1.282 and are therefore more likely to be in the high PSM group when compared to private-sector workers. These results support Hypothesis 2 and the existing literature relating public employment and PSM. Further, these results provide a key comparative benchmark against which the other models can be compared when focusing on occupations.

The estimated coefficients of Model C provide evidence on whether vocation matters more than government employment as a predictor of PSM. As the estimated coefficients of Model C show, certain vocations are more strongly associated with PSM than public employment alone. The results suggest significant effects for five occupations. Specifically, the results demonstrate a negative effect for helpers and cleaners in offices and hotels (-0.123), a negative effect for shop, stall and market salespersons (-0.12) and positive effects for higher education professionals (+0.301), home-based personal care workers (+0.226), and primary education professionals (+0.163).

As the results show, for these occupations the explanatory power, except for University teaching professionals, does not exceed that of public employment alone. Thus, these findings do not support Hypothesis 3. However, the findings build on Hypothesis 1 and demonstrate that occupation has a statistically significant relationship to PSM, both negatively and positively. The strength of these effects is also substantially higher in

comparison to other commonly used demographic control factors such as income and education.

Model D mirrors Model C with added interaction terms between the two independent variables, to separate government sector versions of each occupation. The estimated coefficients of Model D in **Table 6.4** suggest the interaction effects offer strong support for Hypothesis 3 about the moderating role of PSM in the relationship between vocation and public-sector employment. When public sector influence on vocation is controlled for, strong positive correlations with the PSM group emerge: higher education professionals (+0.996), primary education workers (+0.556), personal care workers (+0.441), social work associate professionals (+0.384) and nursing associate professionals (+0.311).

These findings support Hypothesis 3 by providing evidence of stronger effects from these occupational factors than the effect of public employment alone (+0.287 in Model D). However, when the public-sector versions of these occupations are examined, the opposite effect is revealed with public-sector higher education professionals (-0.767), public-sector social work associate professionals (-0.409), public-sector primary education workers (-0.452), and public-sector personal care workers (-0.445), all being negatively associated with the PSM group.

## **6.4 Discussion and Conclusion**

This chapter started with the assertion that public values underpin PSM (Perry and Wise 1992; Perry 2000; Homberg and Costello 2019) and are both underpinned by more general, humankind wide values as identified in the Schwartz (1992; 2012) Theory of Basic Values as Universalism (Witesman and Walters 2014). Accepting Universalism as a suitable proxy for PSM, new evidence was sought to add to the continuing research effort in public administration by exploring the incidence of high PSM in vocations and employment sectors.

Building on Christensen and Wright (2011) and Wright, Hassan and Christensen (2017), it was argued that PSM is more strongly associated with service vocations rather than public employment. That is, individuals with high PSM are likely to self-select into service vocations, which match their values and allow them to express these values through their work.

Although the empirical findings, based on the ESS data, support the view that government employees are more likely to report high PSM than private employees, this effect is less strong than often claimed. Instead, in support of the main argument, the findings suggest that certain service vocations are stronger predictors of PSM than government employment. Public employment is associated with an increase in the odds of an individual being in the high PSM group from 1.0 to 1.251 to 1.286 depending on the model. This is relatively small in comparison to the effect of vocations, which accounts for positive effects from 1.0 to 1.996.

To put these effects in perspective, the influence of country and demographic characteristics as determinants of PSM needs to also be considered. Country effects on the odds of high PSM varies between -0.982 and +2.173 in Model D, providing further empirical support for previous findings on the importance of nationality and culture in PSM research (Horton and Hondeghem 2006; Houston 2011; Kim et al. 2013; Bullock, Stritch and Rainey 2015). Age effects range from +0.261 to +0.276 and gender effects range between +0.409 and +0.446, adding credence to the findings by DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey (2006) who identified significant gender differences on the compassion dimension of PSM.

Taken together, these results reinforce Perry's (1997) view that vocation and a wider range of socio-demographic characteristics are strong predictors of PSM besides public employment. Yet, the findings highlight occasions whereby service vocations are more

strongly associated with high PSM in the private than in public organizations. This adds a new perspective to continuing discussions on the potential effects of red tape, bureaucracy, and pay policies causing a crowding out effect of PSM (e.g. Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Georgellis, Iossa and Tabvuma 2008).

The findings of this study have several practical implications for public policy and management. In 2017, a systematic review was undertaken to identify the key practitioner points resulting from PSM research since 2008 (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017). The review identified several important practitioner points that were supported by multiple studies. For example, it is suggested management practices influence PSM and that attracting high PSM employees improves performance and organizational mission accomplishment. Equally, intentionally nurturing PSM fosters greater alignment between employees' values and those of the organization. However, all these recommendations are largely aimed at a public-sector audience. By demonstrating empirically that certain service vocations are strongly associated with PSM, irrespective of employment sector, it is argued that it is necessary to extend these practical recommendations to private organizations.

This research needs to be evaluated in the light of its limitations. The empirical analysis provides some of the first findings on how self-transcendent Universalism values relate to PSM in the context of vocations. However, it does not explore how the PSM group relates to the full spectrum of the 10 Schwartz dimensions. Future work could explore whether in addition to Universalism, high PSM are positively related to Schwartz's values of Benevolence, Conformity and Tradition. Further exploration of the association between PSM and the two dimensions of Openness (Self-Direction and Stimulation) and Self-Enhancement (Hedonism, Power and Achievement) could also be a fruitful way forward.

Seeking to understand in more detail how different influences are related to specific components of the PSM concept is explicitly called for by Koehler and Rainey (2008). After reviewing multiple and adjacent disciplinary fields, Koehler and Rainey (2008) admit that it is difficult to develop a simple unifying theory of service-oriented motivation. However, they recognize the wider literature across multiple fields points towards common characteristics of people displaying service-oriented behaviour. It is one of the central arguments of this article that Schwartz's (1992) value dimension of Self-Transcendence, and in particular, the value constellation of Universalism is this commonality to which Koehler and Rainey (2008) refer.

Furthermore, Koehler and Rainey (2008) suggest that further work akin to that of Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) on identifying subtypes is a strong avenue for further research. Echoing this call, an avenue of potential research is to examine the relationship between the Schwartz (Schwartz 1992, 2012, Schwartz et al. 2012) values and the PSM value clusters associated with Samaritans, Communitarians, Patriots, and Humanitarians (see Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000). This could be a way to test the differing positive associations between individuals' identification with the more detailed breakdown of Universalism (into Universalism-concern, Universalism-tolerance and Universalism-nature) and Benevolence (into Benevolence-dependability and Benevolence-caring). These more refined conceptualizations of Universalism and Benevolence could be then compared against Brewers, Selden and Facers (2000) four self-conceptions of PSM. This work could potentially identify new and hereto unknown cosmological clusters within PSM. One potential cluster could identify groups of individuals who focus on the environmentalism aspects of Universalism-nature and PSM.

Another limitation, and associated area of further research, is the use of the opposite, or opposed, Schwartz (1992) value dimension of Self-Enhancement. Schwartz's (1992) states that the value dimensions form a motivational continuum. The idea of oppositional values on

a circular continuum is a key element of the Schwartz theory which is often overlooked (Schwartz et al. 2012). Therefore, according to Schwartz (1992), emphasis on one dimension or value will necessarily detract from the opposing dimension or value. On this basis a non-monetary motivation item (a rejection of the Power value, which is opposed to Universalism) was included in the five item PSM measure.

While this approach is supported in the literature through the many studies that have associated PSM with intrinsic motivation, rather than extrinsic motivations (e.g. Andrews 2016). However, the use of only one aspect of Self-Enhancement does not fully explore the relationship. Further research could more fully explore the Self-Enhancement dimension to include analysis of Power, Achievement and Hedonism values and their relationship with an individual's PSM and occupational choice.

Furthermore, Schwartz's (2011) paper on the future directions of individual values research states that the Schwartz values are not completely independent. This reflects the circular structure of the values, and that changes to one value reflect the adjacent values, and conversely, reduce the opposite values. Schwartz (2011) refers to supporting laboratory experiments (Maio et al. 2009) and field studies (Bardi et al. 2009) in support of these claims.

These statements have important ramifications for PSM research, as measures designed to enhance and foster PSM (i.e. Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017) would potentially have the opposite effect on the Self-Enhancement dimension, affecting values of Power, Achievement and Hedonism. This value-conflict could be related to the clash of values inherent in the current discourse on the effect of New Public Management and comparison with both traditional and emergent value-based forms of public management.

A third area of potential limitation identified is the overlap and reliance on findings from the PSM literature, paired with the use of Schwartz based value measures and wider

public-service-orientated values. This approach is arguably justifiable, as set out in the earlier discussion and introduction, due to the common underpinning of public values which feature in both concepts. Comparing the concepts of public service values and PSM, Anderson et al. (2013) argue that the concepts are complementary and related but have important differences. PSM is more focused on a person's motivation to be in public service whereas public service values are more concerned with public service as a subset of social, professional, ethical, and other values (Witesman and Walters 2014). In terms of commonality, both PSM and public service values seek to relate to service to the public that goes beyond self-interest (Andersen et al. 2013). Nevertheless, an area that is not disputed is the connection between public values and the concept of PSM, which is central to the origin of the concept as set out by Perry and Wise (1990), and further supported by studies on the antecedents of PSM (Perry 1997; 2000; Homberg and Costello 2019).

Yet, both the public service values and PSM literature are biased towards public employment and public institutions. Despite numerous examples of evidence of PSM across all occupational sectors and cultures, the link to more basic human values of Universalism (Schwartz 1992) are rarely explored (for an exception see Witesman and Walters 2014). To further test the validity of using Universalism as a proxy for PSM, a future empirical study could compare the commonality of the two measures by running a Perry (1996) based PSM scale alongside a Schwartz (1992) based scale to allow a direct comparison of the two measures.

The final avenue for further research is to include an environmental related measure within the PSM proxy. Whilst the relationship between public values and environmentalism and sustainability is consistent with Schwartz's (1992) Universalism value and is further supported by public administration scholars (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014), the use of explicit environmental dimensions is not normally present in PSM

measures (i.e. Perry 1996). These findings are particularly important in the context of the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals and pressing global societal issue of climate change.

The link between public values and Schwartz's (1992) self-transcendent value of Universalism (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014), raises new questions about the presence (in public values research) and absence (in PSM) of explicit environmentalism aspects. Further studies are needed to explore alternative versions of PSM measures, incorporating environmental related items to help identify aspects of public values that relate to the PSM construct and whether their inclusion increases or decreases the explanatory power of PSM scales.

## Chapter 7: Is Environmentalism a Missing 5<sup>th</sup> Universal

### Dimension of Public Service Motivation?

#### Abstract

*Following a systematic review of 323 Public Service Motivation (PSM) articles, a key conclusion of the authors was that ‘In all likelihood public service motivation has additional dimensions and properties.’ (p.422 Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). Separate research into the public values that underpin the PSM concept has revealed close associations between environmentalism, sustainability and public values (Schwartz 1992, 2012; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2009; Witesman and Walters 2014). Therefore, if the values research is correct, it is likely that environmentalism is a good candidate as an additional dimension to PSM. However, the dominant PSM measurement scale (based on Perry 1996) utilised by the majority of PSM researchers (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016) does not include any explicit environmental survey questions. Therefore, the possibility of an environmental dimension has not yet been fully explored. This article presents evidence from a survey of 280 planning and sustainability professionals indicating that environmentalism is a strong candidate for a new 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM. The theoretical and practical ramifications of accepting environmentalism as a new dimension of PSM are explored. Future research directions are presented that consider the relationship between PSM, environmentalism, and the urgent societal challenge of sustainability.*

**Keywords:** Environmentalism, Sustainability, Planning Professionals, Environmental Professionals, Sustainability Professionals, Public Service Motivation.

*‘Sustainability and sustainable development are becoming increasingly critical concepts in the practice of public administration’ (Leuenberger 2006, p.195)*

## 7.1 Introduction

In the introduction to 'The Call of Public Service' Perry and Hondeghem (2008) revisit the first principles of Public Service Motivation (PSM) by asking why we should care about the topic. One of the key reasons given is to understand '*the nature of 'human nature' with respect to rational versus other-regarding motives*' (p.7 Perry and Hondeghem, 2008). In search of these motives, empirical research into PSM over more than two decades has identified four underlying component dimensions; attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest/civic duty, compassion, and self-sacrifice (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 1996, 1997, 2000).

Subsequent researchers have utilised these dimensions repeatedly to construct measurement scales to further our understanding of the antecedents, correlates and consequences of PSM (for a systematic review of PSM research see Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). The recommendations arising from these studies have been utilised to develop a series of recommendations for practitioners, predominantly in the public sector. For example, it is suggested that management practices influence PSM and that attracting high PSM employees improves performance and organizational mission accomplishment. Furthermore, intentionally nurturing PSM fosters greater alignment between employees' values and those of the organization (for a review of PSM recommendations for practice see Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

However, meta reviews of PSM have identified a need to separate PSM from other related concepts such as service motivation, other-directedness, or altruism (Bozeman and Su 2015). A good example of this is provided in Schott et al. (2017) who investigated the differences between PSM, pro-social motivation, altruism and prosocial behaviour. Schott et al. (2017) differentiate PSM from altruism by defining PSM as a form of social altruism as

opposed to general altruistic behaviours such as interpersonal altruism. In response, many PSM scholars have recognised the need to expose, contrast and integrate PSM with other concepts from outside the immediate field (e.g. Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016; Homberg and Vogel 2016; Thompson and Christensen 2018).

