

The role of public service motivation in performance

Examining the potentials and pitfalls through
an institutional approach

Nina Mari van Loon

Doctoral committee

Prof. dr. L. Bøgh Andersen

Prof. dr. J.P.P.E.F. Boselie

Prof. dr. P. 't Hart

Prof. dr. M. Noordegraaf

Prof. dr. A.J. Steijn

ISBN

978-90-393-6362-1

Cover design

Esther Ris, www.proefschriftomslag.nl

Internal design

Madelief Brandsma grafisch ontwerp, Arnhem

English editing

Giles Stacey, Englishworks

Print

Ipskamp Drukkers

© Nina Mari van Loon. Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd, opgeslagen in een geautomatiseerd gegevensbestand, en/of openbaar worden gemaakt, in enige vorm of op enige wijze, hetzij elektronisch, mechanisch, door fotokopieën, opnamen, of op enig andere manier, zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de rechthebbende.

The role of public service motivation in performance

Examining the potentials and pitfalls through an institutional approach

De rol van motivatie voor de publieke zaak in prestaties

*Een analyse van potentieel en valkuilen vanuit een institutionele benadering
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)*

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen op 4 september 2015 des middags te 2.30 uur

door

Nina Mari van Loon

geboren op 23 mei 1986
te Arnhem

Promotor: Prof. dr. P.L.M. Leisink

Co-promotor: Dr. W.V. Vandenabeele

This research was financed by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), grant number 404-10-092.

Preface

Being a public service motivation (PSM) scholar is great. People seem to always think about your research topic – the motivational drive to contribute to society unselfishly, even being willing to sacrifice yourself for society – and have an opinion about it. For instance, whenever colleagues needed help they would immediately assume (and express) that I would help them because I am very public service motivated (just as someone studying consumerism in sports is a sports consumer and someone focusing on transparency is fully transparent... the force of logic is strong in science). Getting coffee is something I would of course sacrifice myself for – would it not contribute to society because coffee was essential for others to finish their PhD? Actually, on this last point I have to agree as the coffee trips to IJs& Zopie were crucial in finishing this book. Moreover, at parties when I would tell about my dissertation (yes, I go to very exciting parties!) and state that I study the motivation of public servants, the reaction was usually: “Then you must be finished quickly” followed by a rant on lazy and unresponsive public servants... Luckily, I found that these public servants were motivated enough that it remained interesting for me to study for *four years (full-time!)*.

A common question asked to any PhD is why? Why spend four years on one topic? And why this topic? As a student I wrote every paper on the European Union. I wrote my high school final project on the potential success and failure of the expansion of the European Union and my bachelor thesis on the (lack of) Europeanisation in Dutch municipalities. Then why switch to public service motivation? I guess the main reason is that I have always felt a fascination for those people in our society that try to make it a better place to live, sacrificing their time and energy often above what is asked of them, and even putting their lives on the line. I have heard them being described as self-interested, lazy bureaucrats but that was not my impression and I therefore wanted to know more about their drive to work for society. I have not been disappointed in that regard, as I have had the fortune to meet many inspiring public employees that do their work with incredible passion. What wondered me was the general proposition in the literature that highly public service motivated employees will perform better in their job than those with lower levels of PSM. Did it not matter what situation you are in? What would happen if a public servant that really wants to contribute to society does *not* feel able to do so through his or her work? We have all encountered situations in which we were motivated but were thwarted in reaching our goals.

When finishing a PhD for instance, you encounter difficulties such as organizations that do not respond, time constraints and losing sight of the goal. The title of my research process could therefore have been given a rather similar name to this dissertation (*‘The role of public service motivation in finishing a PhD: Examining the potentials and pitfalls through an institutional approach’*). Truth be told I have never filled in the survey questions on PSM myself, but even without it I know that a drive to contribute to society plays a role in what I do and why I do it. As the employees in my research, I sometimes found myself asking the question ‘what am I doing this for’ – especially when it is a Sunday afternoon and you are working on version 117 of a paper. In these moments I had to think about what the impact on society of my work could be and was. I would think about the meetings with the organizations that took part in this study in which we would translate the findings to practical advice. I always

came back from such meetings with renewed energy and motivation to work on my project, and that is in the end what many of the people I met want: to see what their work contributes to others and society.

My dissertation has been coined the 'PSM-omnibus' (Trappenburg 2013) which is described in the dictionary as 'a collection of novels or stories in one book written by one author'. I must immediately disappoint you readers, as I am not sure whether this bundle of stories is as exciting as a novel. I would have liked it if the back of this book had read: *'including a thrilling story on public service motivation in the public and private sector and a love story on an employee's passion for the public cause'*. Sadly I think there are too many tables in this book to pass as a novel. Moreover, although each empirical chapter can be read on itself as they are written as stand-alone papers with an introduction and conclusion, each chapter also forms a 'piece of the puzzle' that I hope together results in more than the sum of its parts - in a similar way that in a good detective the main character has to collect all the pieces before solving a case.

It is because I hope that this dissertation will have an impact on society that I will not, like most prefaces, state how I assume most of you readers will only read this section, making a joke or two about it before proceeding to thank a long list of people. Instead, I would like to ask you to let your curiosity win from time pressures arising from a stack of papers to grade, meetings to attend, or a new episode of a tv-series, and immerse yourself in the topic that has held me busy for four years. For those under severe time pressures the summary (either in English or Dutch) will do. With some more time at hand, the introduction and discussion together will give you a good view on the results of this dissertation. The policemen, nurses, policy makers, prison guards and teachers that are the central focus of this dissertation play a central role in our society. Current reforms and work practices seem to place more and more emphasis on extrinsic incentives, control and oversight as means to improve the performance of these employees. I hope that this book contributes to a more balanced discussion about what drives them and how their performance can be improved showing that their public service motivation and being able to see the potential impact on society are evenly, if not more, important for their performance.

Acknowledgements

One of the conclusions of this dissertation is that context matters. In that regard I have been lucky to have worked in a great organization and with many great people over the last four years. First of all I would like to thank my supervisors Peter Leisink and Wouter Vandenabeele.

Peter, who would have thought six years ago when you drove me and my fellow students of the ResMa to Leuven for a lecture by Wouter that it would result in this. Maybe you did, but I certainly did not. From writing every paper on the European Union to a PhD in which the word EU cannot even be found (Ha! And now it can). I am very grateful for the opportunities you have given me and for all the times you have helped me make my work better. In feedback meetings your preparations were always impeccable. Your comments usually caused a gigantic wrinkle between my eyebrows and left me pondering like the

Thinker of Rodin, but that was just because you were always so good in filtering out the weak spots in my papers. After some time had passed the wrinkle would disappear (Thank goodness!) and I could see how the paper had grown due to your great comments. Thank you for your feedback, the chances you gave me and your commitment (even making pictures of flood risk potential signs on vacation) and I am happy we will continue to work together.

Wouter, from the start of my project you have immersed me in the world of public service motivation. Not only content-wise you were my go-to man regarding PSM (your own description of ‘a one-trick pony’ to me does not in any way describe your broad knowledge), but also introduced me in your worldwide network of scholars that you have built. Once described by you as ‘*conferenties afdweilen*’ (no translation available...), you immediately taught me the importance of building good relationships with fellow scholars by taking me only two months after the start of my project to my first conference – and having me pick the restaurant for a group of PSM scholars. I thank you for that, as I truly believe that the input of all the people you introduced me to has made this dissertation stronger. I would also like to thank you for the example you gave regarding showing an interest in others: you always had time for a talk about work, science, beer, soccer or differences between the Flemish and Dutch. Moreover, thank you for your strong belief in my work even when I did not, for letting me use quirky pictures of unmotivated cats in my serious conference presentations, and for the many laughs when you put things in perspective for me, stopping me from falling into one of the pitfalls by working too hard. I will always remember the time when I was panicking and sending you frantic e-mails about statistical problems and the only reply I got was a picture of your (one year old?) son reading a book on statistics with the line ‘*it cannot be that difficult...*’. Thank you.

This research project was funded by the Dutch Association for Scientific Research (NWO) and I am thankful for the opportunity they have provided me to conduct this project. Without the cooperation of several organizations and respondents this project would not have been possible. I thank the schools, municipalities, prisons, healthcare facilities and police district which participated in this research project. I would also like to thank the 50 employees from these organizations that were willing to talk to me about their motivation and work and the 2.000 employees who were willing to fill in my survey. I hope I have captured your motivations and experiences when working for government. Finally, I thank the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations for allowing me to analyse their data.

My research stay at the University of Aarhus has been a most enriching experience. I felt welcome from the moment I arrived and have met many people who have made my stay a great time. I would especially like to thank Lotte Bøgh Andersen. Lotte, thank you for having me in Aarhus, inviting me to your home and for the many runs in the early mornings in Aarhus and at conferences. Your expertise, kindness and work ethos are an inspiration and example for me. Anne Mette, I remember when you visited us in Utrecht and we had a great discussion about a paper by Don Moynihan. From that moment on, I knew I had found a fellow ‘bookworm’ friend. Thank you for all the fun and your, Morten and Martha’s kindness in inviting me to your home. Moreover, I thank the Aarhus research group for their valuable comments. Finally, Cathy, Helene, Kim, Marie, Camilla, Lasse, Roberto and all the other PhD’s: Tak for the ‘hygge’, the ‘øl’, cake on Mondays and breakfasts on Fridays!

Table of Contents

List of Tables	15
List of Figures	17
1. The potential of public service motivation	19
1.1 Public service motivation	22
1.2 Why public service motivation may not be a quick-fix instrument	24
1.3 The need for research on the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship	26
1.4 Relevance of this study	30
1.5 Setting of this study	33
1.6 Contents of this dissertation	35
2. All you need is public service motivation? On the role of institutional context for the relationship between PSM and performance	39
2.1 Introduction	41
2.2 Public service motivation: institution-embedded motivation	42
2.3 Performance in a public context	43
2.4 The relationship between PSM and performance	47
2.5 Institutional context	50
2.6 The context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship	51
2.7 A revised model of the PSM-performance relationship	54
2.8 The Who, the When and the Where: a research agenda	56
2.9 This dissertation	62
2.10 Conclusion	63
<i>Part I: The role of institutional context</i>	65
3. Talking the talk of public service motivation	67
3.1 Introduction	69
3.2 Public service motivation	70
3.3 Differences between public service providers	71
3.4 Methods	74
3.5 Results	76
3.6 Discussion	81

3.7	Conclusion	84
4.	Do public service motivated employees perform better on all dimensions of performance?	91
4.1	Introduction	93
4.2	PSM as an institution-based motivation	94
4.3	Behaviour and performance	95
4.4	Previous findings on the PSM-performance relationship	97
4.5	How institutional context matters in the relationship between PSM and behaviour	98
4.6	Methods	100
4.7	Results	102
4.8	Discussion	106
4.9	Conclusion	109
5.	Clarifying the relationship between public service motivation and performance: The relative contributions of person-job and person-organization fit	113
5.1	Introduction	115
5.2	Motivation of public employees	116
5.3	Performance in the public sector as a multifaceted concept	117
5.4	The relationship between PSM and performance	118
5.5	The importance of person-environment fit	120
5.6	Methods	123
5.7	Results	126
5.8	Discussion	129
5.9	Conclusion	132
6.	On the bright and dark side of public service motivation: Investigating the relationship between PSM and employee wellbeing from an institutional perspective	135
6.1	Introduction	137
6.2	Public service motivation	138
6.3	PSM and employee outcomes: both bright and dark sides?	138
6.4	Bringing in institutional context: user logic and societal impact potential	139
6.5	Methods	141
6.6	Results	143

6.7	Discussion	148
6.8	Conclusion	149

<i>Part II: Addressing three issues</i>	153
---	-----

7.	Is public service motivation related to overall and to dimensional work-unit performance as indicated by supervisors?	155
-----------	--	-----

7.1	Introduction	157
7.2	Public service motivation	158
7.3	The relationship between PSM and performance	159
7.4	Performance as a contextual multidimensional concept	161
7.5	Aggregation to work unit	162
7.6	Theoretical model and expectations	163
7.7	Methods	165
7.8	Results	169
7.9	Discussion	175
7.10	Conclusion	178

8.	How does publicness matter for the relationship between PSM and performance? Studying sector and a job's societal impact potential as elements of publicness	181
-----------	---	-----

8.1	Introduction	183
8.2	Public service motivation and performance	184
8.3	Publicness as defining characteristic	186
8.4	The role of institutional context for the PSM – performance relationship	187
8.5	Methods	190
8.6	Results	193
8.7	Discussion	199
8.8	Conclusion	202

9.	Only when the job's societal impact potential is high? A panel study of the relationship between public service motivation and performance	205
-----------	---	-----

9.1	Introduction	207
9.2	The relationship between public service motivation and performance	208
9.3	The context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship	211
9.4	Research model	213

9.5	Methods	214
9.6	Results	218
9.7	Discussion	222
9.8	Conclusion	224
10.	Public service motivation: potential and pitfalls	229
Part I:	Conclusion	230
10.1	Synthesizing the results	230
10.2	The role of institutional context in public service motivation	233
10.3	The role of institutional context in performance and the consequences for the PSM- performance relationship	234
10.4	The context-dependency of the relationship between PSM and performance	235
10.5	The pitfalls of public service motivation	238
10.6	Answering the main research question	239
Part II:	Discussion	240
10.7	Limitations and how these were addressed	240
10.8	Contributions of this dissertation	242
10.9	An agenda for future research	246
10.10	Implications for practice	248
10.11	To conclude	251
	References	253
	Summary in English	269
	Samenvatting in het Nederlands	281
	Curriculum Vitae	293