In addition to these calls to examine the relationship between PSM and adjacent and related concepts, a second focus of scholarly critique has focused on the suitability and universal applicability of the existing four-dimensional PSM construct. Underlining this point, a systematic review of 323 PSM articles identified that *'In all likelihood public service motivation has additional dimensions and properties.'* (p.422 Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

In particular, international comparisons have revealed evidence of PSM 'variants' in different countries (Horton and Hondeghem, 2006), the importance of national context (Houston, 2011), and the difficulties of translation of concepts (Kim et al., 2013). In their meta-analysis, Harari et al. (2017) acknowledge that the proliferation of international PSM research has raised the issue of variability of meaning across different cultures. Harari et al. (2017) go on to postulate that PSM has different effects on the behaviours and attitudes of workers as a result of cultural characteristics and traditions across different countries, and to explain that these differences limit any efforts at comparative analysis.

These challenges of using a measure derived in the United States for an international comparative study is addressed by Kim et al. (2010) and Houston (2011) who both stress the importance of national context in PSM research. This recurring theme of problems of comparative studies and compatibility are acknowledged in Perry and Vandenabeele's (2015) meta-analytic review of PSM research.

Acknowledging the international and cross-cultural issues set out above, whilst many international studies have been undertaken using variants of the traditional four-dimensional

PSM concept (see Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016), European scholars have identified culturally specific continental values related to public service. Vandenabeele (2008) was the first of these scholars to explore the potential for a 5<sup>th</sup> dimension of PSM based on 'democratic governance' and was followed by additional studies which have sought to identify additional dimensions for particular countries including Spain (Ballart and Riba 2017), Switzerland (Giauque et. al. 2011), Italy (Cerase and Farinaella 2009) and Denmark (Hansen 2009).

A key difference between these previous studies that have looked at a 5<sup>th</sup> or additional dimensions to PSM and this present study is the issue of culturally specific versus a universally applicable nature of the new dimension under study. Whilst it is acknowledged that new dimensions have been proposed previously, these were limited to certain geographies, either at the national level, or pan-cultural level and follow on from scholarship on differences in public service values across, for example, Anglo-Saxon, Napoleonic/Continental European, Germanic, French-speaking and British cultures (Giauque et. al. 2011). The present study seeks to link the proposed new dimension to underlying human drives, values and motivations that are species specific rather than culturally specific, following the work of psychologists and sociologists (Maslow 1969; Hofstede 1980; Goldberg 1990; Schwartz 1992; Ryan and Deci 2000; Lee and Ashton 2004; Hofstede et. al. 2010) looking at universal aspects of human nature and behaviour.

Following the multiple calls for integration with outside concepts and re-examination of the individual dimensions of PSM, the primary purpose of this article is to integrate environmental values into the PSM scholarship by proposing environmentalism as a new 5<sup>th</sup> universally applicable dimension of the PSM construct. Evidence supporting the integration of environmentalism with PSM is achieved through a combination of supporting literature alongside novel data collected using a modified PSM scale to sample environment, planning

and sustainability professionals. The results provide insights to managers and researchers into the motivation of environmental and sustainability professionals and reveals a proposed new environmental facet of the PSM concept.

## 7.2 Theoretical Framework

The concept of PSM as put forward by Perry and Wise (1990) was originally prompted by political leaders '*calling for a recommitment of Americans to the values associated with public service*' (p.367, Perry and Wise 1990). To attempt to unpack the different motivations that may lead civil servants to this commitment to public service, Perry and Wise (1990), following Knoke and Wright-Isak (1982), identified three types of underlying motivational causes with regard to public service; rational, affective, and normative motivations.

In terms of definition, Perry and Wise first defined PSM as '*an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations*' (p.368, Perry and Wise 1990). Later scholars have redefined PSM as '*the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful...public, community and social service*' (p.417, Brewer and Seldon 1998) the '*general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind*' (p.20, Rainey and Steinbauer 1999) and '*the belief, values, and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organisational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate*' (p547. Vandenabeele 2007).

A key feature of these definitions which separates the concept from more general other-regarding, pro-social or altruistic motivation is their anthropocentric and social focus revealed by their choice of language; institutions and organisations (Perry and Wise 1990), community and social service (Brewer and Seldom 1998), communities, states, nations and humankind (Rainey and Steinbauer 1999), and political entities (Vandenabeele 2007). These

additional anthropocentric, social, society-focused, elements are specific to the field of public administration.

Given the acknowledgement above that PSM is based on more fundamental human values around service motivation, other-directedness, or altruism (Bozeman and Su 2015), it is pertinent to investigate the wider research into general human values. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century a group of scholars have investigated, and sought to measure, the values of individuals and cultures (i.e. Rokeach 1967, 1973; Inglehart 1971; Hofstede 1980, 1991; Schwartz 1992). Regarding individual values, the early leading work of Rokeach (Rokeach Value Survey 1967, 1973) was built upon by Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) and improved by Schwartz (1992, 1994, 1996; 2012; Schwartz et al. 2012), who developed the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) and Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) based the Schwartz Theory of Values (1992).

Schwartz defines values as separate to traits, behaviours or attitudes and accords values the following properties; *'values are beliefs; values refer to desirable goals, values transcend specific actions and situations, values serve as standards or criteria, values are ordered by importance, and the relative importance of multiple values guides actions.'* (p.3-4 Schwartz 2012). The core findings from Schwartz's (1992) original work is the definition of 10 basic values; Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, Power, Security, Conformity, Tradition, Benevolence, and Universalism.

Public administration scholars have subsequently linked (see Witesman and Walters 2014) the concept of public values with the broader research on values based on Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Human Values. The aim of Schwartz's research lends itself well to the study of PSM and public administration, as it seeks to help explain the underlying relationship between values and *'the attitudes and behaviour of individuals and the functioning of organizations, institutions, and societies'* (Schwartz et al. 2001). The aims

stated by Schwartz are similar in nature to the key three aims of PSM research set out by Perry and Hondeghem (2008) to investigate; ‘1) *The nature of ‘human nature’*: rational versus other-regarding factors; 2). *Appropriate organisational incentive systems: individualized versus collective incentive structures; and 3). Responsive institutional designs: new public management versus collective designs.*’ (p.7 Perry and Hondeghem 2008). The key difference being that Schwartz set out to develop a comprehensive and globally applicable theory of human values, whereas PSM research is focused on understanding, in more detail, one particular aspect of human nature, concerning other-regarding and intrinsic motivation to serve the public good.

In terms of linking the Schwartz value of Universalism with public values, although the work of Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) identifies an inventory of public values which has clear overlap in terms of constituent items with Universalism, their paper does not explicitly reference Schwartz. Whereas, Witesman and Walters (2014) do explicitly link public values with the Schwartz value of Universalism and draws heavily in the earlier work by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2009).

However, whilst Witesman and Walters (2014) specifically integrate the public values research within the Schwartz framework (1992), their paper does not reference the later work of Schwartz et al. (2012) which further subdivides the values of Universalism into three Universalism value dimensions of tolerance (Universalism-tolerance), societal concern (Universalism-concern), and protecting nature (Universalism-nature). Interestingly, Witesman and Walters work does identify three parts to Universalism, however they subdivide the value into the categories of Universalism, Equity and Group interest (see p. 380 Table 1 in Witesman and Walters 2014). Drawing on Schwartz et al (2012), Witesman and Walters (2014) and Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007), in **Table 7.1** below the subdivisions of Universalism are incorporated to set the context for the later hypotheses.

As shown in **Table 7.1**, environmental values are a fundamental component of Schwartz’s original conception of Universalism, which is defined by Schwartz as ‘understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.’ (p.7 Schwartz 2012). The original inclusion of environmental items that formed part of the constellation of Universal values included; ‘a world of beauty, unity with nature, and protecting the environment’ (Schwartz 1992). In the refinement of the theory in Schwartz et al (2012) Environmentalism becomes further defined in the value ‘Universalism-nature’.

An early indicator of the potential link between PSM and environmentalists can be found in Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) who cite a survey of Environmental Protection Agency employees reporting ‘much stronger desire to have an impact on public affairs than other federal employees (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1987, 9–10).’ (p262 in Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000). Further investigation reveals more evidence of links between environmentalism and the PSM dimension of compassion.

**Table 7.1** Public Values, Environmentalism and Universalism

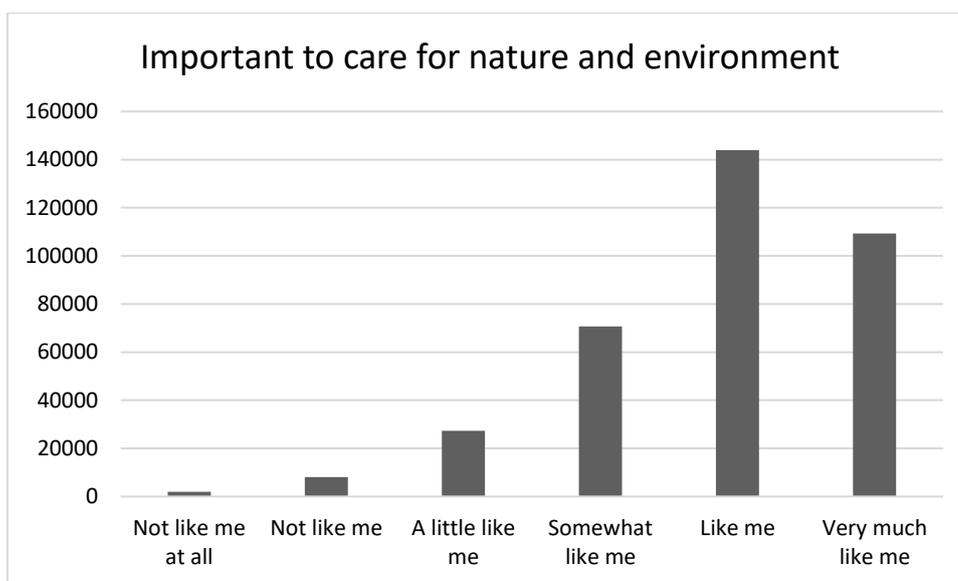
Value	Theoretical Value Goals	Operational Value Goals	Link to Public Values	Value Indicators
Universalism <sup>1</sup>	Universalism: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature <sup>1</sup>	Promoting the welfare of society as a whole <sup>2</sup>  Promoting the welfare of nature and the environment <sup>5</sup>	Altruism <sup>1</sup> Public interest <sup>3</sup> Human dignity <sup>3</sup> Sustainability <sup>3</sup> Common good <sup>3</sup> Social cohesion <sup>3</sup>	Broadminded <sup>5</sup> , Social justice <sup>5</sup> , Equality <sup>5</sup> , World at peace <sup>5</sup> , World of beauty <sup>5</sup> , Unity with nature <sup>5</sup> , Wisdom <sup>5</sup> , Protecting the environment <sup>5</sup> , Inner harmony <sup>5</sup> , A spiritual life <sup>5</sup>
Universalism-concern <sup>4</sup>	Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people <sup>4</sup>  Equity: Support of systems and actions that promote fairness	Distributing social benefits without discrimination or favouritism <sup>2</sup>	Balancing of interests <sup>3</sup> Equal treatment <sup>1,3</sup> Justice <sup>3</sup> Protection of rights of the individual <sup>3</sup> Social justice <sup>1</sup>	Protection of society’s weak and vulnerable members <sup>4</sup> Equal opportunities in life for all people <sup>4</sup> Justice for all people <sup>4</sup>

Value	Theoretical Value Goals	Operational Value Goals	Link to Public Values	Value Indicators
	and equality for individuals and groups <sup>2</sup>		Equity <sup>3</sup> Fairness <sup>3</sup> Vertical Equity <sup>2</sup>	
Universalism-tolerance <sup>4</sup>	Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself <sup>4</sup>  Group interest: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of subsets of people <sup>2</sup>	Promoting the welfare of a group or segment of all people <sup>2</sup>	Horizontal equity <sup>2</sup> Protection of minorities <sup>3</sup> Voice of the future <sup>3</sup> Protection of the majority <sup>2</sup> Stakeholder or shareholder value <sup>3</sup>	Harmony and peace between diverse groups <sup>4</sup> Acceptance of different people and groups <sup>4</sup> Understanding different views <sup>4</sup>
Universalism-nature <sup>4</sup>	Preservation of the natural environment <sup>4</sup>	Promoting the welfare of nature and the environment <sup>5</sup>	Altruism <sup>1</sup> Public interest <sup>3</sup> Sustainability <sup>3</sup> Common good <sup>3</sup>	Cares deeply for nature <sup>4</sup> Works against threats to the world of nature <sup>4</sup> Protects the natural environment from destruction or pollution <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schwartz (1992) <sup>2</sup> Witesman and Walters (2014) <sup>3</sup> Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) <sup>4</sup> Schwartz et al. (2012)  
<sup>5</sup> Schwartz (2012)

According to one early empirical study in the 1980’s environmentalists exhibit higher than normal compassion towards those outside their immediate circle of friends and family, displaying a more generalised compassion to people and individuals in remote countries, future generations and to other species (Milbrath, 1984). This empirical study supports the theoretical work of authors such as Naess (1987) and Fox’s (1990) work on Transpersonal Ecology which stresses the ‘identification with others’ as a key psychological aspect of Deep Ecology (Naess 1973). Therefore, compassion and other-regarding values appear to be central to both environmentalism and PSM.