List of Tables

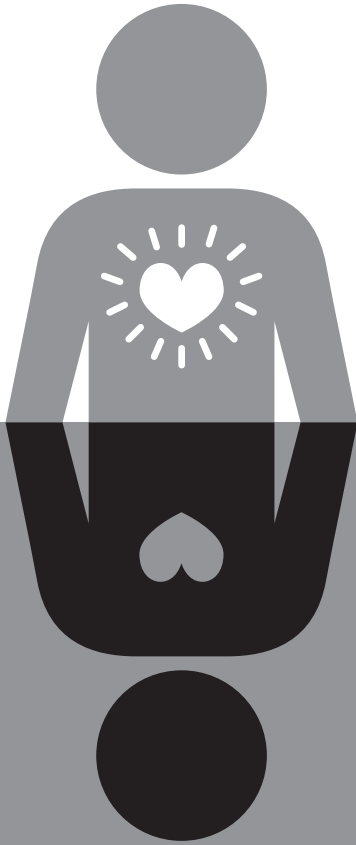
1.1	Overview of chapters and studies in this dissertation	36
2.1	Overview of studies on relationship between PSM and performance	48
2.2	Nine PSM x context situations and their potential influence on performance	58
2.3	Propositions and the relevant chapters	62
A3.1	Overview of respondents.	86
A3.2	Topic list	88
A3.3	Codes and sub-codes	89
4.1	Measurement models for performance-related behaviour	103
4.2	Fit indices for PSM and behaviour: people-changing and people-processing group	103
4.3	Correlation table for the people-changing group	104
4.4	Correlation table for the people-processing group	104
A4.1	Response rates per service domain	110
A4.2	Items, factor loadings, standard errors: people-changing and people-processing	111
5.1	Response rates	124
5.2	Percentage of respondents in primary process, management and supportive staff	124
5.3	Correlation table	127
A5.1	Items, factor loadings, standard errors and Cronbach's alpha	134
6.1	Fit measures and reliabilities for the constructs by sample	143
6.2	Structural equation model for people-changing organizations	144
6.3	Structural equation model for people-processing organizations	145
6.4	Structural equation model for three-way interaction PSM, SIP and user logic	146
A6.1	Correlations between constructs for people-changing organizations	152
A6.2	Correlations between constructs for people-processing organizations	152
7.1	Items for overall performance	167
7.2	Means, standard deviations and correlations between variables	170
7.3	Regression analysis for overall work-unit performance	171
7.4	Regression analysis for output	172
7.5	Regression analysis for efficiency	172
7.6	Regression analysis for service outcome	173

7.7	Regression analysis for responsiveness	174
7.8	Regression analysis for resilience	174
7.9	Summary of the significance of the relationships between PSM and performance	175
A7.1	Results of confirmatory factor analyses PSM and performance dimensions	179
8.1	Items, factor loadings, standard errors and significance of full model	192
8.2	Reliabilities for PSM, SIP and performance by sector	193
8.3	Mean scores for PSM, SIP and performance in public and private sectors	194
8.4	Correlations for (a) public sector and (b) private sector sample	194
8.5	Regression table for (a) public sector and (b) private sector sample	195
8.6	Mean scores by sector and functional domain for PSM, SIP and performance	198
9.1	Descriptive statistics of measures in the pooled cross-sectional dataset	216
9.2	Individual level cross-sectional analysis	219
9.3	Organizational level (panel regression, fixed effects) analysis	221
A9.1	Mean PSM and SIP per organization in 2010-2012	226
10.1	Propositions and relevant results from this dissertation	231

List of Figures

1.1	Research model	30
2.1	Theoretical framework on the relationship between PSM and performance	55
3.1	Public services on two dimensions and the expected emphasis on motives	74
3.2	Typical responses for each type of service provider	80
4.1	Structural equation model for the people-changing group	105
4.2	Structural equation model for the people-processing group	106
5.1	Full structural equation model.	127
5.2	Full structural equation model, full mediation P-O and P-J fit.	128
5.3	Full structural equation model, partial mediation P-O and P-J fit	129
6.1	Theoretical model for people-changing organizations	140
6.2	Theoretical model for people-processing organizations	141
6.3	Three-way interaction PSM, SIP and user logic on burn-out	147
6.4	Three-way interaction PSM, SIP and user logic on job satisfaction	147
7.1	Theoretical model of the relationship between PSM and work unit performance	163
8.1	Theoretical model for PSM-performance relationship in the public and private sector.	189
8.2	Plot of final model results for (a) private and (b) public sector	197
8.3	Plot of final model results for economic/administrative/commercial domain in (a) private and (b) public sectors, and for medical/paramedical/healthcare domain in the (c) private and (d) public sector	199
9.1	Theoretical model for relationship between PSM, SIP and performance on the individual and, over time, on the organizational level.	213
9.2	Illustration of estimated individual level associations between PSM and performance for minimum, average and maximum levels of SIP	220
9.3	Illustration of estimated aggregated PSM-performance associations for minimum, average and maximum levels of SIP	222
10.1	Overview of results from empirical studies	233
10.2	Overview of results on interaction between PSM and institutional context	234
10.3	Overview of results on multidimensionality of performance, and relationship to PSM	235

10.4	Overview of results on context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship	236
10.5	Overview of results on pitfalls of PSM as an instrument to increase performance	238



Chapter 1

The potential of public service motivation

Ellie is a policymaker for a municipality. She always wanted to work for a public organization because she thinks it is important to contribute to society and to do work that helps others. Doing something for society is an important driver in her work. Luckily her job provides the opportunity to do just that: every day she feels she can participate in making the municipality a bit better, by talking to citizens and formulating policy plans. She works hard to ensure that she finishes her tasks on time, that citizens are treated fairly and that she gives the citizens value for their tax money.

Russell is a teacher at a secondary school. He went into education to be able to make sure that young kids get a good education and a sound foundation for their future lives. He feels that contributing to the common good is part of who he is. However, lately he feels he can no longer contribute to society through his job. Most of his time is spent on filling in administrative forms, and his classes are so big that he is not able to reach the students. To him, being able to respond to the students, to connect with them, is crucial to achieving good results. He feels it is his task to provide the children with a good education, to treat them fairly, and to be responsive to them.

The two cases above are illustrative of the different situations in which public employees can find themselves and the different performance criteria they consider meaningful. Both employees are expressing a strong motivation to contribute to society, called *public service motivation* (Perry & Wise 1990), but their situations differ substantially. Within the literature on public service motivation (PSM) it is widely assumed that such motivation plays a role in individual performance (Brewer 2008; Perry & Wise 1990) and can serve as a way for public organizations to increase their performance (Steen & Rutgers 2011). Employees such as Russell and Ellie daily influence the lives of citizens through the production and/or redistribution of public goods (Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody & Musheno 2003). It is therefore not surprising that society wants them to perform well, and that what they should do in terms of performance, and how it can be improved, is a recurring theme in both public and scholarly debates (Behn 1995; Boyne et al. 2006; SCP 2010; WRR 2004).

However, is it safe to assume that Russell, a highly public service motivated employee, will perform well due to his public service motivation? Currently it seems that he perceives little potential to have a positive impact on society. It may be that employees in such a situation, like Russell, become disappointed, frustrated, or even burnt out because of the misfit between what they want to do – contribute to society – and what they are actually able to do (Steijn 2008). Does PSM play a positive role for performance in such an situation? Moreover, what is meant by ‘performs well’? Performance in organizations providing public services is complex due to the multiplicity of goals that these organizations are asked to strive for: not only economic or financial outputs but also equity, responsiveness and probity (Boyne 2002; Brewer & Selden 2000; Bryson et al. 2014; WRR 2012). The publicness of the work done by Russell and Ellie means that performance can have multiple aspects, in which it is not clear which aspect (equity, responsiveness, timeliness or output) is the most important. What is seen as the most important may depend on the stakeholder asked as well as the context (public or private, school or municipality, etc.).

This dissertation therefore questions the general assumption that public service motivation (PSM) always plays a positive role in performance and coupled to that, the idea

that public service motivation of employees is a quick fix 'instrument' that can be used by public organizations to increase their performance. Is it fruitful to focus on public service motivation in the strategic human resource management, or are there situations in which the alleged potential of PSM does not result in performance gains, and are there pitfalls to such an approach? This dissertation aims to provide more insight in the role PSM plays in performance by studying this relationship and the influence of the institutional context. Analysing whether and how characteristics of the institutional context, such as sector, type of service and the societal impact potential of the job, influence the PSM-performance relationship is valuable because it can provide insights into what circumstances are best suited for public service motivated employees to function well. As such it connects to broader debates, both within public administration and human resource management, on the importance of contextualization (Giauque et al. 2011; Goodin & Tilly 2006; Moynihan et al. 2013; Paauwe & Boselie 2003).

The abovementioned issues refer to gaps in knowledge regarding the role of institutional context in public service motivation, performance and their relationship which form the basis for this dissertation. To increase understanding of the relationship between public service motivation and performance and the role of institutional context this dissertation addresses the following research question:

What is the role of public service motivation in performance and how does institutional context matter?

This dissertation aims are multiple. First, the relationship between PSM and performance is examined by studying whether the role of PSM in performance is positive, i.e. whether employees with high public service motivation also perform better. Second, this dissertation aims to provide insight in whether variations in the institutional context make a difference for a) expressions of PSM, b) conceptualization of performance, and c) the relationship between PSM and performance. PSM's role in performance can be positive, negative and non-significant and this could differ between institutional contexts. By studying various element of the institutional context this dissertation can provide insight in the importance of context for PSM, performance and the PSM-performance relationship.

This introductory chapter firstly introduces public service motivation (Section 1.1) and then moves on to discuss why PSM may not be a quick fix instrument (Section 1.2). In Section 1.3, three knowledge gaps are identified in the relationship between PSM and performance, leading to the research model that guides this dissertation. The areas where this dissertation aims to contribute to the work of both scholars and practitioners are highlighted in Section 1.4, followed by a description of the study's setting in paragraph 1.5. In the final section (1.6) an overview of the following chapters is presented.

1.1 Public service motivation

Theories on the motivation and behaviour of public servants' have different assumptions regarding the nature of human behaviour. At one end of the extreme studies assume that individuals are rational actors who mainly think about their self-interest, and portray public servants as individuals who will most likely try to further their own careers, do as little work as possible and try to maximize the budget of their own organization or department (Downs 1967; Brehm & Gates 1997; Niskanen 1971). Other studies have argued that such a narrow approach explains very little of what actually goes on in public organizations (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990). Public service motivation (PSM) theory claims that individuals are not only driven by self-interests but also by a drive to contribute to society and to help others, and that this motivation is particularly high amongst public servants. Such individuals may even forego their own interests for the sake of society, for instance when they risk their own safety to help someone else (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990).

This idea of a public service ethic is not new, and has received attention throughout time. For instance, Plato argued in *'The Republic'* that those working for the community should set their personal interest aside and fulfil their duty to society (Horton 2008). Through Aquinas, Rousseau and Weber, a public service ethos in which public employees place the interests of a larger whole – society – above their own interests has been studied both as an ideal and as an idea (Horton 2008). Theory on public service motivation fits within this tradition, but aims to provide an empirical basis for the existence of such a public service ethos and a practical basis for incentivizing staff by placing PSM within the potential tools available for human resource management in public organizations (Perry & Wise 1990; Perry & Hondeghem 2008; Vandenabeele et al. 2013).

Public service motivation can be seen as a driver that motivates individuals to contribute to society and to help others (Perry & Hondeghem 2008). Vandenabeele (2007, p. 549) defined PSM as *'the belief, the values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interests of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate'*. This definition, although complex, describes how such motivated individuals act according to what is seen as appropriate (March & Olsen 1989). As such, PSM can be seen as a contextual motivation for which there is a constant interaction with the institutional environment. This also implies that public service motivation is not a stable trait that some individuals have and others do not (Prebble 2014). Rather, it is a motivation that can change in strength, form and saliency relative to other motives during a person's lifetime. Due to this dynamic, there can be differences in both the degree, shape and importance of PSM between institutional contexts (Brewer et al. 2000; Kjeldsen 2013; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012).

PSM is not an intrinsic motivation in the classical intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy because

1 Using the word 'public' directly leads on to the question as to what constitutes 'public' and 'private'. With the term 'public servant', this dissertation refers to those working in both public, i.e. government, and semi-public, e.g. hospitals and schools, service providers unless specified otherwise. Public service providers are organizations that produce, deliver or redistribute public goods. As such, the term includes not only civil servants (those working for government) and extends beyond the group of 'street-level bureaucrats' (those working on public services in direct contact with citizens) by including those who do not have everyday contacts with citizens.

the pure enjoyment of working on public service is not the primary driving force. Rather, PSM can be seen, using the terminology of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan 2000), as an autonomous, yet mostly external ‘obligation-based’ type of motivation (Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013). Individuals want to work hard because of a sense of duty and identification with core public values (Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013). PSM is seen as one of many motivations that drive individual behaviour. For instance, one can differentiate between public service and public sector motivations, the latter referring to a broader motivation to work in the public sector which to an extent can stem from the sector’s employment conditions in terms of security, salary, work-private life balance and work contents (Brewer & Selden 1998; Wright 2001). Further, in distinguishing public service motivation from prosocial (Grant 2008), general service or user-oriented motivation, PSM is not about wanting to help one specific client or citizen, but rather society-at-large.

As such, public service motivation can be found in any individual: it is not limited to those working in the public sector (Steen 2008; Prebble 2014). Regarding the work context, some public services are privately owned (nowadays, often public transport for example), sometimes private organizations are taken over by the government (as has happened with banks), and some private organizations aim for societal goals (social entrepreneurship). This makes it likely that public service motivation is *not* sector-bound, but that its relevance and role are more important in those organizations who work on public services provision, i.e. which have a high degree of publicness (Houston 2000). Studies have also found that levels of public service motivation are higher in organizations with a public purpose because individuals with a high PSM are attracted to such environments and are less likely to leave (Kjeldsen 2012; Vandenabeele 2008).

This dissertation focuses on public service motivation, and does not consider the other potential factors within an individual’s complex mix of motives. Numerous studies have been conducted on the role of general work motivation (Pinder 2008). Others have examined the relative role of PSM compared to pay motivation (Taylor & Taylor 2011) showing that PSM had a greater influence on effort than wages. As opposed to studying the relative role of public service motivation in performance, this dissertation aims to provide insight in the role of PSM *under different institutional circumstances*. PSM has been found to be more prevalent amongst employees working on public service due to attraction and attrition effects (Kjeldsen 2012; Vandenabeele 2008) and has received considerable scholarly attention in the field of public administration. The insight in how differences between public service providers matter for the role of PSM is however sparse, which limits the understanding of its usability for management as well as the degree to which generalizations can be made regarding findings within various contexts.

Since this dissertation focused on one aspect of an individual’s motivation we would expect PSM to explain parts of an individual’s behaviour and performance but not everything. PSM is the central focus because it reflects the distinctiveness of working on public service and can be seen as a contextualized type of motivation. Moreover, it is this type of motivation that is seen as a potential advantage that public service providers can wield to enhance performance, as opposed to better benefits, control or pay-for-performance (Perry & Hondeghem 2008).

In their seminal work on public service motivation, Perry and Wise (1990) proposed a

positive relationship between public service motivation and performance for those working in public organizations. Public servants who valued contributing to society were expected to put in more effort in their work than employees who did not feel such a drive. Several empirical studies addressing this proposition indeed found a positive relationship between PSM and performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Brewer & Selden 2000; Naff & Crum 1999; Kim 2006; Leisink & Steijn 2009, Vandenabeele 2009). Consequently, PSM has been viewed as an ‘instrument’ which public organizations can use to increase their performance (Steen & Rutgers 2011).

However, drawing this conclusion may be somewhat hasty, as some studies have found no or only a partial relationship between PSM and performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Ritz 2009) and questions have been raised regarding the assumed relationship between PSM and performance (Perry et al. 2010; Prebble 2014; Wright & Grant 2010). Moreover, such an instrumental approach may also have negative consequences when for instance gaining a competitive advantage through taking care of employees turns into exploiting employees to reach the organizational goals (Guest 1997; Van Veldhoven 2012). Human resource management has been criticized for its singular attention for organizational goals and several scholars have argued that employee well-being should be considered as well when studying performance (Guest 1997; Boselie 2010). Until now PSM scholars have barely investigated potential negative consequences or pitfalls in such an approach (Steen & Rutgers 2011). This dissertation responds to these questions on the nature of the relationship between PSM and performance and argues that the relationship between PSM and performance may be context-dependent.

1.2 Why public service motivation may not be a quick-fix instrument

Looking at the cases of Ellie and Russell, one would expect them, based purely on their high levels of public service motivation, to perform equally well. However, their situations are complete opposites; whereas Ellie feels able to do what she wants to do (contribute to society), Russell feels unable to do so because of the conditions in which he has to work and these seem to push him towards frustration and potentially even burn-out. This is an example of how the work context matters. However, research on PSM has not paid sufficient attention to the role that institutional context plays in the relationship between PSM and performance.

Studies on the sources of PSM have argued that public service motivation develops in interacting with the institutional context and is shaped by institutional elements such as education and organizational settings (Kjeldsen 2012; Moynihan & Pandey 2007; Perry 1997; Perry 2000; Vandenabeele 2007). Despite this, the institutional context has received far less attention in studies on the relationship between PSM and work outcomes. This aspect is however crucial: if the influence of public service motivation on performance is context-dependent, PSM is not a ‘quick-fix’ generally applicable instrument for public organizations aiming to increase their performance.

Institutional context can be defined as the full set of institutions with which an

individual interacts, from macro –level such as national values and religion, to micro-level work practices (Scott 2001). Here, institutions refer to rules and norms that shape routines, common practices and shared meanings (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). Both structural, normative and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions can influence individuals through determining the rules of the game, the values deemed important and the way of ‘doing things’ – logics (March & Olsen 1989; Perry 2000; Scott 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Institutions are present on different levels, such as sectorial and organizational, and for example influence work practices, job characteristics and perceptions of employees (Scott 2001).

This dissertation focuses on work-related institutional context, and thus at the meso- and micro-level institutions that interact and influence individual behaviour (Scott 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Strategic human resource management (SHRM) literature focuses on the practices and policies of the organization/management that shape the relationship with the employee with the aim to achieve the organization’s goals (Boselie 2010; Van Veldhoven 2012). Through creating the right circumstances for employees to attain the goals, the organization aims to attain a competitive advantage. Although SHRM research mainly focuses on private companies, public organizations also differ in the circumstances in which their employees have to execute their tasks. Variations in the work context are not only the result of management practices but also institutional arrangements such as the type of service, their users, their policies, aims and practices. This dissertation examines how work-related institutional variations – such as between jobs, organizations or domains – matter for the relationship between PSM and performance.

The interaction between PSM and institutional context can be illustrated using person-environment fit theory (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). According to person-environment fit theory, a fit between the needs or values of the individual and the opportunities provided by, or adherence to similar values of, the environment is necessary for a positive effect to occur on work outcomes (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). It is thus not solely the environment or the person’s attributes, but the combination of the two that leads to a certain outcome. Referring back to Ellie and Russell, it looks as if Ellie is experiencing a good person-environment fit: she feels able to respond to her own need to contribute to society, with the likely result that she will perform well. Russell, on the other hand, is experiencing a misfit: he is highly motivated to contribute to society but feels unable to do so - his needs are not being met by his working environment, blocking his drive to contribute to society and, as a result, to perform highly.

Studies have used person-environment fit theory in an attempt to understand the role of context for the relationship between PSM and work outcomes (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Steijn 2008; Taylor 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008). In general they found that a fit matters. However, more research is necessary to be able to explain *why* context matters, *how* context matters and *which* aspects of the institutional context matter. This is valuable information as it offers insight into whether public service motivation can be seen as a potential way to increase performance and whether there are potentially dark sides to such an approach for the employees and public service provision as a whole (Steen & Rutgers 2011).

1.3 The need for research on the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship

Looking back on twenty years of research, Perry, Hondeghem and Wise (2010) identified lack of attention for the institutional context as one of the most prominent issues regarding current knowledge on the relationship between public service motivation and performance. Multiple variations in institutional context exist between the work environments of public service employees. Country differences in state structure and relationship between servants and politicians may matter, as well as differences in performance management systems or professionalization (Kjeldsen & Andersen 2012; Jacobsen et al. 2011). However, this dissertation focuses on those aspects of institutional context that are most related to *public* service motivation: the publicness of the institutional work context.

It is likely that the publicness of the institutional work context matters for its relationship with performance, as PSM is a motivation aimed at the specific goal to contribute to society (Perry & Wise 1990). Publicness is however difficult to define. Most studies have focused on sector as defining element of publicness, and have treated the public sector as a homogeneous entity which would provide a fit for those public service motivated employees (Vandenabeele 2008). However, from an institutional perspective publicness is not only determined by structural elements such as ownership and authority (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003). This is exemplified by looking at the diversity in organizations *within* the group specified as public by ownership. Municipalities, police and prisons differ significantly in their missions, tasks, types of service and the citizens with which they interact. This is due to differences in *expectations*, *logics* and *values*, which can be seen as normative elements of institutions (Scott 2001).

Publicness can thus be seen as the degree and way in which the work is aiming to contribute to society or the common interest. Not only the degree of public ownership, authority or main source of income determines the focus of the work on society, but also the mission, goals, stakeholders and practices.

This dissertation responds to the need for more research on the role of the institutional context in three ways.

The role of institutional context in public service motivation

The public service motives of individuals are likely to interact with the context in which their work is done. Perry and Wise (1990) identified three types of public service motives: rational (wanting to participate in public service to improve it), normative (sense of duty, commitment to public values) and affective (identification and empathy with others). The salience of these motives may depend on the context in which an individual works because public service motivation develops through interaction with the institutional context. Brewer et al. (2000) distinguished different types of public service motivated individuals such as ‘patriots’ and ‘samaritans’ based on what they saw as the public interest, but there may also be differences in the emphasis placed on the public service motives among institutional contexts. For instance, Giauque et al. (2011) argued that PSM should be seen and studied as a contextual concept that depends on national characteristics. Kim et al. (2012) found that public service motivation can differ between countries. Kjeldsen (2014), Ward (2014)

and Lui and Perry (2014) all found that PSM changed over time.

PSM is thus, as Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) theorized, not a stable trait of an individual, but a dynamic state that is in constant interaction with its institutional context. Although these studies have been useful in showing PSM to be dynamic, more insight is needed into how meso- or micro- level institutions interact with public service motivation. In this regard, Kjeldsen (2012) found that there were differences in the public service motives expressed by healthcare employees with different degrees of professionalism as well as between those publicly and privately employed.

Taking this further, there may also be differences in public service motives between those working for different public service providers. Important differences exist between public service providers in terms of their missions, purposes, work logics and degrees of publicness. Building upon previous work, variances in the type of service produced may matter for expressions of PSM (Kjeldsen 2013). For instance, it may matter whether the service is focused on production of services or regulation (called ‘people-changing’ or ‘people-processing’), or whether the service is perceived as negative or positive by users (Hasenfeld 1972). Ellie, working in a municipality, and Russell, working in a school, are exposed to different institutional influences and this may be a factor in their public service motivation. An understanding of how public service motives vary between public services with different organizational logics is important for determining whether findings on PSM can be generalized.

The role of institutional context in performance

The institutional context also matters when it comes to conceptualizing and studying performance. Public service providers have multiple stakeholders with different interests, and need to uphold several public values rather than only delivering a product or service. As such, a single measure will fail to accurately and fully measure public performance (Andrews et al. 2010; Boyne 2002; Brewer 2006; Vandenabeele et al. 2013). A similar discussion has been raised in the HRM literature in which corporate – financial – aspects of performance have dominated studies. According to Guest (1997) most studies focus on performance as company-dominated criteria whereas broader outcomes could also be seen as part of performance. Some HRM scholars propose a ‘balanced approach’ to performance in which performance is seen as balancing organizational outcomes with societal and employee outcomes (Boselie 2010; Guest 1997; Paauwe 2004; Vandenabeele et al. 2013). This approach is also used here.

More strongly for public organizations performance can be said to go beyond mere profit or financial balance, to include upholding important public values such as equity, legitimacy and responsiveness (Boyne 2002; Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007), and thus there is a need to broaden the concept of performance. Defining what constitutes performance for public organizations is part of a political process. According to some scholars new public management reforms have tended to narrow discussions on performance to economic terms such as output and efficiency (Boyne 2002; Moynihan 2010) even though profit and market share are not the first words that spring to mind when thinking about the performance of schools, hospitals and municipalities. Rather, public performance is much more complex and should include the multiple goals that public service providers serve (Boyne 2002; Brewer & Selden 2000; Bryson et al. 2014; Rainey 2003; Walker et al. 2011; WRR 2012).

PSM research has mostly used overall performance indicators despite it being studied in a public context in which performance can be seen as an inherently multidimensional concept (Andrews et al. 2006; Boyne 2002; Walker et al. 2010). Most research has focused on individual performance and used overall performance measures, and this may hide differences in the relationships between PSM and the various performance outcomes. Perry et al. (2010), for instance, questioned whether PSM is related to both efficiency and effectiveness, and it may well be that high levels of public service motivation make employees more sensitive to societal goals than to organizational ones (Steen & Rutgers 2011). Moreover, not all dimensions of performance may be equally salient in different public service providers. As in the situations of Ellie and Russell at the beginning of this introduction, value-for-money can be emphasized more in one public service provider, and responsiveness in another.

Considering employee outcomes, several studies have found relationships between PSM and job satisfaction in the public sector (Kjeldsen & Andersen 2012; Taylor 2008; Vandenabeele 2009) but others have argued that such a relationship is fully mediated by a fit with the organization (Steijn 2006; Bright 2008; Wright 2008). Moreover, Giauque et al. (2012) found that employees with high PSM experienced greater work pressure. Steen and Rutgers (2011) hypothesize that going ‘above and beyond the call of duty’ (DiIulio 1994) may be beneficial for an organization, but harmful to the long-term health of employees if there is a misfit. Despite this, there is a lack of knowledge on such potential pitfalls public service motivation. Therefore, it is important to not only look at performance in terms of outcomes for the organization or for society, but also at the wellbeing of the employees.