Another study linking other-regarding values with environmentalists is the work of Schultz and Zelezny (1999) who undertook an international survey which tested respondent’s environmental values and Schwartz’s values. The findings from this comparative research identified strong positive associations between environmentalists and the value of Universalism. The study by Schultz and Zelezny (1999) also showed environmentalists to be strongly negatively associated with the value of Power and to a lesser extent Tradition. In line with Schwartz’s theory about the circular nature of values, Power lies opposite Universalism in Schwartz’s circular diagram. Schwartz (1994) associates Power values with authority, wealth and self-enhancement and the goal of power is defined as ‘*social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources*’ (p.5 Schwartz 2012).



**Figure 7.1** Environmental Values in the European Public (ESS 2002-2016)

More recent data indicates how widespread environmentalism is held as a value by the general public, as shown by **Figure 7.1** which uses the European Social Survey (ESS) using data from 8 rounds between 2002 and 2016. The data shows that for the 326,179 respondents to the question it is ‘Important to care for nature and environment’ a total of 89.67% rated it between ‘somewhat like me’ and ‘very much like me’ and 70.11% rated it as ‘like me’ or ‘very much like me’. Therefore, we can say that caring for nature and the

environment is a normative position in the European public. This European evidence supports earlier findings in the United States which found 80% of respondents identified themselves as ‘environmentalists’ (Gutfeld, 1991) and in another study 72% agreed that ‘environmental problems are urgent’ (Milbrath, 1985). Therefore, it logically follows that if the public value the environment, then the environment should be a public value, and those that purport to serve the public interest, should also serve the environment.

### **7.3 Research Hypotheses**

In the preceding discussion the theoretical links between environmentalism and public values were examined (Schwartz 1992, 2012; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2009; Witesman and Walters 2014). To test the hypothesised relationship, four separate hypotheses are put forward to explore the inclusion of environmentalism as a 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM.

Based on the theory set out in the preceding discussion, the following hypotheses seek to explore how the addition of environmental variant items to a PSM measurement scale based on traditional PSM items will affect the scale reliability and model fit. Whilst Schwartz’s theory suggests that both PSM and environmentalism are underpinned by the more basic human value of Universalism, it is unknown how environmentalism is expressed within people with PSM and the exact nature of its relationship with the other dimensions of PSM.

From the literature review conducted, three potential possibilities were initially identified. As the research is exploratory in nature, all three potential scenarios were tested, each of which was hypothesised to be potentially supported, in order to establish which, if any, were confirmed through the statistical analysis. The first potential outcome that was tested was the extent to which environmentalism can be identified as a separate dimension

within the larger multi-dimensional construct of PSM, i.e. as a 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension to the traditional four-dimensional model.

*Hypothesis 1: A five-factor model of PSM, including a 5<sup>th</sup> dimension of environmentalism, will have good model fit.*

The second potential that was investigated was to establish if, rather than a separate dimension, the environmental elements fit better when embedded into the existing four-dimensional structure, i.e. environmentalism can be seen to be another form of expression of existing dimensions of commitment to public interest, attraction to public policy making, self-sacrifice and compassion.

*Hypothesis 2: A four-factor model of PSM including environmental variants of traditional PSM items will have good model fit.*

The third theoretical potential is based on the assumption that PSM is an expression of the wider human value of Universalism. On this basis it is predicted that a three-dimensional model, following the tripartite structure of Schwarz's (2012) Universalism into three value dimensions of tolerance (Universalism-tolerance), societal concern (Universalism-concern), and protecting nature (Universalism-nature) would have a better model fit.

*Hypothesis 3: A three-factor model of PSM divided into dimensions of tolerance, societal concern and environmental protection will have a good model fit.*

The final hypothesis, based on the theory that environmentalism is part of the same value 'family' as public service values, namely Universalism (Schwartz 1992, 2012), suggests that people who hold environmental values are likely to also hold wider public values associated with PSM. Following the hypothesised relationship between PSM and

environmental values, the final hypothesis predicts that environmental and sustainability professionals will demonstrate high PSM, using the traditional PSM items alone.

*Hypothesis 4: Environmental and sustainability professionals will have high levels of 'traditional' PSM.*

## 7.4 Research Design

To test the relationship between PSM and environmentalism it was necessary to develop a scale which could test the traditional PSM items, alongside new environmental variant items. Therefore, in addition to testing a traditional PSM scale, new items were introduced that seek to measure environmental themed aspects of each of the four PSM dimensions, to test 1). Attraction to *Environmental Policy*, 2). Commitment to Public *Environmental Interest*, 3). Self-Sacrifice for the *Environment*, and 4) *Environmental Compassion*.

To select the traditional scale items a review of the PSM literature was undertaken. Initially a detailed analysis of a range of previous PSM related surveys was undertaken by looking at individual scale items and demographic control items used by scholars (Perry 1996, Perry 1997, Pandey and Moynihan 2007, Vandenabeele 2008, Duffy and Raque-Bogdan 2010, Kim 2011, Houston 2011, and Andersen and Pedersen 2012.)

To test the hypotheses, the review identified a 10-item PSM (ATPx2 CPIx2, SSx3, SCOMx3) scale drawing on Perry (1996) and Kim (2011) to include all four dimensions, as shown below in **Table 7.2**. These items are typical of PSM surveys and have been tested by multiple researchers.

**Table 7.2** Survey Items

<b>PSM Dimensions</b>	<b>Item</b>	<b>Source</b>
Attraction to Public Policy Making (ATP1)	Sharing my views on public policies with others is attractive to me	Kim 2011
Attraction to Public Policy Making (ATP2)	Seeing people get benefits from the public programme or project I have been involved in brings me a feeling of satisfaction	Adapted from Kim 2011
Commitment to Public Interest (CPI1)	Meaningful public service is very important to me	Perry 1996
Commitment to Public Interest (CPI2)	I voluntarily and unselfishly contribute to my community	Perry 1996
Self-Sacrifice (SS1)	I feel people should give back more to society more than they get from it	Perry 1996
Self-Sacrifice (SS2)	Making a positive difference in the world means more to me than personal achievements	Adapted from Perry 1996
Self-Sacrifice (SS3)	Much of what I do is for a cause bigger than myself	Perry 1996
Social Compassion (SCOM1)	I am rarely moved by the plight of the underprivileged (r)	Perry 1996
Social Compassion (SCOM2)	I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves (r)	Perry 1996
Social Compassion (SCOM3)	To me, helping people who are in trouble is very important	Kim 2011
Attraction to Environmental Public Policy Making (ATPe)	I am interested in getting involved in public programmes or projects that are beneficial to the environment.	Adapted from Kim 2011
Commitment to Public Environmental Interest (CPIe)	I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the environment even if it harmed my interests	Adapted from Perry 1996
Self-Sacrifice for Environment (SSe)	I am not prepared to make personal sacrifices for the good of the environment (r)	Adapted from Perry 1996
Environmental Compassion (ECOM1)	I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on our environment and natural systems	New item
Environmental Compassion (ECOM2)	I do not think it is a major cause for concern if some species become extinct or habitats are damaged. (r)	New item
Environmental Compassion (ECOM3)	To me, protecting biodiversity for future generations is not a priority (r)	New item

To test Hypotheses 1 to 3, environmental variants of traditional PSM items were developed to create an environmental themed item for Attraction to Public Policy Making (ATPe), Commitment to Public Interest (CPIe), and Self-Sacrifice (SSe). Furthermore, three new items exploring the concept of Environmental Compassion were included (ECOMx3), in

the subsequent discussion the traditional PSM dimension of Compassion, is labelled Social Compassion to differentiate it from the environmental variant.

In total, the 16-item scale consisted of an extended PSM scale with additional environmental orientated questions. Respondents were able to rate the answers to each survey item question using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Agree) to 5 (Strongly Disagree). Similar to the review process completed for the PSM scale items, a review of demographic controls utilised by previous researchers identified; age, gender, education, professional membership, nationality, employment sector, occupation and experience within role, which were utilised within the survey to allow these factors to be controlled and tested within the subsequent analysis.

The sample data was prepared in IBM SPSS 24 and AMOS 26 for analysis using a series of statistical method including reliability tests, binary logistic regression, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Hypotheses 1 to 3 were tested primarily through the use of EFA and CFA and then compared through a variety of recommended indexes of model fitness (Byrne 2012; Kline 2010; 2011). Hypothesis 4 was tested primarily through the 10-item ‘traditional’ PSM scale items using binary logistic regression to establish the effect of occupation and other variables on the odds of being in the high PSM group within the sample.

#### 7.4.1 Sample Data

The survey was administered using an online survey which was circulated via professional social networks for planning, environment and sustainability professionals between January and March of 2018. A total of 280 completed forms were returned electronically.

**Table 7.3** Sample Characteristics

<b>Total number of respondents</b>		<b>280</b>	<b>100%</b>
Public Service Motivation <sup>1</sup>	High	133	47.5%
	Low	147	52.5%

Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism

Gender	Male	149	53.2%
	Female	129	46.1%
Age	18-25	12	4.3%
	26-35	62	22.1%
	36-45	70	25.0%
	46-55	66	23.6%
	56-65	53	18.9%
	66-75	13	4.6%
	76-85	2	0.7%
Education	School	2	0.7%
	Higher College	4	1.4%
	Bachelor's degree (undergraduate)	67	23.9%
	Master's degree (postgraduate)	171	61.1%
	PhD or equivalent	31	11.1%
Professional Experience	0-5 years	65	23.2%
	6 – 10 years	43	15.4%
	11 – 15 years	45	16.1%
	16 – 20 years	38	13.6%
	21 – 25 years	25	8.9%
	26 – 30 years	36	12.9%
	31 – 35 years	10	3.6%
	36 – 40 years	12	4.3%
Member of Professional Institute	41+ years	5	1.8%
	Yes	168	60.0%
	No	112	40.0%
Sector of Employment	Private	186	66.4%
	Public	62	22.1%
	Not for Profit	26	9.3%
Occupation by Professional Self Conception <sup>4</sup>	Sustainability Professional	128	45.7%
	Environmental Professional	216	77.1%
	Environmentalist	108	38.6%
	Planner	81	28.9%
	Not Environmental or Sustainability	28	10.0%
Geographic Region	Africa	13	4.64%
	Asia	9	3.21%
	Australasia	11	3.93%
	Canada	15	5.36%
	Central American and Caribbean	4	1.43%
	Europe	22	7.86%
	International	17	6.07%
	Middle East	3	1.07%
	NA	15	5.36%
	South America	2	0.71%
	United Kingdom	132	47.14%
	United States of America	37	13.21%

<sup>1</sup> PSM based on traditional PSM scale using 10 items (ATPx2, CPIx2, SSx3 COMx3) High PSM is calculated as a mean of 2 or less across the 10 items on a 5-point Likert scale.

**Table 7.3** provides summary statistics for the sample. The sample had a reasonable gender balance and a broad age range across the occupational groups. However, as expected for a survey of professionals, the sample was highly educated, with 96.1% holding university degrees. 60% of the sample were members of professional institutes. The largest group of respondents were from the United Kingdom (47%) followed by the North America (19%). The remaining 34% worked in a wide variety of locations. In total, professionals with experience from 50 different countries were represented in the sample (many respondents work in more than one country). In terms of sector of employment, the sample covered a range of private (N182), public (N62), and not for profit (N26) employees along with some self-employed (N4), academic (N2) and retired respondents (N2).

#### 7.4.2 Scale Validity and Composition

The purpose of the study is exploratory in nature and has not been designed as a comprehensive new scale development and scale validation exercise. As the core traditional PSM items have been tested and validated by multiple previous researchers, there is a high level of confidence on the traditional items. However, before assessing the sample, it was important to first undertake some initial checks on the validity and composition of the dependant variable scale as it is based on a combination of traditional PSM and new environmental variant items. Therefore, following Perry (1996), descriptive statistics were computed for individual items to examine individual item reliability and normality. The descriptive statistics are presented in **Table 7.4**.

**Table 7.4** Individual Item Descriptive Statistics

Item	Mean	ITC*
ATP1	2.389 (1.037)	0.392
ATP2	1.596 (0.670)	0.507
CPI1	2.082 (0.873)	0.589
CPI2	2.432 (0.985)	0.498
SS1	2.060 (0.838)	0.350
SS2	1.950 (0.823)	0.478

SS3	2.160 (0.927)	0.480
SCOM1	1.964 (0.993)	0.314
SCOM2	2.632 (1.072)	0.315
SCOM3	1.871 (0.853)	0.609
ATPe	1.728 (0.815)	0.340
CPIe	1.910 (0.822)	0.291
SSe	1.832 (0.925)	0.318
ECOM1	1.557 (0.700)	0.299
ECOM2	1.446 (0.925)	0.267
ECOM3	1.417 (0.846)	0.338

\* Item-Total Correlation within scale. Standard Deviation in brackets after Mean. The Cronbach Alpha for the combined 16-item scale was calculated as 0.801, which is considered good.

Based on inspection of these results, the items indicated acceptable item correlation, with all values above the recommended minimum threshold of 0.25 (after Perry 1996).

Reliability and normality tests were also run to determine Skewness and Kurtosis, as normal distribution is a key assumption for structural equation modelling and statistical analysis (Hair Jr et al. 2010). As shown in **Table 7.5**, none of the items showed a skew or kurtosis value greater than the cut-offs of 3 or 10 recommended by the Kline (2011) nor the cuts-offs of 3 or 8 utilised by Kim et al. (2013).