In applying such a multidimensional contextualized approach to performance when studying its relationship with PSM, one can question whether public service motivation will be related to all the dimensions of performance. Studying how PSM relates to several dimensions of performance could identify potential trade-offs, such as between responsiveness and equity, as well as between organizational or societal performance and employee wellbeing. It may be that public service motivated employees indeed go above and beyond what is asked of them but, for practice, it is important to know if emphasizing PSM to improve performance is sustainable and responsible, or whether it will drain employees in the long run.

The role of institutional context in the relationship between PSM and performance

As shown in the cases of Ellie and Russell, not all public servants may experience a fit between their motivation to contribute to society and their context. There may be boundaries to the relationship between PSM and performance since not every situation will provide employees who feel a drive to contribute to society with opportunities to do so. Our understanding of why PSM relates to performance in some contexts but not in others is based on the few studies that have used person-environment fit theory. These studies have mostly measured perceptions of fit with the environment (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Steijn 2008; Taylor 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008). This provides insight into whether context matters, but not *which* contexts matter, and how. As such, it remains unclear why and how a fit between public service motivation and the institutional context matters, how such a fit can be studied and what characteristics of the context matter (Perry et al. 2010). It is important to know whether the PSM–performance relationship depends

on, for instance, the sector, organization and type of work if one is to understand why two equally public service motivated employees, like Ellie and Russell, perform differently.

Through using institutional theory, this dissertation aims to explain the theoretical relevance of fit, and then to test how different types of fit matter for the relationship between PSM and performance. Although PSM research has mostly studied person-environment fit in one way, a fit can be studied in multiple ways, such as in terms of an objective fit (looking at characteristics of the institutional context and the individual), a subjective fit (looking at perceived characteristics of the institutional context and the individual) and a perceived fit (looking at the perceived direct fit with the environment) (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Using other approaches than only the latter can increase insight into the context-dependency of the PSM–performance relationship.

Several authors have argued that public organizations can benefit from attracting and selecting employees with high levels of public service motivation because this can contribute to higher job satisfaction (Bright 2008; Kjeldsen & Andersen 2012; Taylor 2008), organizational commitment (Crewson 1997; Moynihan & Pandey 2008; Leisink & Steijn 2009) and performance (Kim 2006; Vandenabeele 2009). However, it is unclear if having highly public service motivated employees is in itself sufficient to boost performance. Before advising public organizations and managers that public service motivation is a potential way to increase performance, we need to know whether such a claim is true and generally applicable. If the relationship between PSM and performance is context-dependent, this would argue against seeing PSM as a quick fix and instead seeking a full ‘public-value-based’ approach to the delivery of public services (Vandenabeele et al. 2013). Such a situation would mean that, to increase performance of public service providers, it is not necessarily the public service motivation of employees that needs to be improved, but possibly (also) the context and incentives offered by the institutional context.

Research model

The abovementioned gaps in knowledge on the role of institutional context leads to the following research model. The relationship between PSM and performance depends on the institutional context through forming a fit or misfit between the need to provide public service and the opportunities to do so, as well as through influencing employee perceptions of a fit between their needs and values, and those of the context. This dissertation focuses on meso or micro-level institutions related to the work situation such as organizational values, logics and job characteristics (Scott 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Figure 1.1 shows a simplified model of the studied relationships. Institutional context influences PSM but it is likely PSM also influences the institutions in which they work. Together, PSM and institutional context interact to form a fit or misfit. Next to this objective fit, the context is also perceived by the employee, who forms his or her own perception of fit with the context, which does not have to correspond with the objective fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Employees’ perceptions regarding their fit with the institutional context may thus also influence their performance (Edwards et al. 2006). This is addressed by including, as distinct items in the model, the institutional context, whose characteristics both objectively and subjectively interact with PSM, the person-environment fit resulting from the interaction, as well as the individual’s direct perception of their fit with the environment.

Finally, performance is viewed as a multidimensional construct including multiple public values and the wellbeing of employees. What is defined as performance is influenced by the institutional context because the expectations may vary between organizations and employees. This is shown with the dotted line. The model is expanded upon in Chapter 2.

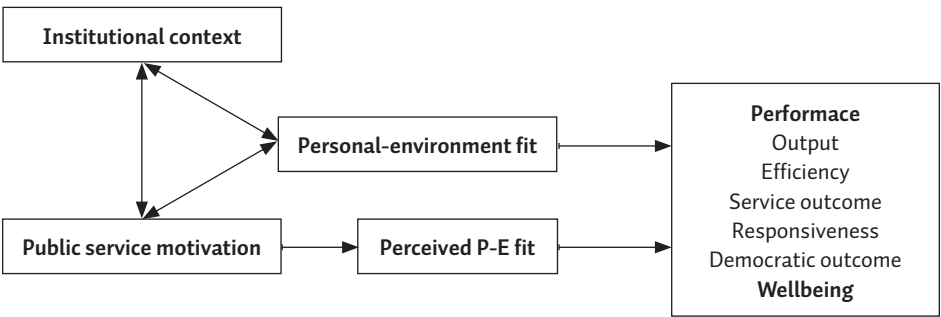


Figure 1.1: Research model.

In each chapter a different part of the theoretical model is studied. There is an inherent tension between doing justice to the complex reality, in which multiple factors interact with each other in influencing performance, and using research models that are analysable, parsimonious and comprehensible. The complex reality was therefore simplified by not including all levels and types of the institutional context in each chapter. Together, the studies in this dissertation add up to more than the sum of the individual chapters as they provide insight in the complex relationship between PSM, performance and institutional context.

1.4 Relevance of this study

Through answering the research question formulated at the start, this study aims to contribute to theoretical, methodological and practical knowledge.

Theoretical relevance

Although most empirical research on PSM has concentrated on its relationship with performance and job satisfaction, theoretical work has mainly focused on the development of public service motivation (Perry 2000; Vandenabeele 2007; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). This dissertation aims to provide a theoretical framework for the relationship between PSM and performance by further incorporating institutional and broader motivational (self-determination) theory, as well as integrating *publicness* from an institutional perspective, to provide an explanation for why, how, when and where a relationship, either positive or negative, can be expected between public service motivation and performance. SHRM research has mainly focused on the relationship between HRM practices and performance, whereas knowledge on the intermediate processes – variances in employee attitudes and their behaviour – have been underdeveloped (Van de Voorde 2010; Van Veldhoven 2012). Person-environment fit theory (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005) has been

used to illustrate how individual motives can interact with the institutional context (Steijn 2008), and here its use is expanded relative to earlier studies, which focused on one type of fit, to show the various ways in which this interaction can take place and be studied.

Second, adopting a balanced contextualized approach to performance broadens the perspective on what performance is, and changes the question as to whether PSM is related to performance, into which aspects of performance it is related. Most PSM research has studied general performance using such measures as overall job performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009). Two problems can be identified that are potentially linked to such an approach. First, not all studies on the PSM–performance relationship have found a significant positive relationship, and this may be due to differences in what respondents are thinking about when rating performance – is it output, responsiveness or equity? Second, as PSM research tends to focus on public service providers, it is important to take a broad view on performance, one that not only includes organizational outcomes such as output and effort, but also societal and employee outcomes (Moynihan 2010; Steen & Rutgers 2011). In this dissertation public performance will therefore be conceptualized as having multiple dimensions, with service outcomes (equity, value for money), responsiveness (user, employee and citizen satisfaction) and democratic outcomes (fairness, transparency, due process) being placed alongside output and efficiency (Boyne 2002). To date, no study has investigated the relationship between PSM and multidimensional performance. This multidimensional approach can expose differences in the individual relationships with PSM.

Methodological relevance

The research design for this dissertation consists of two phases. In the first, four empirical studies increase insight into the role the institutional context plays in the PSM–performance relationship. To explore the relationship between public service motivation, institutional context and performance, the first part of the dissertation uses qualitative data from 50 interviews and quantitative survey data from 1031 public employees. During the research process, several issues and questions were raised regarding the relationship between PSM and performance which could not be resolved within the original four empirical studies. In response, this dissertation acquired a ‘Part 2’, with three additional studies. In this part, the aim is to address some of the issues raised about the quantitative studies on the PSM–performance relationship and provide a more methodologically robust test. Frequently noted concerns regarding studies on the relationship between PSM and performance refer to the use of self-reported performance measures, small samples of solely public employees, and cross-sectional data (Perry et al. 2010; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Wright & Grant 2010).

Although this dissertation also primarily relies on self-reported data, it also tests whether PSM is related to supervisor-rated performance. Moreover, this dissertation is partly based on representative datasets of public servants. Finally, a panel analysis is carried out to show whether the relationship between PSM and performance is influenced by the institutional context *over time*. This dissertation includes six cross-sectional studies and one panel (two-wave) study, which means that no conclusions can be drawn regarding causality. The performance data is self-reported apart from one study, as objective data was mostly unavailable. The methodological advancements are not goals in themselves but are

a means of achieving better insight into the relationship between PSM and performance. Previous studies on PSM have primarily used quantitative data and only a few have used interviews (Brewer et al. 2000; Kjeldsen 2012; Ritz 2011; Vandenabeele 2008). This dissertation is based on both quantitative and qualitative data. The qualitative data are used to explore the field and the service providers under study. Second, the data are analysed to investigate how PSM interacts with the institutional context and to identify important aspects of the latter. Third, the qualitative data are used to contextualize the constructs included in the survey and interpret, at times, the findings from the quantitative surveys.

Finally, through using advanced analysis techniques this dissertation aims to provide a more accurate test of the relationship between PSM and performance than previous studies were able to do. Structural equation modelling makes it possible to more accurately test the reliability and validity of constructs through confirmatory factor analysis and, by including the measurement model, to reduce the error variance caused by measurement error (Kline 2010). Also, unlike the conventional regression analysis, structural equation modelling allows more complex statistical models with multiple dependent variables, making it possible to simultaneously study the relationships between PSM and multiple dimensions of performance (Byrne 2012; Kline 2010). Finally, in some of the chapters in this dissertation mediation analyses with bootstrapping techniques are used, which can more accurately show the significance of mediation processes (Zao et al. 2010). Moderation models are used to show how PSM relates to performance under different circumstances (Byrne 2012; Kline 2010).

Practical relevance

Through the behaviour and actions of public servants, public policies are enacted and given meaning, and public services are produced or redistributed (Lipsky 1980). Recent decades have seen an increase in attention being paid to performance. As illustrated in the description of this study's setting, many employees in public service providers have experienced an increase in market-like ways of organizing and incentivizing employees. This is despite previous studies having shown that relying solely on extrinsic incentives such as control and pay-for-performance can decrease public service motivation (Jacobsen et al. 2011; Perry et al. 2009).

Rules and control are unable to address each and every situation and are unable to steer less observable goals, leaving opportunities for moral hazards such as gaming the system, goal displacement and shirking (Brehm & Gates 1997; DiIulio 1997; Dias & Maynard-Moody 2007; Gailmard 2010). Investigating the role of an autonomous motivation (PSM) in different types of performance could provide practitioners with knowledge on whether optimizing certain aspects of the institutional context for public service motivation results in healthy and well-functioning workers. By studying the public service motives of public servants, this dissertation aims to contribute to knowledge about what drives public servants as well as to the public debates on public servants and the ways of addressing and managing these employees.

Through investigating not only whether, but also which aspects of, the institutional context enable employees with a public service motivation to give their best at work, this dissertation provides knowledge on how public services providers can optimize the work context for public service motivated employees. This study aims to provide insight into how

the publicness of organizations is not only a challenge for management but also a potential advantage that public service providers can utilize. Further, one of this dissertation's objectives is to provide insight into whether public service motivation should be seen as an instrument that can be applied generically by public service providers to increase performance, or whether there are pitfalls in such an approach. As shown in the example of Russell at the beginning of this chapter, a strong public service motivation can lead to frustration and poorer functioning in the organization or even burn-out. This potential for a dark side to public service motivation is therefore explicitly addressed.

Regarding the Dutch context, a report by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2013b) indicates that the challenge for public organizations is currently not how to attract sufficient employees, but how to maintain a well-functioning workforce without new employees. The report concludes that it is more essential than ever to ensure that they have the right person in the right job. This dissertation adds to this discussion by focusing on how the motivation of employees within the public sector plays a role in their perceived fit with their job and with the organization. Moreover, it aims to provide insight into what sort of contexts provide employees who are motivated to serve society with a feeling that they are 'in the right job' and can satisfy their motivations, as well as the role of PSM in performance.

1.5 Setting of this study

As this dissertation stresses the importance of context, it is imperative to properly introduce the setting of this study. In this subsection a view is provided on various aspects of the studied context – public service providers in the Netherlands. First the country and sector in which the study was conducted are outlined. Next, the position of personnel in public service providers regarding future employee conditions, citizen views and current management practices are discussed.