**Table 7.5** All Item Normality and Reliability Statistics

Item	Mean	Item-Total Correlation	Skewness	Kurtosis
ATP1	2.389 (1.037)	0.382	0.560	0.026
ATP2	1.596 (0.670)	0.516	0.973	0.959
CPI1	2.082 (0.873)	0.566	0.521	-0.204
CPI2	2.432 (0.985)	0.454	0.247	-0.493
SS1	2.060 (0.838)	0.382	0.290	-0.530
SS2	1.950 (0.823)	0.467	0.558	-0.070
SS3	2.160 (0.927)	0.479	0.355	-0.636
SCOM1	1.964 (0.993)	0.341	1.042	0.848
SCOM2	2.632 (1.072)	0.293	0.355	-0.424
SCOM3	1.871 (0.853)	0.588	0.981	1.094
ATPe	1.728 (0.815)	0.543	0.977	0.399
CPIe	1.910 (0.822)	0.287	0.984	1.641
SSe	1.832 (0.925)	0.323	1.323	1.842
ECOM1	1.557 (0.700)	0.254	1.304	2.252
ECOM2	1.446 (0.925)	0.231	2.273	4.588
ECOM3	1.417 (0.846)	0.284	2.613	7.246

\* SD in brackets after Mean.

## 7.5 Analysis and Results of Hypotheses 1 to 3

To test the first three hypotheses, the analysis begins with an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to determine if the data aligns into clear factors, and to examine the item composition of those factors in relationship to the hypothesized multi-dimensional PSM constructs.

### 7.5.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

An EFA was undertaken to see if the 16-item scale identified multiple factors within the analysis. The factor analysis was undertaken using IBM SPSS24, using principal axis factoring as the extraction method and Oblimin with Kaiser Normalisation for rotation. The analysis included a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (0.828) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (Sig. 0.000) which indicated that a factor analysis was an appropriate method for use with the data.

The exploratory factor analysis identified three key factors with eigenvalues above 1.25, as show below in **Table 7.6** and **Figure 7.2**.

**Table 7.6** Exploratory Factor Analysis – Total Variance Explained

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	4.331	27.068	27.068	3.693	23.079	23.079
2	1.500	9.373	36.442	.836	5.226	28.305
3	1.333	8.329	44.771	.624	3.901	32.206

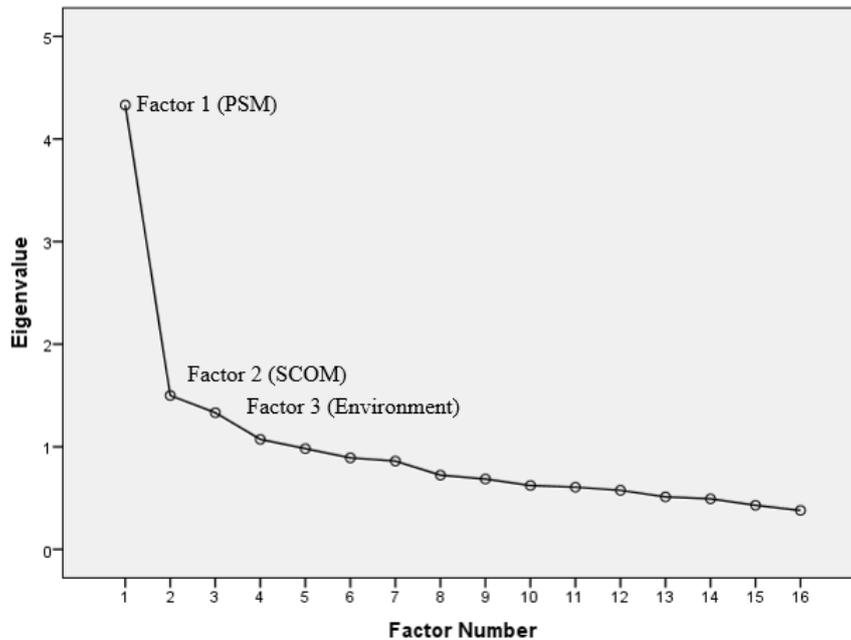
**Table 7.6** indicated that the first factor represented 27% of the variance within the sample. A further two factors were identified with larger eigenvalues, taken together, these three factors cumulatively represented 44.7% of the total variance within the sample.

**Table 7.7** Exploratory Factor Analysis – Pattern Matrix

Item	Factor		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Sharing my views on public policies with others is attractive to me (ATP1)	.436		
Seeing people get benefits from the public programme or project I have been involved in brings me a feeling of satisfaction (ATP2)			
Meaningful public service is very important to me (CPI1)	.697		
I voluntarily and unselfishly contribute to my community (CPI2)	.619		
I feel people should give back more to society more than they get from it (SS1)	.440		
Making a positive difference in the world means more to me than personal achievements (SS2)	.632		
Much of what I do is for a cause bigger than myself (SS3)	.433		
I am rarely moved by the plight of the underprivileged (R) (SCOM1)		.501	
I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves (R) (SCOM2)		.634	
To me, helping people who are in trouble is very important (SCOM3)	.487	.360	
I am interested in getting involved in public programmes or projects that are beneficial to the environment. (ATPe)	.599		
I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the environment even if it harmed my interests (CPIe)	.413		
I am not prepared to make personal sacrifices for the good of the environment (R) (SSe)			.341
I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on our environment and natural systems (ECOM1)			
I do not think it is a major cause for concern if some species become extinct or habitats are damaged. (R) (ECOM2)			.502
To me, protecting biodiversity for future generations is not a priority (R) (ECOM3)			.515

R: Reversed. Extraction Method: Principal Factor. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalisation. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy 0.828. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity Sig 0.000.

The EFA results using a pattern matrix indicated three key factors, as shown in **Table 7.7**, with Factor 1 containing the majority of the traditional PSM measures for ATP, CPI and SS. However, Factor 1 did not include ATP2, SCOM 1 or SCOM2 and also included the ATPe and CPIe items, indicating the environmental nature of these items did not detract from the ATP or CPI element. For the purpose of subsequent discussion this first factor could be described as the 'PSM Factor'.



**Figure 7.2** Scree Plot of EFA Eigenvalues Identifying Principal Factors

Factor 2 consisted of all three SCOM items and so could also be referred to as the ‘Social Compassion Factor’. The third factor consisted of three environmental items SSe, ECOM2 and ECOM 3. The third factor also loaded on ECOM1 and CPIe, however these latter correlations were less than the value of 0.3 which was used as a cut-off for the factor identification to aid clarity of factor identification, and so have not been reported in **Table 7.7**. The third factor was therefore labelled the ‘Environmental Factor’.

### 7.5.2 Discussion of EFA Results

Hypothesis 1 predicted the emergence of a five-factor model with environmentalism as a separate dimension alongside the traditional four dimensions. The exploratory factor analysis identified a three-factor model, with ATP, CPI and SS combined into one dimension, and separate dimensions emerging for SCOM and ECOM. While the EFA gave some tentative support to Hypothesis 1, in terms of the ECOM aspects representing a potential separate dimension, the situation is made less clear by the inclusion of two of the environmental variants ATPe and CPIe in the PSM factor, which relates to Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the model would identify a four-factor model with the environmental variants aligning with their counterparts within the traditional dimensions, i.e. ATPe would sit within a factor with ATP1 and ATP2, and that CPIe would sit within a factor that loaded on CPI1 and CPI2. The EFA provide some qualified support for this hypothesis, with ATPe and CPIe both aligning with the rest of the CPI and ATP items. However, the expected four-factor model following the four-dimensional PSM construct did not emerge from the EFA, instead the factors split into three factors along the lines of ATP-CPI-SS, SCOM and ECOM.

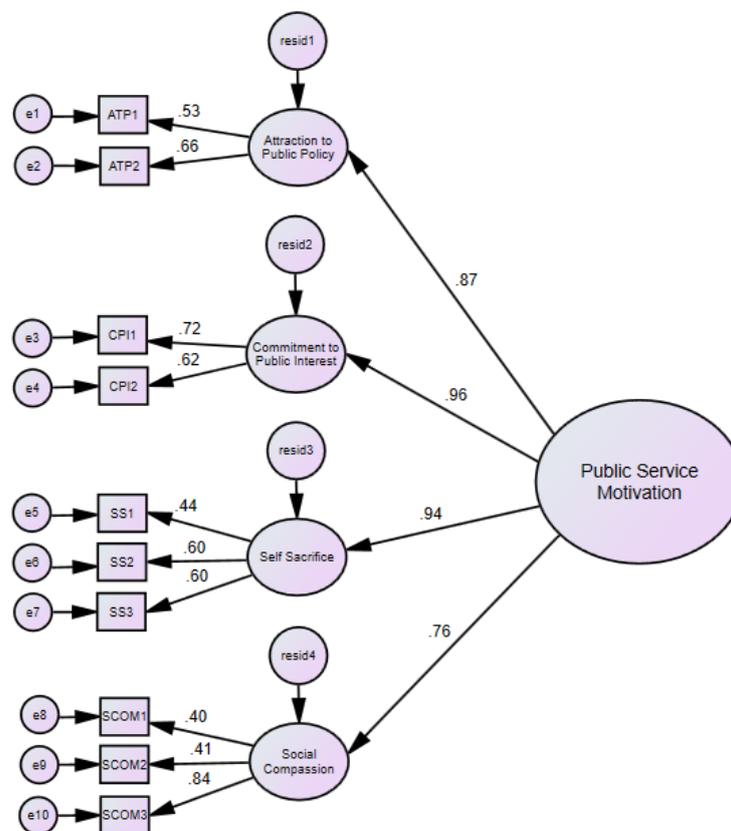
The three-factor split suggested by the EFA aligns most closely with Hypothesis 3, which theorized a tripartite structure based on the Universalism dimensions of tolerance, societal concern and environmental protection. The EFA therefore provided tentative support for Hypothesis 3. To explore the initial findings from the EFA and to continue the examination of the hypotheses, further testing with confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was next used to analyse the nature of these relationships under a range of model configurations.

### **7.5.3 Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)**

Following the identification of three potential factors within the data from the sample, CFA was undertaken using structural equation modelling to measure the 10-item traditional PSM items, as well as the new factors identified through the hypothesized relationships and preceding EFA of the 16-item scale.

Structural equation modeling was undertaken using IBM SPSS Amos 26 to test the hypothesized constructs and relationships. A total of 4 models were assessed. **Model A** seeks to test the validity of the 10-item traditional four-dimensional model in order to underpin the binary logistic regression carried out to test Hypothesis 4 and provide a benchmark model fit for comparison purpose with the subsequent models which provide alternative PSM construct variants. **Model B** tests Hypothesis 1 using a five-dimensional model based on the addition of

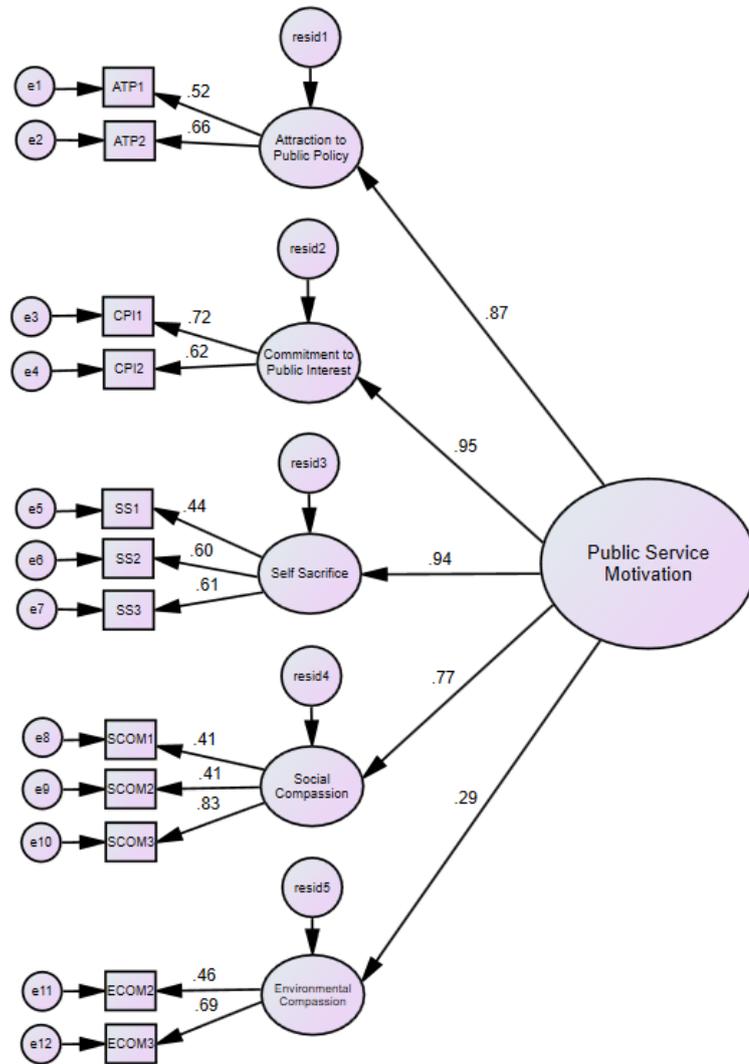
a 5<sup>th</sup> environmental dimension to the traditional four-dimensional PSM construct. **Model C** seeks to test Hypothesis 2 by creating a traditional four-dimensional PSM construct but with the inclusion of the environmental variants of the traditional items. Finally, **Model D** seeks to test Hypothesis 3 by exploring a three-dimensional model based on Schwartz’s three Universalism dimensions. **Figure 7.3** below provides **Model A** which utilises the structure of the traditional four-dimensional model of PSM using only the 10 PSM items and presents the standardised values.



**Figure 7.3** Model A: 10 Item Four-Dimensional ‘Traditional’ PSM Model

The confirmatory factor analysis for **Model A** shows that this model has good fit indices, as would be expected based on the literature, with Tucker Lewis Index (TLI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), CMIN/DF and Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) all above recommended thresholds. These results

indicated that the traditional 10-item PSM model used for the survey was sufficiently robust for use to test Hypothesis 4 regarding the levels of PSM within environmental and sustainability professionals.