The data used in this dissertation were collected at public organizations in the Netherlands. The Netherlands can be characterized as a welfare state with a large public and semi-public sector. In addition to central and local government organizations, police and prisons, this dissertation also includes public services that are, in the Netherlands, seen as part of the semi-public or even the private sector, such as healthcare providers and schools. A core characteristic of all these organizations is that public values play an important role in their mission. As such, these organizations can all be characterized as having a significant degree of publicness due to the fact that they deliver public services (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997), even though some may not be owned or regulated by the state or rely on the government for income (Rainey 2003). The term used in this dissertation is public service providers, in which public service refers to those services that are vital for human health, safety and welfare, while non-public services involve consumption that is at the discretion of the individual (Houston 2011).

In terms of personnel, public service providers form a major sector in the Netherlands. Including academic hospitals, education, central and local governments, the public sector encompasses almost one million employees, of whom approximately 160,000 work in municipalities, 106,000 in secondary education, 115,000 in central government departments

(including prisons) and 65,000 in police departments (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013a). Approximately 1.3 million employees work in the care sector alone (CBS 2013). Wages differ substantially between public service providers, with higher salaries in healthcare than in education. From 2010 to 2014 – the period this study was conducted – employees of the central government, the police and in education were subject to a wage freeze to reduce public spending (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013a). Although the Netherlands is not representative of other countries with less extensive welfare systems, the public service providers studied here can be found to some extent in every country. This study focuses on employees working in the following public services: healthcare (hospital and homecare), education, safety (police and prison), municipalities and central government.

Considering the future of government personnel, the employee unions (SCO) and the employers' organization (VSO) in the public sector published a report in 2010 together with the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations called 'The Great Retreat' (VSO et al. 2010). Although four scenarios were outlined, the main message was that the public sector would be facing major personnel shortages due to the retirement of a large proportion of employees. Overall, 6 out of every 10 existing employees were expected to have left government employment by 2020 (VSO et al. 2010). In 2013, a new report was published by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, called 'The Great Retreat Revised'. Due to the economic recession, an increase in the retirement age and cutbacks in the public sector, the expectation was revised: 4 out of every 10 employees were expected to leave government employment by 2020, and only 2 of these would be replaced due to 43,000 jobs disappearing (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013b). This means that public service providers have to rely on their current employees regarding their performance.

Both public and academic views on the position and the motivation of public servants in the Netherlands are mixed. For instance, according to a 2010 study amongst Dutch citizens, only 1 in 10 citizens thought public servants worked hard and efficiently. Of the respondents, 45% felt public employers could do the same work with fewer employees (Motivation 2010). In the same study, public employees were also described as useful and service-minded, showing some ambiguity concerning public servants. This image mostly represents views on civil servants working for the government: other public servants such as nurses and police officers are more often seen as heroes. Nevertheless, nurses, teachers and police officers have experienced a decline in status in the Netherlands and an increase in citizen distrust and even aggression (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013a).

In recent decades, reforms often placed under the flag of *new public management* have left their mark on Dutch public service providers, increasing attention on output, client-service and efficiency, performance contracts, privatization and normalizing the status of public servants (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004; Steijn & Leisink 2005). These reforms have had considerable impact on the work of public servants and on the way that they are stimulated to work hard. First, some public services have been privatized, partly outsourced or even abolished by the government, with citizens left to source the service if they still want it. Second, both privatized and public organizations have been stimulated to behave more like a business, with citizens seen as 'customers', an entrepreneurial attitude and a focus on financial goals such as efficiency (Leisink & Steijn 2005). Third, although opportunities

to reward public employees with extrinsic incentives such as extra pay are still scarce, other extrinsic incentives such as control and output steering have increased. For instance, hospitals are financed based on the number of treatments given and receive a fixed rate for each treatment type (Tummers & Bekkers 2014). In schools, a student plan system has been implemented, which means teachers are obliged to provide regular updates on the progress of each student, and financing of universities is partly based on performance agreements (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2014).

1.6 Contents of this dissertation

This dissertation is based on academic articles and papers. This means that all empirical chapters have the structure of self-contained articles. An advantage of this approach is that each chapter explores a distinct aspect of the research question and can be read independently. A disadvantage is that there is overlap between the chapters regarding the theoretical framework. The dissertation starts with a theoretical article on the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship. This chapter should however *not* be read as a theoretical framework for the dissertation, but as an article in which the main gaps in current theory are identified and theoretically explored, ending in new propositions on the relationship between PSM and performance. These propositions are mostly tested in this dissertation, but do not comprise all themes in this dissertation. For instance, the distinction between people-changing and people-processing was found to be relevant from the interviews and therefore used in the following studies, but is not part of the theoretical article.

The empirical studies in this dissertation are assembled in two parts. Part 1 includes four studies focusing on key gaps in the knowledge concerning the relationship between PSM, institutional context and performance. Chapter 3 is based on interviews with 50 employees from a diverse set of public service providers: a cluster of secondary schools, a hospital, a police district, two prisons and two municipalities. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are based on survey data from employees in the same public service providers. During the writing up of this research, three weaknesses were identified regarding the research into the relationship between PSM and performance.

Part 2 includes three additional studies that each addresses one of the issues raised. First, it has been questioned whether findings of a positive relationship between PSM and performance are due to using self-reported data. Second, there is a fundamental question as to whether a relationship between PSM and performance only exists in the public sector, and third, whether findings are due to the cross-sectional nature of these studies. To clarify these issues, additional data were collected and/or analysed. Survey data were collected from care employees and support staff and their work-unit supervisors within a chain healthcare organization. Survey data from 2010 and 2012 were obtained from the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations on employees working in various public sector fields, and these enabled a panel analysis over time. A sample of private-sector employees, also collected by the Ministry, was also analysed to allow a comparison of public- and private- sector employees.

Table 1.1 provides an overview of the chapters in this dissertation. The studies differ in terms of the type of fit under study, the level of the context and the type of performance

measure used. The fit with the institutional context is analysed on four different levels: sector, service, organization and job. Each of these studies is thus unique and provides insight into the relationship between PSM and performance from a particular perspective. Together, they provide a comprehensive view on how the institutional context on multiple levels influences the relationship between public service motivation and aspects of performance.

Table 1.1: Overview of chapters and studies in this dissertation.

Chapters							
1	Introduction						
2	Theoretical article: All you need is public service motivation?						
PART 1	Study type	Sample²	PSM measure	Type of fit	Level of context	Type of performance	
3	How service logics interact with PSM	Qualitative	50	-	Objective	Service	-
4	How service logics matter for the relationship between PSM and various dimensions of performance	Quantitative	459/ 461	Seven-item global	Objective	Service	Self-reported: dimensional
5	Relative importance of job and organizational fit for the PSM–performance relationship	Quantitative	1,031	Seven-item global	Perceived	Job, Organization	Self-reported: in-role and extra-role
6	Importance of service logic and societal impact potential in the relationship between PSM and wellbeing	Quantitative	459/ 465	Seven-item global	Subjective, Objective	Job, Service	Self-reported: burn-out and job satisfaction
PART 2	Study	Sample	PSM measure	Type of fit	Level of context	Type of performance	
7	How PSM is related to different dimensions of supervisor-rated performance	Quantitative	1,700	2 nd order, 11 items	-	Team	Supervisor-rated: dimensional
8	Importance of sector and the job's societal impact potential for the PSM–performance relationship	Quantitative	22,446/ 2,560	2 nd order, 9 items	Subjective, Objective	Job, Sector	Self-rated: overall performance
9	Influence of societal impact potential on the PSM–performance relationship over time	Quantitative	13,967	2 nd order, 9 items	Subjective	Job	Self-rated: overall performance
10	Conclusion and discussion						

2 Although Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are based on the same dataset, the number of respondents differs per chapter due to variations in missing responses on the different outcome measures used in each chapter.

Overview of chapters

Chapter 2 is a theoretical article in which propositions are developed on how the institutional context influences the relationship between PSM and performance. By integrating insights from different strands of research, one of the aims of this dissertation was to set out a theoretical explanation of the relationship between PSM and performance and the role that institutional context plays in this relationship. Therefore this chapter provides theoretical arguments, as well as an overview of the current literature on PSM and performance. The formulated propositions are studied empirically in various empirical chapters. This article is *under review*.

Part 1

Chapter 3 addresses how the institutional context and public service motivation interact. Using interview data, it is analysed how different service logics interact with public service motivation. Two aspects of the logic are studied: the type of user logic (people-changing versus people-processing; Hasenfeld 1972) and the service logic (negative or positive).

Of these two, the user logic was found the more important when it came to differences in expressions of PSM. From this chapter it was concluded that the distinction between people-changing and people-processing could be a relevant aspect of the institutional context to include in following chapters. An article based on this chapter has been published in the *International Journal of Public Administration* (2012) with Peter Leisink and Wouter Vandenabeele as co-authors.³

In Chapter 4, the relationships between PSM and different types of performance behaviour (using the framework of Boyne 2002) are explored in two public service providers that differ in their user logics - people-processing (regulatory services) versus people-changing (production services). The study shows that PSM is related differently to the various dimensions of performance behaviour, and that these relationships also differ between the two types of services. An article based on this chapter is *forthcoming* in *Review of Public Personnel Administration*.

Chapter 5 aims to provide further insight into whether job or organizational factors are most important in the relationship between PSM and performance (measured in terms of in-role and extra-role behaviours) by analysing the mediating role of perceived fit with both the job and the organization. The results show that a fit with the job, i.e. being able to do what you want to do in your job in terms of satisfying public service ideals, is more important than a fit with the organization's values. This chapter is *forthcoming* in the *American Review of Public Administration*.

Then, in the final chapter of Part 1, Chapter 6 investigates whether a subjective misfit between PSM and the job and organizational logic can have negative consequences for the wellbeing of public service motivated employees. This is achieved by analysing the relationship linking PSM, the job's societal impact potential and job satisfaction and burn-out in people-changing and people-processing service providers. The results show that PSM increases the risk of burn-out when employees feel they cannot contribute to

3 Co-author agreements for all articles are available on request from the author.

society in people-processing organizations, and when they see too many opportunities to contribute in people-changing organizations. The article on which this chapter is based is published, with Wouter Vandenabeele and Peter Leisink as co-authors in *Public Money and Management* (2015).

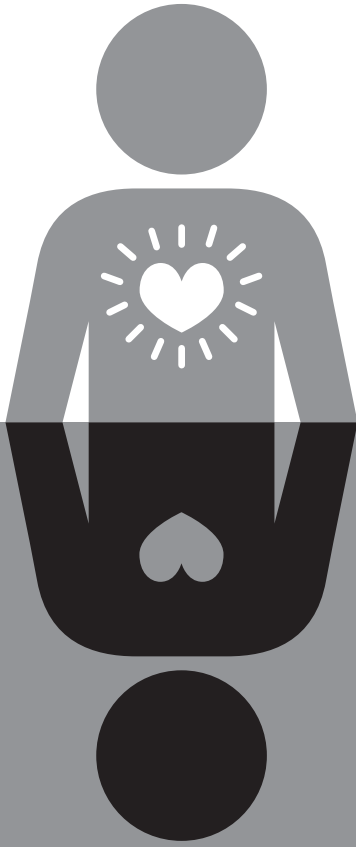
Part 2

Chapter 7 further explores the relationship between PSM and performance, here using work-unit supervisors' ratings of multiple aspects of public performance in a large care organization. By studying the levels and variance of PSM within work units, as well as supervisor PSM, this study is able to connect PSM to other-rated performance measures and investigate both overall and dimensional performance. As such, it provides a more robust test of the relationship between PSM and performance. The results show that PSM of employees is positively related to overall work unit performance as indicated by the supervisor, but when broken down in dimensions not to efficiency and responsiveness. This chapter is *forthcoming* in the *International Public Management Journal*.

Chapter 8 looks at whether the legal position of an organization as public or private plays a role in the relationship between PSM and performance, or whether opportunities to contribute to society through the job are more important. Some scholars have wondered whether PSM is a public sector phenomenon, or whether it is also applicable outside of the public sector. In investigating this aspect, this study investigates the relationship between PSM and performance among public and private employees in jobs with both high and low societal impact potentials. The results show that the societal impact potential of a job is more important than sector for public service motivated employees to perform well, but that the sector also matters. This chapter was presented at the ASPA conference 2014 and is *under review*.

Chapter 9 addresses the question as to whether the interaction between PSM and a job's societal impact potential relates to performance over time. As opposed to the previous chapters which were based on cross-sectional data, this study investigates whether differences between 2010 to 2012 in the levels of PSM, societal impact potential and performance are related. Here, we found that the relationship between PSM and performance is strongest when the societal impact potential is high also over time. This study was carried out in collaboration with Lotte Bøgh Andersen, Anne Mette Kjeldsen, Wouter Vandenabeele and Peter Leisink and is *under review*.

Finally, to pull the chapters together, Chapter 10 provides a summary and synthesis of the results and formulates an answer to the fundamental research question posed earlier. Further, the limitations are discussed, as well as the main contributions of this dissertation. To conclude, the implications of the findings for practice are discussed.



Chapter 2

All you need is public service motivation?

*On the role of institutional context for the
relationship between PSM and performance*

Summary

This chapter reveals several caveats in the current theory on the relationship between public service motivation and individual performance. The aim is to refine the theory on PSM's relationship with performance by explicating the role of the institutional context in determining how, why and when PSM can be expected to have a positive influence on performance, and when not. It thus aims to provide insight in the when and whether, two important building blocks in any theory. To achieve this, multiple streams of research are integrated, aiming to provide a contextualized view on the PSM-performance relationship. The chapter ends with several propositions regarding the relationship between PSM and performance, which can be studied in future research.

2.1 Introduction

A recurring theme within public administration research is how the performance of public services can be improved (Behn 1995; Boyne et al. 2006). One concept which was proposed as being related to performance, and has received considerable attention since, is the motivation of individuals to do good for others and for society, termed “public service motivation” (Perry & Wise 1990). Theory on public service motivation (PSM) has suggested a positive relationship between high levels of PSM and individual performance in public organizations because employees who are highly motivated to contribute to society (i.e. have high levels of PSM) are expected to put in more effort, time and energy, and sacrifice their own interests for the sake of society (Brewer 2008). Following several empirical studies that have provided evidence of a positive relationship between PSM and performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Bright 2007; Vandenabeele 2009), authors have suggested that public organizations could improve performance by selecting employees with PSM, by fostering PSM through socialization and by creating and managing the work environment to optimize the relationship between PSM and performance (Brewer 2008; Moynihan 2010; Paarlberg et al. 2008).

However, it may be premature to provide such general guidelines to all public organizations as the role of context in the relationship between PSM and performance has been given too little attention. Three caveats in current findings and argumentation show the need for refinement of theory concerning the how, why and when of the relationship between PSM and performance.

First, although most empirical studies have found a direct positive relationship between PSM and performance, there are some that failed to find a relationship at all or for all dimensions (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Ritz 2009; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014). Other studies have found that the relationship between PSM and performance was indirect (mediated), or exists only under certain conditions (moderated) (Bellé 2013; Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009). It is thus uncertain whether PSM is always positively related to performance. Such mixed results seek a clearer underpinning of the basic relationship.

Second, if organizations are encouraged to apply specific HR practices to gain a competitive advantage out of PSM for the organization (Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Moynihan 2010; Paarlberg et al. 2008), this implies that differences exist among these contexts in which employees work. If organizations are able to influence aspects of the institutional (mostly the organizational) context in order to enhance the impact of PSM on performance, should we not expect the relationship between PSM and performance to be context-dependent? This observation is however not fully reflected in the theoretical relationship between PSM and performance.

Finally, those studies that have included context in the equation, usually drawing on person-environment fit theory (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005), have argued that if there is a fit between context (particularly organizational values) and public service motivation, a positive relationship can be expected (Steijn 2008). Most studies have modelled person-environment fit as a *mediating* variable – a process or mechanism *through which* PSM influences performance (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013), but some have studied fit as

moderating variable (Bellé 2013) – where the person-environment fit *changes* the relationship between PSM and performance (Baron & Kenny 1986). The analytical differences in studying the role of context in the relationship between PSM and performance miss a solid theoretical foundation, which shows the need for theoretical advancement that can clarify how institutional context matters.

This chapter aims to do exactly that: to refine theory on the relationship between PSM and performance. By addressing the how and why of the relationship between PSM and performance, as well as the who, where and when, this dissertation contributes to the contextual factors that ‘set the boundaries of generalizability’ (Whetten 1989). I do this, first, through carefully reconsidering the building blocks of the theory – PSM and performance – through an institutional lens, and by adding institutional context as a third component. An institutional perspective adds value because it contextualizes the relationship between PSM and performance, and draws attention to the characteristics of the institutional context and its influence on individual behaviour. Second, I address how these concepts are theoretically expected to be related. Third, connecting self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan 2000) and analysing the differences among public institutional contexts through the concept of ‘publicness’ (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997; Bozeman 1987), ideas are developed as to why the institutional context may matter for the PSM-performance relationship. Fourth, I analyse when and where a relationship between PSM and performance can be expected – and when not. Finally, new propositions regarding the relationship between PSM and performance are formulated. The purpose of this chapter is theoretical advancement through integrating research streams and reviewing the current literature, and to develop alternative, more nuanced, propositions which can be tested in consequent research.

2.2 Public service motivation: institution-embedded motivation

The premise that there are individuals who go above and beyond the call of duty for the sake of society resides at the heart of Public Service Motivation (PSM) theory (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990). Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as ‘*an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations*’ (p.368). As opposed to views of individuals as acting purely out of self-interest, PSM theory assumes that individuals can be driven by a mix of motives, both self-interested and altruistic, and that theories excluding the possibility that public servants’ behaviour can be driven by such public service motives do not accurately represent what happens in public service providers. Vandenabeele (2007) linked elements of different definitions together in describing 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*’ (p.547). This definition is used here, although complex, because it refers to ‘act according whenever appropriate’ (March & Olsen 1989) and places PSM within logic of appropriateness. This underlines the institutional embedding of PSM – central in this dissertation.

Public service motivation – a drive to contribute to society – stems from various motives. Motives can be seen as the unconscious and conscious reasons an individual feels

a drive (Pinder 2008). In general, three types of motives are thought to underpin PSM: rational/instrumental – participation as an instrument to change society; normative – a sense of duty and adherence to public values; and affective – identification with others and emotional responses (Perry & Wise 1990; Perry 2000; Kim & Vandenabeele 2010). The motivational force, or drive, stemming from the mix of these motives is seen as public service motivation. Measurements of PSM have been mostly based on a scale constructed by Perry (1996). He developed a scale initially with six dimensions but, after empirical analysis, ended up with four. The dimensions were: attraction to public policy making; commitment to the public interest; compassion; and self-sacrifice. Note, however, that PSM has also been measured as an overarching or ‘global’ construct including aspects of each dimension, or even with other dimensions added (Andersen & Serritzlew 2012; Kim et al. 2013; Perry 1997; Vandenabeele 2008; Wright et al. 2013). Further, there is not a one-to-one match between motives and Perry’s dimensions because the latter reflect the *motivation* – the degree of a drive to contribute to society – not the *motives* – the reasons for feeling a drive – per se.

To embed PSM theory in an institutional framework, Vandenabeele (2007) linked PSM to self-determination theory (SDT) on the grounds that this theory provides an explanation for individual processes within institutions. According to SDT, motivation is a continuum ranging from fully controlled or extrinsic to fully autonomous or intrinsic. At the one end of the extreme the individual works hard because of external forces such as punishment or rewards, whereas at the other extreme the individual works hard because he enjoys the activity in itself (Deci & Ryan 2000; Ryan & Deci 2004). Ryan and Deci (2004) identify five types of motivation along this continuum: external regulation (external reward or punishment) and introjection (internal reward or punishment, pride, guilt), which are both extrinsic and controlled; identified (personal meaning) and integrated (activity is integrated with other parts of the self) which are both extrinsic but also autonomous; and finally intrinsic (enjoying the activity itself), which is autonomous and intrinsic. PSM can be seen as an autonomous yet extrinsic motivation because it does not stem from the enjoyment of the tasks itself, but a feeling of obligation towards, and identification with public values (Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013).

Studies on PSM have used institutional theory to suggest antecedents of PSM, such as family, religion, volunteering and organization (Crewson 1997; Perry 1997; Moynihan & Pandey 2007; Vandenabeele 2011). A different stream of research has focused on the relationship between PSM and work outcomes, from attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment, to individual performance and organizational performance (Brewer & Selden 2000; Castaing 2006; Kim 2005; Naff & Crum 1999; Vandenabeele 2009). It is this latter research stream that this chapter speaks to, focusing on performance. The performance concept is therefore discussed in the following section.

2.3 Performance in a public context

The importance of public services in the lives of citizens – from schooling and care, to security and the redistribution of means – explains why studying how these services perform, and how this can be improved, has always been a vital issue. Attention to performance in

public administration, and how to measure it, has increased in recent decades under the influence of reforms often placed under *new public management*, which shifted the emphasis from process and input to measuring output, and due to improvements in data availability and analysis (Meier & O'Toole 2006). Indicators are nowadays widely used to determine budgets, assess public organizational success and develop new policies (Behn 2003; Martin & Smith 2005).

Multidimensional performance in public service providers

Despite these improvements and this increase in attention, a certain uneasiness with performance as a concept has remained due to the complexity of defining it – especially in a public context. The performance of public service providers is complex because fundamentally they do not only have to deliver a product, but also have to uphold and enhance public values for society (Bozeman 2007; Bryson et al. 2014; Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007). Public service organizations exist for a reason: certain goods and services would not be delivered if left to the market (too complex, expensive or not useful for making a profit) and because it is widely felt that some services should not be left up to the market because they are too important or because they influence others (Rainey 2003). That is, the services or goods are so important that society wants to control or influence them. Thus, the institutional context in which public employees operate is involved in determining what they should do and how they do it. Rather than treating performance as a generic concept, it is important to pay attention to this context since due to its *publicness* multiple demands are placed on the public service providers and multiple stakeholders with various views try to influence what is seen as performance (Boyne et al. 2006; Rainey 2003; Walker et al. 2011).

Public services need to simultaneously attend to a multiplicity of public values or performance targets (Boyne 2002; Bozeman 2007; Vandenabeele et al. 2013). While the influences of practices often associated with *new public management*, such as output steering and market incentives, have placed emphasis on efficiency and finance, *public value governance* (Bryson et al. 2014) emphasizes the multiplicity of public values that public service providers are expected to respect, such as equity, responsiveness, probity, participation and accountability. Although the 3E (economy, efficiency, effectiveness) and the IOO (input-output-outcome) models of performance, with their strong emphasis on finance, have dominated thinking on performance (Boyne 2002), current strands of research on the performance of public services have been proposing a multidimensional model to give greater attention to the public values component (Andrews et al. 2011; Brewer & Selden 2000; Bryson et al. 2014; Meier & O'Toole 2006; Boyne et al. 2006).

For instance, Brewer and Selden make a distinction between efficiency, effectiveness and fairness. Rainey (2003) distinguished 'competence' and 'responsiveness' as major dimensions of public performance. Boyne (2002) concluded that there were five dimensions of performance that were important for public services: outputs (quality and quantity), efficiency, service outcomes (impact, value for money and equity), responsiveness (citizen and staff satisfaction) and democratic outcomes (probity and accountability). This multidimensional view strongly reflects the public value concept of performance, in which it is argued that a range of criteria should be used to assess public service providers (Bozeman 2007; Bryson et al. 2014; Moynihan et al. 2011). Bozeman (2007), for instance, states that

whereas private organizations are in the end assessed on their financial health, public organizations are held responsible for upholding legitimacy through simultaneously addressing multiple public values, and their performance is defined by the extent to which this is achieved.

Given its public nature, there are many stakeholders whose needs have to be addressed to retain legitimacy and who each assess whether the public service is performing well. Each stakeholder has its own views on which aspect of performance is the most important (Andrews et al. 2011; Brewer 2006; Rainey & Bozeman 2000). In Boyne's (2002) framework, the various stakeholders' interests can be distinguished. For instance, value-for-money and impact are interests of society and citizens at large, whereas responsiveness addresses both user satisfaction and the wellbeing of employees. Interestingly, although employees are usually seen as a resource for reaching the goals of the organization, Boyne (2002) specifically places them within his performance framework. This is consistent with the balanced approach seen within the human resource management (HRM) literature, where employee wellbeing is seen as an important part of performance, alongside organizational and societal performance (Boselie 2010; Paauwe 2009).

Some argue that there is no single way to accurately represent the performance of public service providers. Brewer (2006) argues that public performance is an inherently subjective construct because to determine what public service organizations and their employees have to do implies there is already an actor (usually a political appointee) that defines what is 'good' performance and also what indicators are used to assess performance (Andrews et al. 2010; Brewer 2006; Walker et al. 2011). These perceptions of what is good, or what constitutes performance, can change over time and also vary between different contexts. For instance, the expectations for the police are quite different from what we expect from schools because different public values stand central (Bozeman 2007; Vandenabeele et al. 2013).

Performance of public service employees

Most studies on the performance of public services have focussed on the organizational level, although performance on the lower level (individual or team) is an important predictor of organizational performance (Brewer & Selden 2000). One could even argue that the individual level is especially important in public services because it is at this level, through the actions of employees, that policies take form and services are created (Hasenfeld 1983; Lipsky 1980). Most employees in public service providers have some discretion in doing their work since their tasks are too complex for full oversight (Lipsky 1980) and therefore their motivation and attitudes matter for what they do and how they perform. If employees execute their tasks well, uphold public values and help their colleagues high performance will more likely be higher than if they shirk or sabotage (Brehm & Gates 1997).

Also within the HRM literature employees and their behaviour are seen as an important process through which performance is partly determined (Atwater et al. 1998; Brewer & Selden 2000; Delery & Shaw 2001; Wright & Nishii 2006). For instance, Boselie et al. (2005) conceptualize employee behaviour and performance as an intermediate between management practices and organizational performance. Guest (1997) distinguished between the distant (financial) outcomes of organizations, which are hard to link to management and individual attitudes, and 'proximal' outcomes, such as behaviour, that he argues form

the link between employee attitudes and higher-level (i.e. organizational) performance. Although individual behaviour and performance is studied less than the distant outcomes, Guest (1997) notes these intermediate outcomes are most important in studying performance. Van Veldhoven (2012) notes that the intermediate processes consisting of influencing employee attitudes and behaviour through which HRM practices and management influence performance are often overlooked.