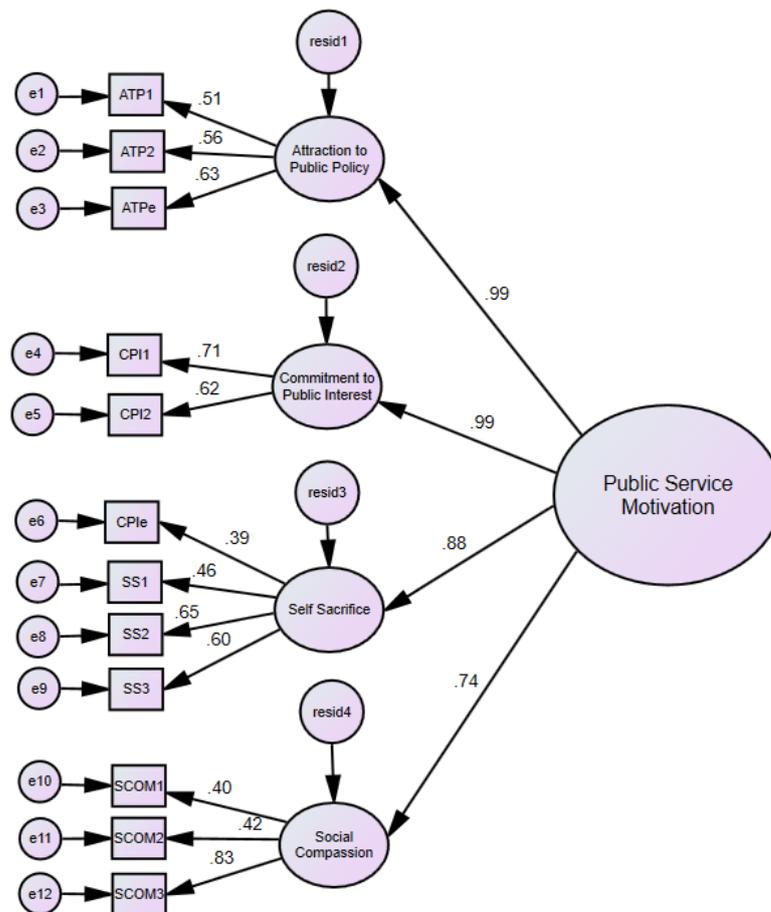


**Figure 7.4** Model B: 12 Item Five-Dimensional ‘Environmental’ Variant PSM Model

The next model tested was designed to answer Hypothesis 1 concerning the existence of a potential 5<sup>th</sup> environmental dimension to the PSM multi-dimensional construct. In **Model B**, ATPe and CPIe items were excluded as they were already identified as loading with the other ATP and CPI items and it was important to identify any evidence of a distinct environmental dimension. Therefore, a variety of potential model variants were run to test

different compositions. The final model selected to test Hypothesis 1 is shown in **Figure 7.4** which adds two Environmental items to the previous model to create a five-dimensional construct.

Hypothesis 1 proposed that a five-dimensional model, as shown in **Model B**, would have a good model fit. If there was no relationship between environmental values and PSM then it would be expected that the inclusion of an environmental dimension would have a negative effect on the model fit. The confirmatory factor analysis for **Model B** confirmed that the model has acceptable fit indices, with CFI, RMSEA, CMIN/DF above acceptable thresholds and TLI and GFI just marginally below recommended thresholds. On this basis the findings from the CFA indicated initial support for Hypothesis 1.

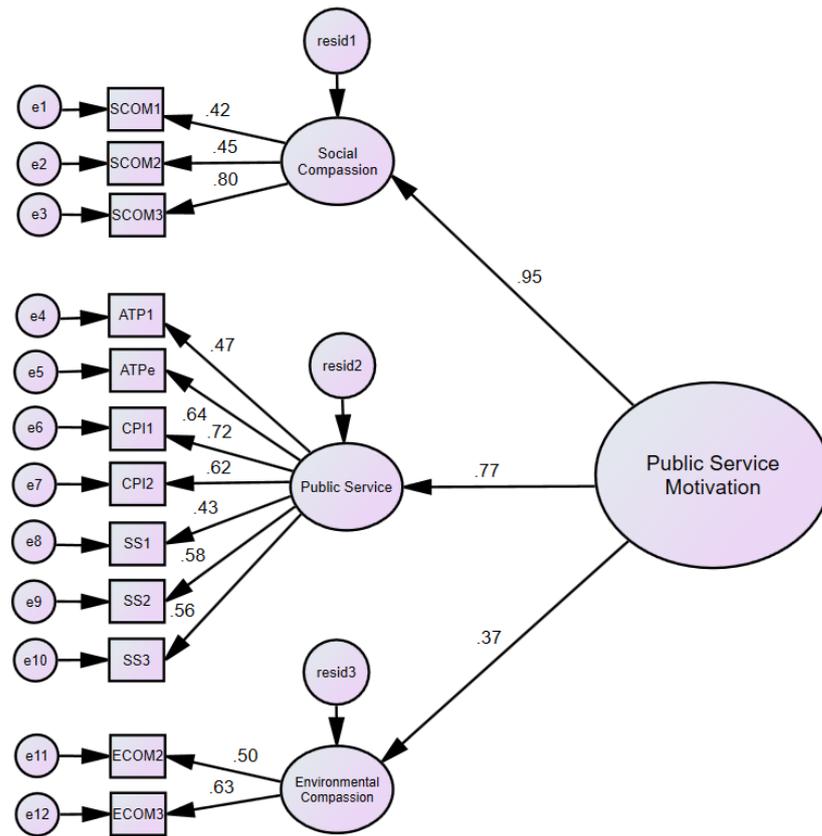


**Figure 7.5** Model C: 12 Item Four-Dimensional 'Environmental' Variant PSM Model

In **Model C**, Hypothesis 2 was tested to explore how the environmental variants of the traditional items would integrate into a revised four-dimensional model. A variety of different models were run using different item combinations. The model fit was not acceptable when all six environmental variant items were merged with the traditional PSM items in a four-dimensional model, i.e. with ATP+ATPe, CPI+CPIe, SS+SSe and SCOM+ECOM. However, this was not an unexpected result as the EFA had already indicated a separation of the ECOM items as a distinct factor.

Furthermore, the EFA had indicated that ATPe and CPIe were potentially aligned to the traditional PSM items. Therefore, the final model presented as **Model C** incorporates ATPe with the ATP items, and aligns CPIe along with the SS items, where the model indicated it had a better fit than with the CPI items. As an exploratory attempt to introduce variant items to an existing scale it is again not unexpected that some of the question formulations may align to different dimensions than intended, and this is not uncommon in scale development. The confirmatory factor analysis for the final **Model C** confirmed that the model has acceptable fit indices, with TLI, CFI, RMSEA, CMIN/DF and GFI all above acceptable thresholds. On this basis the findings from the CFA indicated initial support for Hypothesis 2.

In **Model D**, a further combination of items and dimensions were explored based on the three-part structure of Schwartz's value of Universalism. For this final model, the EFA provided a good guide to the division of the items into three factors and this was used to test a variety of models in a three-dimensional structure in line with the theory. The final item selection presented in **Model D**, as show in **Figure 7.6**, includes a Social Compassion dimension using the SCOM items, to represent Universalism-concern, a combination of ATP, CPI and SS items to represent the Universalism-tolerance construct, and two ECOM items to represent Universalism-nature.



**Figure 7.6** Model D: 12 Item Three-Dimensional ‘Schwartz’ Variant PSM Model

The confirmatory factor analysis for **Model D** confirmed that the model has acceptable fit indices, with TLI, CFI, RMSEA, CMIN/DF and GFI all above acceptable thresholds. On this basis the findings from the CFA indicated initial support for Hypothesis 3.

#### 7.5.4 Discussion of CFA Results

The earlier discussion identified four exploratory hypotheses, each of which sought to explore a different potential manner in which the theorised link between PSM and environmental values could be established and analysed. **Table 7.8** provides the statistical tests demonstrating goodness of fit and statistical significance for all four models.

**Table 7.8** CFA Model Statistics

Model	Item/ Dimensions	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	CMIN/DF	GFI	Chi <sup>2</sup> (Sig)
A	10 Items in 4 Dimensions.	<b>.925</b>	<b>.948</b>	<u>.058</u>	1.927	<b>.962</b>	<b>.001</b>
B	12 Items in 5 Dimensions.	.894	<b>.922</b>	<u>.059</u>	1.975	.946	<b>.000</b>
C	12 Items in 4 Dimensions	<b>.927</b>	<b>.944</b>	<u>.053</u>	1.772	<b>.952</b>	<b>.001</b>
D	12 Items in 3 Dimensions	<b>.930</b>	<b>.946</b>	<u>.048</u>	1.653	<b>.954</b>	<b>.002</b>

\*\*CFI and TLI values above .90 are indicative of acceptable fit, and values above .95 of an excellent one; similarly, an RMSEA below .10 reflects acceptable fit, and below .08 an excellent one, CMIN/DF less than 5 and GFI greater than 0.95 are indicative of acceptable fit (e.g. Byrne 2012; Kline 2010). **Bold** = good fit. **Bold underline** is excellent fit.

All four model had acceptable levels of fit, however, there were varying levels of model fit between the models, with **Model B** having the weakest fit, and **Model A, C and D** all having comparable, and similarly good, levels of fit.

The reduced fit of **Model B**, was however marginal and, based on the exploratory nature of the research, are sufficiently good to discount a rejection of Hypothesis 2. In the final analysis, the CFA comparisons have not provided sufficient difference between the models to provide further insight into the exact relationship between an environmental dimension and the existing dimensions and the multi-dimensional construct of PSM.

However, taken together, the models show clear support for the inclusion of an environmental dimension to PSM, either incorporated into the existing dimensions or as a standalone dimension and build on the work of other scholars linking environmentalism to public service and public values (Schwartz 1992, 2012; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2009; Witesman and Walters 2014).

It is argued that if there was no link between environmentalism and PSM the inclusion of the environmental items into the models would have had a negative impact on the model fit, however the reverse was true, with model fit improving in some instances. In terms of Hypothesis 3, the restructuring of **Model D** into a three-dimensional construct in line with the tripartite structure of Universalism further supports the theoretical arguments linking

Schwartz's Universalism to PSM (Witesman and Walters 2014). However, as an exploratory study, further replication, item and scale development would be recommended to further examine the relationship and build additional empirical evidence to support the theory.

## **7.6 Analysis and Results for Hypothesis 4**

### **7.6.1 PSM in Environmental and Sustainability Professionals**

One potential criticism or limitation of the model development carried out to test the earlier hypotheses concerns the make-up of the sample, with a large proportion of environmental and sustainability professionals. However, the sample also included non-environmental professionals as well as additional controls. Furthermore, the final hypothesis, Hypothesis 4, seeks to explicitly test the presence of PSM in environmentalists, using only the traditional PSM measures. This is an alternative solution to testing the theory of a link between environmentalism and PSM. If there is no correlation, then we should expect to find a similar level of PSM in environmentalists as the sample as a whole, or a negative correlation, however if there is a strong correlation then we would expect to see higher levels of PSM in the environmental and sustainability members of the sample.

The final hypothesis therefore concerned a prediction that environmental and sustainability professionals would score highly on the traditional PSM scale. The following analysis tests this hypothesis as well as identifying other key correlations within the sample variables.

### **7.6.2 Dependant Variables**

The dependant variable was based on the traditional scale measuring PSM.

*Traditional Public Service Motivation.* To test PSM a 10-item scale was developed based on the traditional PSM dimensions after Perry (1996) and Kim (2011). With three items for Self-

Sacrifice, three items for (Social) Compassion, two items for Commitment to Public Interest and two items for Attraction to Public Policy Making (ATPx2, CPIx2, SSx3, SCOMx3). The regression sample contained 131 people in the high PSM group and 139 in the non-PSM group. See **Table 7.2** for full sample characteristics.

To utilise PSM as a dependent variable, respondents were divided into either high or low PSM groups for the purpose of comparison. The high PSM group is coded as (1) and calculated as any individual with a mean of 2 or less across the 10 PSM items on a 5-point Likert scale. The low PSM group is coded as (0).

### **7.6.3 Independent Variables**

The independent variables include different permutations of occupational labels, professional and demographic attributes.

*Vocational Identity:* The data provided four different Self-Conceptions through identification with vocational labels; Sustainability Professional, Environmental Professional, Environmentalist, and Planner. Respondents could select multiple labels or none.

*Occupational Sector:* Sector of employment has strong associations in the literature between public sector employment and PSM (Perry and Wise 1990; Naff and Crum 1999, Lewis and Frank 2002; Perry and Vandenaabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). Therefore, in line with theorised differences between sectors, occupation in Private, Public and Not-for-Profit was utilised as an independent variable to assess any moderating effect on the dependent variables.

*Professional Membership:* Professional membership is positively associated with PSM according to Perry (1997) and is therefore utilised to test the theorised positive association between professional membership and PSM.

*Professional Experience*: To capture any effects from the influence of work-based socialisation or tenure (Perry 1997; Moynihan and Pandey 2007), years of professional experience was utilised as an independent variable.

#### 7.6.4 Controls

In all estimations, demographic characteristics and country are all controlled for. Including country dummies is necessary to control for the influence of cultural and national institutional settings on PSM (Ritz and Brewer 2013; Kim et al. 2013; Harari et al. 2017).