Given this study's focus on PSM – an individual predisposition – and that the main hypothesis in PSM research is that employees with high PSM will have higher individual performance (Perry & Wise 1990), the discussion here is primarily directed at individual performance and behaviour, and thus at the intermediate processes through which HRM influences organizational performance (Delery & Shaw 2001; Wright & Nishii 2006). Individual performance is defined as *the contribution of the individual to achieving the organization's public mission*. Employees in schools, police or hospitals are crucial for the performance of their organization as they deliver and often even create the services. The more that individual behaviour and performance are important for the delivery of the services, the more they will also influence organizational performance (Atwater et al. 1998; Delery & Shaw 2001).

The definition of individual performance is necessarily broad because what an individual should do to contribute to the mission is determined by the institutional context. For instance, how teachers in a school contribute to the public mission differs quite substantially from other public employees such as police officers. What is asked of them, in terms of the services they have to deliver and what behaviour is necessary to achieve the mission also differs (Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007). Employees in public service providers are embedded within a wider institutional context and the norms and criteria to which employees have to conform are likely to be influenced by this context (Olsen 2006; Scott 2001; Vandenabeele et al. 2013). What is asked can not only vary between different public service providers but also over time: prison work for instance has seen times when re-socialization was the main purpose, and times when keeping criminals out of society stood central.

Given that employees are working in a public context, they are, just like their organization, expected to perform well on multiple dimensions (Boyne 2002). Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) and Bozeman (2007) identified multiple values that employees were expected to act upon to retain legitimacy in society, and these quite closely resemble the dimensions identified by Boyne (2002) as being part of public performance. They include productivity, equity, responsiveness, accountability, honesty, legality, robustness, innovation and altruism (Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007). Hood (1991) identified three value sets – sigma, theta and lambda, which included several similar values. Employees in public service providers are expected to deliver quality and to be productive, while keeping an eye on equity, being responsive, providing space for participation and ensuring that society can judge what has been done (i.e. being accountable). In the performance of public servants public values thus play an important role and this matters for its relationship with public service motivation. What aspect or perspective of performance is chosen at the outset of a study may influence the results if public service motivation is related to some aspects of performance but not all. Studies on public service motivation have however paid limited attention to the complexity of conceptualizing performance due to a public context.

2.4 The relationship between PSM and performance

The theoretical rationale for a relationship between public service motivation and performance is based on identification and commitment processes (Brewer 2008; Perry & Wise 1990). If employees find their work meaningful they are expected to perform well, and in public organizations the tasks are expected to be meaningful for those who feel a drive to contribute to society (Perry & Wise 1990). A public service motivated employee will identify with the work and feel more committed to the goals of the organization than an employee with low PSM. Consequently, the public service motivated employee – keeping all other factors equal – is expected to put in more effort and perform better than employees with low PSM (Brewer 2008).

Following the proposition that PSM is positively related to individual performance in public organizations (Perry & Wise 1990) several empirical studies have been conducted. Table 2.1 shows an overview of studies on the relationship between performance or performance-related behaviours, some of these studies found a significant positive relationship between PSM and performance, others found no, only partially, or only an indirect relationship. These studies did however not use the same measures of performance, which makes it hard to compare their results. For instance Alonso and Lewis (2001) found no significant relationship between PSM and supervisor ratings, whereas Bright (2007) found an indirect effect when including person-organization fit. Moreover, studies have focused on different public service providers. For instance, Ritz (2009) did not find a significant relationship with efficiency while studying municipalities, whereas Bellé (2013) did find a relationship between PSM and efficiency in a hospital setting, and Andersen and Serritzlew (2012) did not find a relationship between PSM and output for physiotherapists whereas Bellé (2013) did for nurses doing extra-role tasks.

Many studies on public service motivation analyse performance without reference to the publicness of the institutional context. Although some studies on organizational performance have referred to the specific nature of public services (Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005), most studies on individual performance use overall measures (such as job performance). Measures used include self-reported supervisor ratings (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Bright 2007; Naff & Crum 1999), extra-role behaviour (Kim 2006) and job performance (Camilleri & Van der Heijden 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009). Albeit mostly not explicitly, several other studies have used measures of outcomes that can be related to dimensions of public performance such as equity, compliance or service outcomes (Andersen et al. 2014; Andersen & Serritzlew 2012; Bellé 2013; Kim 2006; Moynihan & Pandey 2010).

Table 2.1 shows the type of behaviour/performance studied in studies on the relationship between PSM and performance, divided in the dimensions identified and described by Boyne (2002): output (quality, quantity), efficiency, service outcomes (equity, value for money), responsiveness and democratic outcomes (accountability, probity), as well as the type of study and findings. Although studies on performance have mostly studied general or global types of performance, several studies have analysed behaviours or work outcomes that can be seen as outputs, efficiency, service or democratic outcomes. It is apparent that a diversity of measures has been used in different contexts.

Table 2.1: Overview of studies on relationship between PSM and performance.

Year	Performance type	Author(s)	Study	N	Measure of PSM
1999	Overall	Naff & Crum	Survey	8,086	6-item global PSM
2001	Overall	Alonso & Lewis	Survey (two)	28000 7,000	5-item global PSM 'service to others'
2004	Overall	Frank & Lewis	Survey,	1,418	'help others'
2007	Overall	Bright	Survey	205	24-item second-order PSM
2007	Overall	Camilleri & Van der Heijden	Survey	1,217	24-item global PSM
2009	Overall	Vandenabeele	Survey	3,506	APP, CPI, COM, SS, DG
2009	Overall	Leisink & Steijn	Survey	4,130	11-item global PSM
2013	Overall	Pedersen	Survey	1,336	PSM: CPI
2013	Overall	Gould-Williams, Mostafa & Bottomley	Survey	671	11-item second-order PSM
2014	Overall	Callier	Survey	913	5-item global PSM
1998	Democratic: probity	Brewer & Selden	Survey	2,188	Public interest
2000	Efficiency Service: effectiveness Democratic: fairness	Brewer & Selden	Survey	2,290	5-item global PSM
2004	Democratic: probity	Choi	Survey	148	PSM: CPI and SS
2005	Efficiency Service: effectiveness Democratic: fairness	Kim	Survey	1,739	5-item global PSM
2006	Democratic: compliance	Kim	Survey	1,584	5-item global PSM
2008	Outputs: quantity, quality	Park & Rainey	Survey	6,900	Public service-oriented motivation
2009	Output: quantity, quality Service: effectiveness	Andersen	Survey, interviews, registers	24 ³	Interviews
2009	Efficiency	Ritz	Survey	13,532	PSM: APP and CPI
2010	Democratic: accountability	Moynihan & Pandey	Survey	1,538	5-item global PSM
2012	Outputs: quantity Service: equity	Andersen & Serritzlew	Survey, register	556	PSM: CPI
2013	Service: value for money	Moynihan	Vignette	140	12-item global PSM
2013	Outputs: quantity, quality Efficiency	Bellé	Experiment	90	5-item global PSM
2013	Efficiency	Giauque, Anderfuhren-Biget & Varone	Survey	2,384	8-item global PSM
2013	Democratic: accountability	Kroll & Vogel	Survey	954	3-item global PSM
2014	Efficiency: procedural efficiency	Petrovsky & Ritz	Survey	11,564	PSM: APP, CPI, COM, SS
2014	Service: effectiveness	Andersen, Heinesen & Pedersen	Survey, register	694	16-item global PSM

+ = positive relationship, - = negative, ns= not significant

4 This study was based on multiple data sources with different numbers of respondents, but for 24 individuals PSM was analysed.

Measure of performance	Mediator (I)/ Moderator (M)	Direction
Self-reported supervisor rating	-	+
Self-reported supervisor rating	-	+
Self-reported supervisor rating		ns
Self-reported work effort	-	+
Self-reported supervisor rating	I: person-organization fit	+
Self-reported supervisor + self-rating	-	+
Self-reported job performance	I: job satisfaction, org. commitment	APP/CPI/SS + COM ns
Self-reported work effort	I: PSM-fit	+
Self-reported working hours	-	+
Self-reported OCB	I: Person-organization fit	+
Self-reported extra-role behaviour	I: mission valence	+
Self-reported whistleblowing	-	+
Self-reported organizational internal and external efficiency, effectiveness and fairness – in one score	-	+
Self-reported ethical conduct	-	+
Self-reported organizational internal and external efficiency, effectiveness and fairness – in one score	-	+
Self-reported compliance (OCB)	-	+
Self-reported productivity + quality	I: job satisfaction, turnover intention	+
Register data, context-dependent measures	-	ns
Self-reported internal efficiency	-	CPI + APP ns
Self-reported performance information use	-	+
N of services to disabled patients, proportion of disabled patients	-	ns / +
% budgetary change chosen	-	ns
N surgical kits assembled; % correctly assembled; N p/minute spent	M: prosocial impact	+ / + / +
Self-reported organizational efficiency	-	+
Self-reported performance information use	M: leadership fit	+
Self-reported organizational procedural efficiency	-	COM + APP ns
Central examination marks of students	-	+

2.5 Institutional context

In the previous sections, public service motivation and performance were both addressed from an institutional perspective. As opposed to assuming that institutional context only matters for the individual concepts, institutional context is seen as an important building block for theory on the relationship between PSM and performance because it provides insight in the why and whether, and as such the boundaries, of the PSM-performance relationship (Whetten 1989). However, before explaining why institutional context matters for the relationship between PSM and performance, it must be clear what is meant by it here.

Although institutional theory varies in how institutions are defined and what role they play, Scott (2001) found that all definitions have some elements in common. Institutions are seen as enduring social structures consisting of elements such as rules and norms, which shape routines, common practices and shared meanings (Scott 2001). Institutions can regulate and, to a certain extent, standardize, behaviour (March & Olsen 1989; 2006). Scott (2001) distinguishes between structural, normative and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions. Structural elements refer to the rules and structures whereas normative refers to values and expectations, and cultural-cognitive to beliefs and symbols. Institutional theory encompasses macro-level institutions such as political systems, meso-level ones such as societal values, and the micro-level organizational context (Scott 2001). Institutions are to an extent both observable and unobservable. For example, universities are composed of both buildings, with rooms and people, and less visible elements such as the values and norms to which universities appeal.

From this perspective, institutions are not only comprised of structures but also of normative elements such as logics, in which values and norms play an important role (March & Olsen 2006; Perry 2000; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). An institutional logic is defined as the set of rules, practices, beliefs and values that regulate behaviour in a certain context (Thornton & Ocasio 2008). These logics can be as important as the structure in determining the behaviour of individuals. Individuals are always part of the institutions that influence them, and they also influence the institutions (March & Olsen 1989; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Distinct from institutions, the *institutional context* is formed by the complete set of institutions with which an individual interacts. For an employee in a public organization in the Netherlands, the institutional context is shaped by for instance the state structure and values, domain specific expectations, organizational logics and job practices. The institutional context influences the individual through determining the ‘rules of the game’, the way things are organized and the expectations set forth in that context, and by shaping routines (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). From an institutional perspective, the emphasis is placed on how the context determines how an individual behaves and, consequently, performs (March & Olsen 2006; Scott 2001). The institutional context can change and is therefore dynamic: routines can be altered, values can change. Nevertheless, some elements of the institutional context are almost a given and endure for centuries.

Although institutions have been recognized as important for the development of PSM (Perry 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008), their role in the relationship between PSM and performance has remained unclear. This is not to say that outcome-based PSM research has not paid attention to context, it has, but it has often been treated as homo-

geneously public or private – focusing on ownership (Vandenabeele 2008). Insofar as research has addressed context, person-environment fit theory has been used. Beginning with Vandenabeele (2007), Bright (2007) and Steijn (2008), several articles have argued that PSM contributes to a better fit with a public organization or job, and the better the fit, the better an individual performs (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2012; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Moynihan & Pandey 2008; Steijn 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008).

How institutional context matters: the concept of person-environment fit

Theory on person-environment fit is appropriate for demonstrating the relevance of institutional context in the relationship between PSM and performance. Kristof-Brown et al. (2005) defined person-environment fit as ‘*the compatibility between an individual and a work environment that occurs when their characteristics are well matched*’. Several types of fit have been distinguished, such as value congruence (the fit between organizational values and individual values) and needs-supply fit in which a person feels that their needs (when studying PSM, their need to contribute to society) are met by the environment (Muchinsky & Monahan 1987). Moreover, several environmental *levels* are distinguished: such as fit with the job, the supervisor, the team or the organization (Edwards & Shipp 2007).

The fit between an individual and their environment can be viewed in several ways. First, a *perceived fit* refers to the individual directly perceiving a fit. Second, a *subjective fit* refers to a fit between the characteristics of an individual and their perceptions of characteristics of the environment. Third, an *objective fit* reflects an approach in which a fit between characteristics of the individual and externally determined characteristics of the environment are studied (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Person-environment fit theory focuses on the immediate work environment, and has mostly been concerned with the individual and on how individual perceptions of the environment matter for behaviour. Some, however, argue that this underestimates the role of context (Hesketh 2000).