Because of the potentially strong influence of gender on public service motivation (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe and Pandey 2006), gender is controlled for in all estimated models. To capture well-documented differences in public service motivation between younger and older employees (Perry 1997) and between those with higher educational qualifications and those with lower or no educational qualifications (Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016), age and education are also included as controls.

#### 7.6.5 Analysis Method

To test the hypothesis about the correlation between PSM and environmental vocations, binary logistic regression is used to estimate the following model:

$$\text{(Model E): } \text{Prob} (PSM)_i = \beta Z_i + \gamma (SelfConcept)_i + e_i,$$

where *PSM* is the ten-item index of PSM. The PSM variable takes a value 1 for high PSM individuals (mean of 2 or less on a 5-point Likert scale across the scale items) and 0 otherwise.  $Z_i$  is a vector of independent variables and controls and *SelfConcept* is the variable for the self-reported association with a vocational label. The coefficients  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , are coefficients to be estimated. A positive and statistically significant coefficient  $\gamma$  for environmental and sustainability self-conceptions provides support for the hypothesis on the

link between PSM and environmental vocations (Hypothesis 4). To estimate **Model E**, a logistic regression model is estimated using SPSS 24.

### 7.6.6 Results of Regression Analysis

**Table 7.9** below provides the results of the model tested.

**Table 7.9** Demographic, Occupation and Sector Correlates

Variable	B	Wald	Exp(B)
Gender (0Female 1Male)	-0.240+ (0.275)	0.761	0.787
Age Band (7levels)	<b>0.344* (0.173)</b>	<b>3.963</b>	<b>1.411</b>
Education (5levels)	-0.253+ (0.207)	1.490	0.776
Private Sector (0Not Private 1Private)	-0.303+ (0.799)	0.143	0.739
Public Sector (0Not Public 1Public)	0.185+ (0.844)	0.048	1.203
Not for Profit Sector (0Not NFP 1NFP)	0.627+ (0.893)	0.493	1.872
Professional Experience (9levels)	-0.044+ (0.100)	0.194	0.957
Professional Membership (0No 1Yes)	-0.228+ (0.290)	0.617	0.796
Self-Conception: Sustainability Professional	0.433+ (0.269)	2.583	1.542
Self-Conception: Environmental Professional	-0.006+ (0.321)	0.000	0.994
Self-Conception: Environmentalist	<b>0.680* (0.283)</b>	<b>5.784</b>	<b>1.974</b>
Self-Conception: Planner	0.018+ (0.301)	0.004	1.018
<b>Sample size</b>	<b>270</b>		

Notes: Standard Errors in parentheses; +  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; Dummy variables for country are included but not shown. Model Chi-square 25.302 DF 13 Sig. 0.021, Cox and Snell R Square 0.089 Nagelkerke R Square 0.119.

The results indicate that with each incremental age group increase, from younger to older, the probability of being in the high PSM group increase the odds from 1.0 to 1.34. The odds increase from 1.0 to 3.04 ( $=e^{0.34}$ ) for those in the oldest category. Therefore, there is a positive correlation in our sample between increasing age and PSM in line with Perry's (1997) original work on antecedents. This relationship has been subsequently confirmed by Ritz, Brewer and Neuman (2016) who identified age as the most commonly found relationship in their meta review with 28 separate studies reporting a positive relationship.

In terms of Hypothesis 4, there was a statistically significant and positive relationship between self-identification as an Environmentalist and PSM, with a 0.68 increase in probability of those identifying as Environmentalists being in the high PSM group. Whilst this finding supports the hypothesis it is furthermore a particularly revealing result given that the PSM scale did not include any specific environmental items. This provides further evidence that PSM is measuring a latent construct that includes an environmental dimension as theorised by Schwartz's identification of a Universalism value that incorporates both public service and environmentalism.

Moreover, it is telling that only the self-conception of environmentalist, rather than sustainability professional or environmental professional provided significant results in the model tested. This perhaps indicates that the link to environmentalism is to the values rather than the occupation per se. These findings would need further investigation to verify but have additional ramifications for self-conceptions based on values, versus self-conceptions based on occupational identities.

## **7.7 Discussion and Conclusions**

### **7.7.1 Universalism, Environmental Values and PSM**

The concept of PSM was proposed by Perry and Wise (1990) as a motivation grounded in a commitment to public values. In 1996, James Perry identified four dimensions of PSM; Attraction to Public Policy Making, Commitment to the Public Interest/Civic Duty, Compassion, and Self-Sacrifice. In addition to defining PSM as a multi-dimensional construct, Perry's 1996 paper also developed a questionnaire scale based on the dimensions to measure PSM in individuals. Perry (1997; 2000) went on to look in more detail at the antecedents of PSM and concluded that they were strongly related to individual values based on socio-historical antecedents. Homberg and Costello (2019) revisited the literature on the

antecedents of PSM and reconfirmed the importance of values, and in particular public values, to PSM in individuals.

Meanwhile, under a separate field of research into human values, Schwartz (1992; 2012; Schwartz et al. 2001; 2012) had identified environmentalism and sustainability as a related construct to public values under the wider dimension of Self-Transcendence and the value of Universalism. Public administration scholars had also made the link between sustainability and public values (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007) and between PSM and Universalism (Witesman and Walters 2014).

As the values research had identified a strong link between environmentalism and public values, the question is raised as to why this had not been picked up by a quarter of century of research into the antecedents and correlations of PSM? The most likely reason is that, following a review of 323 PSM articles, it has been shown that the majority of PSM research has either utilised a version of Perry's scale or followed it closely (Ritz, Brewer and Neuman 2016). As neither the PSM dimensions nor the PSM measurement scale specifically mentions environmental values, they have not been looked for, nor been tested. Further evidence of the potential for environmentalism to be a missing element of PSM was the conclusion from a comprehensive meta-review of PSM research which stated; *'In all likelihood public service motivation has additional dimensions and properties.'* (p.422 Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

A tantalising clue to the relationship between PSM and environmentalism is provided in a footnote to Brewer, Selden and Facers (2000) seminal PSM paper identifying four self-conceptions of PSM, where they identify Environment Protection Agency *"reported a much stronger desire to have an impact on public affairs than other federal employees (U.S. Merit*

*Systems Protection Board 1987, 9–10).*” (in Brewer, Seldon and Facer 2000). In their analysis Brewer, Seldon and Facer (2000) suggest that this could be explained as rational motive “*grounded in individual utility maximization, and they are operative when individuals want to participate in the policy process, are committed to a public program because of personal identification with it, and serve as advocates for a special or private interest.*”

An alternative or additional explanation could be that environmentalism is a core aspect of public service as represented under the value of Universalism. Therefore, those individuals who strongly identify with Universalism values, which combine environmentalism and public service, would gravitate toward work in an organisation like the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

### **7.7.2 Environmentalism as a 5<sup>th</sup> Universal Dimension of PSM**

Having identified environmentalism as a potential missing component of PSM, the study has sought to provide evidence by testing the hypothesis using two different approaches. The first approach was based on a series of hypotheses that theorised that the addition of environmentally themed items to a traditional PSM scale would not reduce the scale fit. The exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis presented have shown that these hypotheses are broadly supported based on the sample tested, with the inclusion of environmental items demonstrating good levels of fit when combined with traditional PSM items.

The final hypothesis sought an alternative method to test the association between environmentalism and PSM, by testing the sample using a traditional PSM scale without environmental items. The tests revealed a statistically significant relationship between those recording high levels of traditional PSM and the individuals who self-identified as ‘Environmentalists’ (108 individuals, 38.6% of the sample). These empirical findings taken together, and supported by the widely theorised relationship in the literature, make a

compelling case to consider environmentalism as a potential missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM.

### **7.7.3 Limitations and Future Directions**

Firstly, as 70% of the sample is from the UK, Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand, it is likely that the results represent an Anglo-Saxon bias. This bias probably mirrors the Anglo-Saxon bias in many international environmental systems, education and institutions, many of which are derived from UK and US environmental laws and practice. International practice and university education for environment, sustainability and planning professionals often follows international norms and have been influenced by international standards such as the World Bank Environmental and Social Standards, IFC Performance Standards, international environmental treaties, conventions and professional organisations such as the Institute for Environmental Management and Assessment (IEMA) and the International Association for Impact Assessment (IAIA).

Therefore, consistent with the hypothesis that environmental values are underpinned by a wider universal human value of Universalism-nature (Schwartz et al. 2012), evidence of similar environmental professional norms within the sample was expected, despite cultural differences. It is therefore argued that the sample is likely a reasonably representative sample of international environment and sustainability professionals. Furthermore, to ensure there is no moderating effects in the analysis, controls were put in place for country of work to avoid any national cultural influence on the statistical analysis.

Secondly, the data used for the statistical analysis is cross-sectional and therefore not ideal for making strong causal claims. However, following DeHart Davis et al. (2014) and Homberg, Vogel and Weiherl (2016) it is argued that the tests are supplementary to the strong theoretical support for the hypothesis linking environmentalism with PSM (Schwartz 1992;

Schwartz et al. 2001; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014).

Nevertheless, it is appreciated that further study and replication, including the use of longitudinal data, on the relationship between PSM and environmentalism is required to add further evidence of the relationship. Historically, the relationship has not been explicitly looked for in empirical studies of PSM, this is evidenced by the fact that environmental values are not listed as one of the 26 different antecedents of PSM identified in Ritz, Brewer and Neumann's (2016) meta review. However, given the strong theoretical and promising empirical evidence presented in this Thesis it is anticipated that further supporting evidence will be forthcoming once it is looked for.

#### **7.7.4 Conclusion**

The identification of a theoretical link between environmental values and PSM, supported by new empirical data, is a novel and timely contribution to the field of management research. The research is timely in the context of sustainable development, global warming and the ecological crisis. The identification of a new universal dimension of the PSM construct, and the nature of that addition, being environmentalism, has the potential to be a theoretical breakthrough for PSM research and has ramifications for the wider field of public administration. The addition of the missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of environmentalism to the PSM concept contains within it a potential to transform the direction of PSM research towards a much needed focus towards not only '*the nature of 'human nature' with respect to rational versus other-regarding motives*' (p.7 Perry and Hondeghem, 2008) but also the nature of 'human nature' with respect to an intrinsic other-regarding relationship with nature vs an extrinsic and rational valuing of nature as a resource to be exploited.

## **Chapter 8: Summary and Conclusion - Integrating Public Service Motivation and Environmentalism**

The final chapter summarises the findings of the Thesis, drawing on the empirical work presented in the preceding chapters to articulate a theory of environmentalism as a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of the PSM construct.

### **8.1 Synthesizing the results**

Empirical research into PSM has identified four underlying component dimensions based on public values of; commitment to the public interest, compassion, attraction to public policy making, and self-sacrifice (Perry and Wise 1990; Perry 1996, 1997, 2000). Researchers have utilised these dimensions over the past two decades to construct measurement scales to further the understanding of the antecedents and correlates of PSM. However, comprehensive reviews of PSM research have revealed that the increase in research effort has not resulted in similar gains in the advancement of theory or practice (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Bozeman and Su 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

Another ongoing concern is the need to separate PSM from other related concepts such as service motivation, other-directedness, or altruism (Bozeman and Su 2015). In response, many PSM scholars have recognised the need to expose, contrast and integrate PSM with other concepts from outside the immediate field (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016, Thompson and Christensen 2018). Following these multiple calls for integration with outside concepts, the purpose of this Thesis has been to integrate the concept of environmentalism, and environmentalists, into the PSM scholarship.

In **Table 8.1** below an overview of each chapter is provided along with the key findings.

**Table 8.1** Summary Results from the Thesis

Thesis Propositions	Findings
<p><b>Part I:</b> Socio-cultural and socio-historical antecedents have a strong moderating effect on the development of values.</p> <p>Once values are developed in a young adult / adolescent these values have a strong moderating effect on motivation to pursue key life choices such as type of higher education programme and occupation.</p> <p>Individuals with strong public values are attracted to public service, service vocations and voluntary work. Where an occupational and institutional setting are aligned to the values of the individual, both the individual and organisation accrue benefits in terms of performance, commitment, attendance and outputs.</p> <p>Public values and environmental values are underpinned by common basic human values of Self-Transcendence and Universalism.</p> <p>However, the link between public values and environmental values is not prominent in research into public service motivation. It is hypothesised that this is caused by an inherent anthropocentric bias in Western and globalised market culture and specifically within public administration and management.</p>	<p><b>Chapter 2</b> reveals strong evidence in the literature for a motivation to serve the public (through occupation and voluntary activities) based on an individual’s alignment with public values. This relationship is primarily examined in the field of Public Administration through the study of the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM).</p> <p><b>Chapter 3</b> explores the sociohistorical and psychological antecedents and consequences of PSM and identifies some key relationships between values, culture and motivation.</p> <p><b>Chapter 4</b> investigates the literature for evidence of a relationship between environmentalism and PSM and identifies similarities between the concepts with regards to; pro-social behaviour, other-regarding motives, intrinsic motivation, compassion, altruism and the concept of the common good. A key point of differentiation identified in <b>Chapter 4</b> between PSM and environmentalism relates to anthropocentrism, with the conclusion that much of the PSM and public administration literature is biased towards an anthropocentric view of the public interest and the common good.</p>
<p><b>Part II:</b> Seeking to test the propositions outlined in <b>Part I</b>, the second part revisits and tests the antecedents of PSM using one of the largest available social surveys.</p> <p>The direct link between PSM and public employment is challenged and a greater focus on underlying values moderated by socio-historical factors and cultural and institutional opportunities.</p>	<p><b>Chapter 5</b> reinforces the links between values and occupational choice and confirms the importance of the moderating effect of key socio-historical factors such as nationality, gender, age and education.</p> <p><b>Chapter 6</b> challenges some of the more general assumptions about PSM and its relationship with public service, in the context of New Public Management and the privatisation of public institutions. Vocation is identified as a stronger</p>

Thesis Propositions	Findings
<p>Universalism values (incorporating public and environmental values) are proposed and utilised as a proxy for PSM.</p> <p>In the first two chapters of <b>Part II</b>, the link between Universalism, public service and service vocations was demonstrated. However, no direct comparison of PSM and environmental values has been undertaken as the European Social Survey does not include a PSM scale.</p> <p>In the final chapter of <b>Part II</b>, new environmental candidate items are included to supplement existing PSM scale items to test the relationship between PSM and environmental values. Hypotheses are proposed that the amended scale would not adversely affect the fit of the PSM models. The purpose of the scale amendment is to further demonstrate that environmentalism is a missing part of the PSM concept and to test the hypotheses using a new sample of environmental, sustainability and planning professionals.</p>	<p>predictor of public values, albeit moderated by national, cultural and institutional opportunities.</p> <p>Through the use of Universalism as a proxy for PSM an environmental element is included in the analysis and demonstrates strong correlations with public service and service vocations. The analysis provides further empirical evidence for the theorised link between PSM and Universalism. <b>Chapter 6</b> provides the first empirical evidence in the Thesis of the potential for environmentalism to be a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM.</p> <p><b>Chapter 7</b> provides an overview of the supporting literature on the theoretical basis for the link between environmentalism and PSM. The chapter sets out new environmental candidate items to supplement existing PSM scale items before analysing a bespoke value survey of 280 professionals. The analysis demonstrates that the inclusion of environmental items into a PSM scale has acceptable model fit with similar results to the PSM-only scale.</p> <p><b>Chapter 7</b> also provides the first dedicated PSM survey of environmental and sustainability professionals and provides initial evidence of high PSM in environmentalists. The findings provide further evidence of the theorised relationship between PSM, environmentalism and Universalism.</p>

As the principal hypothesis of the Thesis seeks to integrate environmental values as a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM, the focus has been on theoretical development and empirical testing to support the theory. In order to explore the findings of Thesis we first return to our main hypothesis:

***Is Environmentalism a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of the Public Service Motivation concept?***

The research findings show strong theoretical support for the inclusion of environmental values as an additional dimension of PSM. The theoretical support is further bolstered by new empirical findings presented in this Thesis indicating a strong positive correlation between environmental values and public service and between PSM and environmentalism.

**8.1.1 Origins and Antecedents of Public Values**

In Thesis begins with an introduction to the key concepts of the Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values, PSM and environmentalism. The introduction goes on to elucidate the research question, theoretical models under investigation, key contributions, and sets the overall structure of the Thesis.

In **Part I** of the Thesis, the origins and antecedents of public values were explored looking firstly at the concept of the public interest, public values and PSM. The next chapter looked in more detail at the research into human values, motivation and culture and the influence of these factors on external outcomes such as occupational choice and performance. In the final chapter of **Part I**, a review was undertaken of environmental values and concepts to look for comparisons with the public values concepts.

The outcome from the combined literature review was that, with the notable exception of Witesman and Walters (2014), there has not been significant research seeking to link PSM with the research into basic human values undertaken by Schwartz (1992). However, as shown by Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007), who undertook a detailed and wide-ranging inventory of public values, the concepts of sustainability and environmental values are often associated with public values.

Meanwhile, Schwartz's (1992) highly regarded work on a Theory of Basic Human Values has consistently identified clear and strongly positive links between environmental and public values under the dimension of Self-Transcendence and more specially under the value constellation of Universalism. In Schwartz's later work a three-part subdivision of Universalism-concern, Universalism-tolerance and Universalism-nature (Schwartz et al., 2012) explicitly identifies environmentalism as a key component of Universalism. The main hypothesis is therefore founded upon this underlying Theory of Basic Human Values, and following Witesman and Walters (2014) associates PSM with the underlying value of Universalism. However, if this position is adopted, then the question arises (and was not articulated by Witesman and Walters (2014)) why do the PSM dimensions and PSM scale not include any reference to specific environmental values?

One theorised answer to the above question was provided from the literature review of the environmental values research. One key recurring theme within environmentalism is the concept of anthropocentrism, arising often as subconscious cultural and institutional bias. Anthropocentrism views all issues primarily from a human centric lens. Therefore, when public administration scholars consider the issue of the common good, they are referring to the common good of human society and human individuals, not the common good of the planet, or of all species.

Furthermore, where environmental issues are included within public administration, they are likely to be adopting an instrumentalist approach, valuing nature extrinsically as a resource to be valued. Environmental researchers and philosophers have described this approach as 'shallow ecology' rather than 'deep ecology' (Naess, 1973) or 'egocentric' rather than 'biocentric' (Stern and Dietz 1994). This instrumentalist approach mirrors the development of early environmental legislation and policy which is often anthropocentric in

that it seeks to regulate the environment (e.g. air, water, soil) for the purpose of safeguarding human health, rather than any intrinsic value of natural habitats, species or ecosystems.

However, Schwartz's (1992) work on basic human values adopts under the banner of Universalism a more intrinsic valuing of nature, more akin to a 'deep ecology' or 'biocentric' approach. Those individuals aligned to Universalism are more likely to value such environmental aspects as a 'World of beauty', 'Unity with nature' and 'Protecting the environment' along with intrinsic values concerning; 'Broadminded', 'Social justice', 'Equality', 'World at peace', 'Wisdom', 'Inner harmony', and 'A spiritual life'.

Therefore, it is theorised that Perry and Wise's (1990) and Perry's (1996, 1997) subsequent development of the PSM concept, based upon the four dimensions of; self-sacrifice, compassion, commitment to the public interest, and attraction to public policy making, were focused on egocentric or anthropocentric view of public service, aligned more to Schwartz's (2012) Universalism-concern and Universalism-tolerance. Whilst not excluding the possibility of environmental values, Perry (1996), by not explicitly including them in the dimensions or scale, inadvertently ensured that the concept of PSM moved forward without the element of Universalism-nature. Being absent from the scale and the definition of the concept dimensions, the relationship between PSM and environmentalism has largely been unlooked for and has remained largely undiscovered and unacknowledged.

### **8.1.2 Public Service Motivation, Occupation and Vocation**

To investigate the relationship between environmentalism and PSM it has been necessary to delve deeply into the existing PSM literature. One of the main focuses of PSM research over the past two decades has been centred upon the occupational choice (including attraction, selection and retention) and occupational sector (i.e. public or private) of individuals with PSM.

Other key branches of PSM research have been focused on; the outcomes of PSM, concept definition and measurement, and comparison between groups and internationally. The research focused around the outcomes of PSM workers has investigated issues such as the effect of PSM on performance, organisational commitment and job satisfaction (Liu, Tang and Zhu 2008; Bright 2008; Leisink and Steijn 2009; Andersen and Kjeldsen 2013; Cooper et al. 2014; DeHart-Davis, Davis and Mohr 2014; Homberg, McCarthy and Tabvuma 2015). Whereas, the research focusing on the concept itself has focused on investigating the antecedents of PSM, scale testing and development, and concept definition (for a detailed review see Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

The theory of introducing a 5<sup>th</sup> universal environmental dimension to PSM, in order to be successfully accepted, needs to take account of, and integrate with, these different avenues of research. The first element identified above was the focus on PSM studies on sector of employment. This area of interest was the second most studied element of the outcomes of PSM with 35 studies reported in Ritz, Brewer and Neuman (2016) or which 15 identified a positive relationship between PSM and the public sector and the remaining 20 neutral or not statistically significant. Therefore, the first potential barrier to accepting an environmental dimension would be the relationship between a public value conception including environmentalism and the public sector.

**Chapter 6** tackled this element by utilising a large dataset from the European Social Survey to investigate the relationship between Universalism (including environmental protection) and sector of employment and identified a statistically significant relationship with public sector employment and with public service vocations regardless of sector. One of the key propositions and findings of **Chapter 6** was the demonstration that a public service vocation can be a better predictor of PSM and public values than using public employment as a predictor.

Building on Christensen and Wright (2011) and Wright, Hassan and Christensen (2017), it was argued in **Chapter 6** that PSM is more strongly associated with service vocations rather than public employment. That is, individuals with PSM are likely to self-select into service vocations, which match their values and allow them to express these values through their work. It is therefore argued that the later findings shown in **Chapter 7** with respect to environmental and sustainability professionals having high PSM did not show any significant sector relationships because the expression of public values was a feature of service vocation rather than sector.

One of the key limitations of the empirical study carried out for **Chapter 6** was the use of Universalism as a proxy for PSM. Whilst this approach is justified based on the theoretical arguments presented, it was limited for the purpose of a direct comparison with PSM. Therefore, in the final study presented in **Chapter 7** a traditional PSM scale was utilised alongside new environmental items. The outcomes of the study showed a clear positive relationship between the individuals with high levels of PSM and identification as environmentalists. Furthermore, statistical modelling of scales combining environmental items with PSM items identified acceptable levels of model fit.

Taken together the occupational and vocational studies tested empirically utilising both a Universalism based scale and a PSM scale with additional items were carried out on two different international survey samples utilising the European Social Survey and a bespoke survey of environment and sustainability professionals. The results provide further empirical support for the theorised relationship explored earlier in the Thesis and provide evidence in support of the main hypothesis of the Thesis, indicating that environmentalism is a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension on PSM.

## **8.2 Contributions of this Thesis**

Through answering the main research question, this Thesis makes theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of PSM and public administration.

### **8.2.1 Theoretical Relevance**

Meta-reviews and field summaries of PSM have been completed in recent years identifying the key areas of further research required to advance the theory of PSM. Two key reviews were completed by Perry and Vandenberg (2015) and Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) both articles reviewed the field, assessed progress, and identified key recommendations for future research directions.

One of the key recommendations of Perry and Vandenberg (2015) was to disaggregate and unbundle the PSM construct. The research presented in this Thesis directly builds on this recommendation. For the disaggregation of the PSM construct, Perry and Vandenberg (2015) encourage research into the individual dimensions of the four-dimensional PSM construct in conjunction with research on related concepts from other fields of research.

Whilst previous studies have identified potential 5<sup>th</sup> dimensions of PSM, these have been culturally specific to certain countries such as Belgium (Vandenberg 2008), Denmark (Hansen 2009), Italy (Cerase and Farinella 2009), Switzerland (Giauque et al 2011) or Spain (Ballart and Riba 2017) and none of these additional dimensions have been proposed as universally applicable extensions of the core four dimensions.

This Thesis contributes and extends this line of enquiry by looking for a 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension, linking and testing the theorised relationship between public values and environmental values (Schwartz 1992, 1999, 2012; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). Therefore, by hypothesising and providing initial evidence of a potential 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM, by adding environmentalism to the existing four PSM

dimensions of; self-sacrifice, compassion, commitment to the public interest, and attraction to public policy making (Perry 1996) the research provides a potentially significant contribution to the field.

Turning to the second field review, Ritz, Brewer and Neumann (2016) articulate three key areas for future research efforts; 1) investigate the dark side of PSM, 2). improving methodological approaches, and 3). challenge and improve the dominant measurement scale to better understand the concept. Regarding the second recommendation, to improving methodological approaches, we return to this element in the following section on methodological contribution. In respect to the third area of future research identified by Ritz Brewer and Neumann (2016), the authors called on researchers to challenge and improve the dominant measurement scale to better understand the concept. This call to re-assess the foundations of PSM was the result of a systematic literature review of over 300 research papers indicated that due to the over-reliance on the Perry (1996) derived PSM scales, *'This mono-measure, mono-method approach has aided knowledge accumulation, but it may be limiting our understanding of the concept. In all likelihood public service motivation has additional dimensions and properties.'* (p.422 Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016).

These scholars explicitly call for further investigation into the motivations of individuals with PSM and as set out above, the key theoretical contribution of the Thesis is the new theoretical proposition, supported by empirical evidence, calling for the inclusion of a new 5<sup>th</sup> universal environmental dimension to the PSM concept. Subject to challenge and confirmation from follow up studies, the theory of a 5<sup>th</sup> universal environmental dimension of PSM has the potential to be a significant contribution to the field of public administration, in particular with regard to ongoing research concerning the widely adopted four-dimensional conception of PSM established by Perry and Wise (1990) and Perry (1996, 1997; 2000).

### 8.2.2 Methodological Relevance

As discussed in the previous section on theoretical relevance, key reviews of the field of PSM have identified methodological issues as key areas for improvement and further research (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015; Ritz, Brewer and Neumann 2016). The Thesis makes a methodological contribution by suggesting a new dimension of the construct, and by the exploratory development and initial testing of new PSM scale variant items to incorporate the newly identified dimension of environmentalism. A second methodological contribution is provided as a result of providing further evidence linking PSM to the Schwartz value of Universalism.

Taking these two contributions in reverse order, first of all, due to the absence of a specific PSM scale in the European Social Survey (ESS), scholars have been unable to fully utilise one of the largest and most comprehensive social survey databases available worldwide. Furthermore, as the ESS data collection is ongoing, the lack of its use for PSM research is likewise an ongoing missed opportunity. By linking the concept of PSM with the Schwartz values (following Witesman and Walters 2014), the Thesis is able to utilise the Schwartz PVQ values series in the ESS to explore the antecedents and correlations between public values and public servants. Furthermore, by demonstrating the theoretical and empirical justification for this approach, the Thesis contributes to the further use of this methodology by other researchers to take advantage of the data available in the ESS to provide a new data-rich source of insights into the field of PSM. Finally, the linking of Schwartz's (1992) Universalism also opens the possibility for PSM researchers to revisit numerous surveys and studies that have been published using Schwartz surveys to look for further correlations, antecedents and comparisons with PSM.

The second methodological contribution is a result of the explicit theoretical linking of environmental values with PSM. **Chapter 7** sets out the development of the new

environmental candidate items to supplement existing PSM scale items by drawing on the PSM literature and building upon traditional PSM scale items. These items can be incorporated with existing PSM scales by researchers to further test and verify this new dimension.

### 8.2.3 Limitations

The limitations of the Thesis have been set out within each individual chapter along with measures to mitigate the limitation through the study design and analysis. However, the principle limitation of the Thesis is arguably the validity of the empirical studies. The first studies presented in **Chapters 5** and **6** have strong foundations due to the sheer size and quality of the data provided in the European Social Survey (ESS). Nevertheless, they do not directly measure PSM using the accepted scale items and dimensions. However, given that the ESS utilises a scale derived from Schwartz PVQ it does, according our theory (supported by Witesman and Walters 2014), measure the underlying values that PSM is based upon.

Regarding our second dataset, here the limitation is the survey size and composition rather than the survey scale. **Chapter 7** utilised a bespoke survey of 280 environment, planning and sustainability professionals. While the survey is well placed to measure PSM within these occupations, using standard PSM items, it is less easy to extrapolate to all other professions to provide general casual evidence of the link between PSM and environmentalism.

In addition, the data used for the statistical analysis in both data sets is cross-sectional and therefore not ideal for making strong causal claims. However, following DeHart Davis et al. (2014) and Homberg, Vogel and Weiherl (2016) it is argued that the tests are supplementary to the strong theoretical support for the hypothesis linking environmentalism with public service motivation (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz et al. 2001; Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). Nevertheless, it is appreciated that further

study and replication, including the use of longitudinal data, on the relationship between PSM and environmentalism is required to add further evidence of the relationship.

However, it is argued that the strength of the Thesis, which is not available within individual articles, is that it has been possible to marshal a series of different evidence points, both theoretical and empirical, that together are much more compelling than each individual component. Therefore, it is argued that the individual limitations are mitigated by the overall Thesis design, which provides evidence from multiple sources against a single target of inquiry.

Each chapter and consecutive study have built on the preceding work and added evidence towards the overall research question. The resulting conclusion combines theoretical support from multiple fields in public administration, psychology, values research, and environmental philosophy with empirical evidence based on multiple data sets using a combination of methods. In each case the conclusions from individual chapters have all contributed evidence in support of the overall conclusion that environmentalism should be considered a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of PSM.

### **8.3 An agenda for future research**

The following section identifies four primary areas that can be taken forward for further research to build upon the findings of the Thesis:

- New scale item development and testing of PSM incorporating environmentalism;
- Further testing of levels of PSM in environmentalists;
- Exploring value conflicts represented by the lack of environmentalism in NPM; and
- Investigating the ‘Environmentalist’ as a 5<sup>th</sup> Self-Conception of PSM.

### **8.3.1 New Scale Item Development and Testing of PSM, Environmentalism and Universalism.**

The exploration and integration of environmental aspects into PSM is consistent with Schwartz's (1992) Universalism value and is further supported by public administration scholars (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014). However, the use of explicit environmental dimensions is not normally present in PSM measures (i.e. Perry 1996).

Therefore, the link between public values and Schwartz's (1992) Self-Transcendent dimension and Universalism value (Jorgensen and Bozeman 2007; Witesman and Walters 2014), opens up new questions about the presence (in broader Public Values research) and absence (in PSM research) of environmental aspects. The Thesis has explored these links through a combination of chapters that draw on theoretical, methodological, empirical and conceptual approaches to provide evidence of the link between PSM and environmentalism.

**Chapter 7** of the Thesis explored alternative versions of PSM item measures, incorporating explicit environmental related items related to the PSM construct, and examined if their inclusion increases or decreases the explanatory power of PSM scales. Further studies could replicate and further test the new candidate scale items presented in the Thesis to confirm or disprove the results in different groups and settings. Longitudinal studies could also investigate the relationship over time to avoid some of the limitations of cross-sectional sampling. Furthermore, additional studies could look to further develop and improve the initial environmental PSM items presented to incorporate the environmental dimension identified.

A final direction of research could continue the investigation into the dimensions of PSM, not only to consider a new 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension, but to also consider the adoption of a three-dimensional model which was also supported in the empirical study in **Chapter 7**. A

three-dimensional model could align more closely with the three-dimensions of Universalism proposed in Schwartz et al. (2012) based upon Universalism-concern, Universalism-tolerance and Universalism-nature, to further test the relationship and alignment between the concepts of Universalism and PSM. Ideally a survey could be undertaken that tests both a PSM based scale (incorporating the new environmental items) alongside a scale based on the Schwartz dimensions to test how the two scales compare in identifying latent underlying factors.

### **8.3.2 Public Service Motivation in Environmental and Sustainability Professionals**

The final chapter of **Part II** presents the results of a dedicated survey of environment and sustainability professionals using an amended PSM scale. **Chapter 7** explores the demographic and sociohistorical correlations of 280 individuals and compares and contrasts their PSM with environmental values to provide insights into both environmentalists and PSM. This chapter makes an additional contribution to ongoing PSM research by studying, using a dedicated PSM scale, an occupational group which has not received much attention.

Further studies could look to replicate these findings in other settings where populations of environmental and sustainability professionals may be expected for example in environmental protection organisations within governments, and within environmental NGOs. If confirmed that environmentalists have high levels of PSM, additional studies could examine if the recommendations based on PSM studies are more or less effective in these groups and how and if these groups load on specific dimensions of the PSM construct.

### **8.3.3 Exploring Value Conflicts and Competing Paradigms**

Another associated area of further research is a greater investigation of the use of the opposite, or opposed, Schwartz (1992) value dimension of Self-Enhancement. Whilst many studies that have associated PSM with intrinsic motivation, rather than extrinsic motivations (e.g. Andrews 2016), the use in **Chapter 6** of only one aspect of the dimension of Self-

Enhancement does not fully explore the relationship. Further research could more fully explore the Self-Enhancement dimension to include analysis of Power, Achievement and Hedonism values and their relationship with an individual's PSM and occupational choice.

Furthermore, in Schwartz's (2011) paper on the future directions of individual values research, it is stated that the Schwartz values are not totally independent, reflecting the circular structure of the values, and that changes to one value reflect the adjacent values, and conversely, reduce the opposite values. Schwartz (2011) refers to supporting laboratory experiments (Maio et al. 2009) and field studies (Bardi et al. 2009) in support of these claims.

These statements have important ramifications for PSM research, as measures designed to enhance and foster PSM (i.e. Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017) would potentially have the opposite effect on the Self-Enhancement dimension, affecting values of Power, Achievement and Hedonism. This type of value-conflict could be related to the clash of values inherent in the ongoing discourse on the effect of New Public Management and comparison with both traditional and emergent value-based forms of Public Management.

This new evidence builds on another aspect of the literature (Loon, Vandenabeele and Leisnk 2015; Jensen, Andersen and Holten 2017) regarding the cultural and institutional aspects of service to the state and a potential dark-side to their effect on individuals. Whilst these authors have largely looked at the negative aspects of public employment on PSM, an alternative proposition is provided in Vogel, Homberg and Gericke (2015) with regards to deviant behaviours. In Vogel, Homberg and Gericke's (2015) work on deviant behaviour and PSM they indicate that value conflicts can arise from poor person-organisation fit, for example a high PSM individual in a profit-focused private sector setting, can result in an increase in deviant behaviours. This research is supportive of Schwartz's (1992) theory regarding the circular structure of basic values.

Moving from the context of the individual to the context of the organisation or society, whilst staying with the theme of competing values, the earlier literature review identified the shifting normative models in public management regarding New Value Paradigms vs. Dominant Social Paradigms such as New Public Management (NPM). Schwartz (1999) also identifies at the cultural level, a societal focus on the values of Mastery (ambition, success, daring, competence) versus a societal focus on the values of Harmony (unity with nature, protecting the environment, world of beauty) (Schwartz 1999). It can therefore be argued that the absorption of private sector and market-focused values (associated with Mastery and Self-Enhancement values) within public organisations as a result of NPM has led to the marginalisation of environmental values in public administration and management, with negative effects on the sustainability of society and the natural environment.

As described at the individual level, a central aspect of Schwartz's (1992, 2012) theory is that the value priorities form a circular continuum, and that a focus on one dimension will inevitably reduce the focus on the opposite values. Therefore, a further avenue of research could investigate, at an institutional or organisational level, where the focus of Schwartz (1992, 1999) values is located. For example, a focus on Mastery and Self-Enhancement values within a public sector setting would conflict with the opposing values of Harmony and Self-Transcendence which our research has shown to be strongly related to PSM. Therefore, where organisational values are incongruent with the perceived or historical values of the organisation this will lead to an increase in deviant behaviours (Vogel, Homberg and Gericke 2015) and thereby undermine the benefits of PSM identified by other authors (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

On a more positive note, based on the central argument of the Thesis, an organisation that adopts proactive and more explicit environmental values would be more aligned to the

values of Universalism (Schwartz 1992) and Harmony (Schwartz 1999) and therefore reduce the negatives and increase the positive effects associated with fostering PSM in employees.

This relationship could be tested by a longitudinal study that measures PSM in an organisation before and after the implementation of adopting positive environmental policies.

#### **8.3.4 Exploring Evidence of a 5<sup>th</sup> Self-Conception of PSM, the ‘Environmentalist’**

Koehler and Rainey (2008) in their review of PSM evidence indicate that they believe that further work akin to that of Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) on identifying subtypes or clusters of values within groups of individuals with PSM is a key potential avenue for further research. The study by Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) on individual conceptions of PSM explored individuals different ‘loadings’ or priorities, on individual aspects of the PSM dimensions. Their study asked individuals to rank value statements by priority, and then analysed the results to identify value clusters which allowed them to subdivide individual conceptions of PSM into four subgroups, described as; Samaritans, Communitarians, Patriots, and Humanitarians (Brewer, Selden and Facer 2000). This work is important because whilst all four subgroups were identified with PSM, the focus of the different groups varied on where the priority was perceived to lie within the PSM dimensions.

Whilst the Thesis has examined evidence of environmentalism as a missing 5<sup>th</sup> universal dimension of the PSM construct, an additional line of research could explore evidence to see if this new dimension widens the four self-conceptions of PSM identified in the work of Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) to include a fifth conception, the ‘Environmentalist’. The study presented in **Chapter 7** indicated a statistically significant relationship between PSM and self-identification as Environmentalists. Further work could look at disaggregating the PSM measure into its constituent components to see how these environmentalists loaded in individual dimensions. However, to truly replicate and compare

with Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) a new survey using the Q-Methodology would be required.

#### **8.4 Implications for practice**

As described earlier under the contributions section, the primary theoretical contribution, whilst preliminary, if later confirmed by additional research, would potentially have major implications for practice and therefore can be said to have a potentially significant practical contribution to management practice.

To illustrate how the theoretical contribution relates to practice we turn to Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry (2017) who undertook a meta-review of research since 2008 to catalogue and summarise the combined lessons for practice to inform practitioners of public administration. Based on this review, five key recommendations emerged; 1). PSM is influenced by organisational and management practices, 2). attracting and retaining individuals with high PSM enhances performance and organisational mission accomplishment; 3). nurturing PSM in employees increases employee commitment to shared organisational values and goals, 4). relationships between PSM employees and service beneficiaries can be leveraged for motivational advantage, and 5). leaders should communicate and model PSM.

If research over the past decade has demonstrated that organisational and management practices affect PSM, then it follows that by adopting environment and sustainability values into organisational and management practices then employee PSM will be enhanced. Following on from this, if attracting and retaining individuals with high PSM enhances performance and organisational mission accomplishment, then two further practical interventions become possible. Firstly, HR selection criteria could consider the environment values of candidates as an additional indicator of high PSM, and secondly, an organisation

adopting environmental values will enhance retention of high PSM individuals and thereby enhance performance and mission accomplishment.

The second intervention relates to the third recommendation of Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry (2017), that nurturing PSM in employees increases employee commitment to shared organisational values and goals. In the context of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) it can already be seen that major global organisations such as Unilever have adopted these sustainability values into their organisational mission. However, many of the organisations at the forefront of adopting the SDGs are within the private sector, and therefore a practical implication is that if the public sector organisations were to embrace social and environmental values, this would increase the commitment of PSM employees by improving the alignment between organisational and employee values and goals.

In terms of the recommendation to leverage relationships between PSM employees and their service beneficiaries, again a more explicit linking of public sector organisations positive contribution to a wider environmental and sustainability challenges would have positive effects for the individual, organisation and wider society. By connecting employees to tangible environmental and sustainability improvements resulting from their work, it is possible to increase the motivation of the PSM employees and thereby increase performance, retention and commitment (Christensen, Paarlberg and Perry 2017).

The final practical implication regards leadership and the communication and modelling of behaviours. Accepting the principle hypothesis concerning the integration of environmentalism with PSM, the practical implications that follow are that greater knowledge, understanding and commitment of public leaders to environmental values will help to catalyse organisations to rise to the challenges of sustainably. Furthermore, to realise the significant benefits set out above, environmental values should be much more prominent in the curriculum, training and scholarship of leaders and leadership in public administration.

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