Person-environment fit theory offers an illustration of the multiple ways in which institutional context can interact with individual attitudes and through this interaction leads to certain behaviour and performance. It shows that not only do objective institutional structures matter, but also that the perceptions of the context by individuals are as important for work outcomes (Steijn 2008). In explaining how PSM relates to performance, person-environment fit shows how the institutional context can influence this relationship: both by defining structures and rules through communicating norms and expectations, which interact with the individuals’ attitudes, and influencing the perceptions of individuals of that context and their fit with it. Both institutions and individual public service motivation can thus be attributed important roles in explaining individual performance.

2.6 The context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship

Studies on the relationship between PSM and performance have borrowed insights from person-environment fit theory to explain how this relationship functions. Although studies have been able to show that fit matters (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Steijn

2008), much remains unclear about which specific characteristics of the environment matter. Moreover, some studies have failed to find a relationship between (dimensions of) PSM and performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014), and this could be due to not paying attention to fit with the context. There also appears to be a lack of clarity concerning the role of context. In the theoretical explanation, fit is presented as a moderator (stating that *if* the environment meets the need to contribute to society, there will be a positive relationship) but it has also been analysed as a mediating, i.e. intermediate, factor. To get a firmer grasp of how PSM, institutional context and performance are all related, in this framework performance is viewed as an outcome of the interaction between individual PSM and the institutional context. This approach emphasizes both individual agency, as is done in PSM research using person-environment fit theory, and also the role of institutions in determining performance.

Two arguments need to be made as to why the interaction between public service motivation and institutional context is an important part of explaining the relationship with performance. Firstly, because public service motivation is an autonomous but extrinsic motivation, the resulting behaviour is partly a consequence of internal motives and partly steered by external pressures or ideas – the institutional context (Deci & Ryan 2000; Perry & Wise 1990; Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013). Secondly, this institutional context varies, and even within the public domain the context cannot be seen as consistent: organizations, jobs and subsectors can all differ in their degree and type of publicness (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003; Perry 2000; Vandenabeele 2007; Wise 2004).

Explaining why - Part I: Self-determination theory

Vandenabeele (2007) related PSM to self-determination theory (SDT) in arguing why a public service identity can be formed. Here I expand on the use of SDT to explain why the institutional context matters for the relationship between PSM and performance. If an individual is located at the purely intrinsically motivated end of the motivational continuum, the institutional context will have little effect on behaviour because that is fully internally or autonomously determined. Conversely, if an individual is purely extrinsically motivated (as assumed by rational choice theory) their behaviour can be fully predicted from the incentives offered by the institutional context (March & Olsen 2006). In this case, individuals will only do those things that external pressures force or tell them to do.

PSM theory, however, views motivation to serve society as an intermediate mix. Vandenabeele (2013) found that PSM is most strongly related to identified (autonomous but extrinsic) motivation. Houston (2011) used the term obligation-based intrinsic motivation. Both argue that public service motivated individuals feel an internal obligation to work for society, and feel that contributing to society is a personal value deeply ingrained in their identity (Brewer et al. 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). Following SDT, one would not expect public service motivated individuals to be ‘runaway agents’ (DiIulio 1994) who do as they please because nothing but their pleasure in their work motivates them, nor that the institutional context will fully determine how they behave. Rather, we would expect both to occur to some extent at the same time, and that behaviour will therefore be the result of an interaction between individual motivation and institutional context. This is crucial in developing theory about how and why PSM relates to individual behaviour because it

emphasizes that the relationship between PSM and individual performance is, in part, dependent on the institutional context.

The public service motivation of an individual interacts with the institutional context in several ways. On the one hand, institutions send messages (or offer incentives) on what is seen as appropriate behaviour, thereby referring to less visible institutional aspects (March & Olsen 1989). Within that context, institutions can steer what contributing to society means. For instance, teachers with high PSM may be more responsive to their students because the institutional context transfers the message that this is important to be able to teach students, whereas employees in a municipality office may be socialized to believe that they should remain neutral and not be too responsive to citizens. Such values or norms form an important part of institutions and can influence what public service motivated individuals do to contribute to society (March & Olsen 1989).

On the other hand, more structural elements of the institutional context not only support certain behaviours, they also regulate and form obstacles for certain behaviours (March & Olsen 2006; Scott 2001). For instance, jobs can be assigned with specific descriptions of what the individual is supposed to do (Hackman & Oldham 1976), and rules and hierarchical lines can determine the space public employees have to manoeuvre (Wise 2004). Finally, the perception of the signals given by the institutional context matter. For example, an employee's interpretation of a command system as supportive or controlling can influence their subsequent reaction (Jacobsen et al. 2011).

Together, structural, normative and cultural-cognitive characteristics of institutions (Scott 2001) can thus influence what public service motivated employees do. PSM implies that individuals with it feel a drive to contribute to society and to help others. Perry and Wise (1990) argued that such a motivation can be incentivized through a public institutional logic and, taking this further, Perry (2000) identified PSM as a motivation which cannot be seen separate from its *public* context. An individual with high PSM will put effort and energy into behaviour that leads (or they believe will lead) to a meaningful contribution to society (Perry & Wise 1990; Wise 2004). Thus, when studying the institutional context and its role in the relationship between PSM and performance, the publicness of the context can be seen as crucial.

Explaining why - Part II: Publicness of the institutional context

A second argument needs to be made to explain why the PSM-performance relationship is context-dependent, which concerns the concept of 'publicness'. Public service providers are often treated as a homogeneous whole, simply as "public". In reality, they form an 'amalgam of organizations and institutions' (Vandenabeele 2008, p.1091) that, from an institutional perspective, differ in terms of their structural, normative and cultural-cognitive characteristics (Scott 2001). Most scholars have focused on structural characteristics determining publicness, such as ownership, authority and financing (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003). Others focus on the perceptions of managers as to what determines their publicness (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997). However, normative and cultural-cognitive institutional settings also determine publicness, such as the degree to which the organization aims to fulfil a public purpose or has a public mission. Even when looking at those organizations defined as 'public' based on ownership or authority, major differences can be identified in their mission, their emphasis on contributing to the public good, the type of service they

provide, the complexity of their tasks, the focus on long-term versus short-term goals, the influence of external stakeholders, government control, level of bureaucracy, hierarchy and much more (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997; Rainey & Bozeman 2000; Rainey 2003).

A simple description or definition of what 'public' constitutes is thus impossible, as it relates to multiple aspects. It is thus likely that the institutional contexts of those employees studies in PSM research will vary quite substantially in terms of the task they are performing, the mission they are aiming to satisfy, the way they are 'steered', their discretionary space and the impact their work can have on society. Some contexts in which public employees work may facilitate opportunities to provide meaningful public services while others constrain such opportunities (Wise 2004; Taylor 2008). Moreover, contexts differ in the way one can contribute to society, be it through service production or regulation (Hasenfeld 1983). Given that the publicness of the institutional context of public employees varies, and that this publicness incentivizes PSM, one can expect the relationship between their motivation to contribute to society and their performance to also vary depending on the context. For example, a very bureaucratic institutional context with a high degree of red tape may frustrate even the most public service motivated employee in their attempts to have an impact on society (Moynihan & Pandey 2007). On the other hand, such employees may be highly performing if they feel their job offers opportunities to have a meaningful impact on society.

2.7 A revised model of the PSM-performance relationship

Figure 2.1 shows the institutional perspective on the relationship between PSM and performance. Starting on the far left, the institutional context consists of multiple elements that interact with individual motivation on several levels, from the job to the sector. Although person-environment fit research suggests that the job and the organizational levels may be the most important for work outcomes, it is important to look at what is relevant for *public service motivation*: It could be that other levels, such as sector (Rainey & Bozeman 2000) are also very relevant because they influence the publicness of the context. PSM theory stresses the importance of publicness (Perry & Wise 1990; Perry 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). In PSM research Bellé (2013) and Kjeldsen (2013) have shown that contact with stakeholders and the type of service such as productive versus regulative services (Hasenfeld 1972; 1983) influence the relationship between PSM and outcomes.

Behaviour and performance are distinguished on the far right of Figure 2.1. The definition of individual performance used assumes that individuals contribute to the public mission through behaviour such as putting in extra effort, time and energy, being responsive and treating citizens equally and, through that, perform. Based on Boyne (2002) several dimensions of performance are distinguished in order to emphasize the multidimensionality of performance in public services. Through the behaviour of employees performance is reached. Although, in this model, individual performance is the final outcome, this performance contributes to higher-level performance, such as of the team or the organization (Atwater et al. 1998; Boselie et al. 2005; Brewer & Selden 2000; Delery & Shaw 2001). Moreover, a two-way relationship may exist: if individuals are able to contribute to the mission of their organization and have a meaningful impact on society, this could

enhance their public service motivation (Grant 2008). Nevertheless, the strongest theoretical relationship is expected to go from motivation to performance (Perry & Wise 1990).

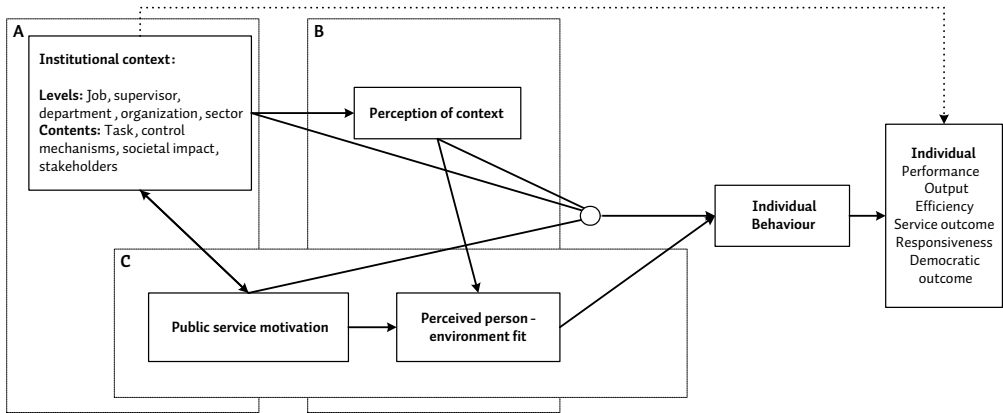


Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework on the relationship between PSM and performance. A= Objective fit, B = Subjective fit, C = Perceived fit, the O represents an interaction.

Different approaches to the interaction between PSM and institutional context

The previous section outlined why context matters for the relationship between PSM and performance. Now we turn to the various ways in which context can matter. Figure 1 indicates that the institutional context influences individuals and their motivation (Perry 2000), but also that individuals influence this context. There is thus an *interaction* between the institutional context and individual motivation.

If this interaction between externally measured elements of the institutional setting and PSM is taken as the focus of study (i.e. Rectangle A in Figure 2.1) then an interaction (moderator) model is the most appropriate. This type of fit is referred to as an *objective fit* in the person-environment fit literature (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Elements of the institutional context then serve as *moderators* in the relationship between PSM and performance because they can strengthen or weaken, or affect the direction of, the relationship between PSM and performance (Baron & Kenny 1986). An example of this in practice is provided by Bellé (2013) who, in an experiment, manipulated the prosocial impact of a task, and studied how different levels of prosocial impact influenced the relationship between PSM and performance.

The institutional context is perceived by individuals, and their perceptions may differ due to the individual's personal values, characteristics and experiences. Individual perceptions are not only determined by the actual work setting, but also by the individual, for instance whether they like or dislike rules may influence their perception of red tape. Studying perceptions of specific elements of the institutional context (Rectangle B in Figure 2.1) relates to a *subjective fit* in the terminology of the person-environment fit literature (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Again here, a moderation model is most appropriate since different fit types can be distinguished, and with such a model insight can

be reached into whether PSM is related to performance in which *specific* situations. Leisink and Steijn (2009) created a direct ‘positive interaction’ category from the scores for the perceived societal impact potential of a job and for PSM, by only coding those with high PSM and societal impact potential as 1, i.e. a positive interaction is present, and all other combinations as 0. They then found that high ‘PSM’-fit (a score of 1) had an additional effect on performance, on top of that attributed to PSM.

The institutional context and perceptions thereof also influence the individual’s perceived fit with the environment. A *perceived fit* refers to the direct perception of a fit with, for instance, the job or the organization (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Illustrated by Rectangle C in Figure 1, the research model captures the institutional context within the direct fit perception but excludes specific elements of this context. In effect it refers to how the psychological significance that an individual gives to the institutional context is an intermediate process through which PSM influences performance. Perceived fit is therefore most appropriately modelled as a *mediator* in the relationship between PSM and performance (Baron & Kenny 1986). Most research on PSM has used such a model, for instance including perceived person-organization fit as a mediator in the relationship between PSM and performance (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013).

Having established this comprehensive model, we can move on to identify gaps in knowledge on the relationship between PSM and performance, and formulate propositions as to in which contexts and fit situations the effect of PSM on performance will be strongest.

2.8 The Who, the When and the Where: A research agenda

Three gaps can be identified in current knowledge on the role of the institutional context in the relationship between PSM and performance. These gaps provide opportunities for future research and, building on the framework presented above, several propositions can also be formulated for future testing.

Contextualized performance: distinguishing multiple dimensions

First, although Table 2.1 shows that studies on PSM could be said to address various dimensions of performance, there is a need for more PSM research in which the complex nature of performance in a public domain is recognized and studied. Although most evidence points towards a positive relationship between PSM and performance, it is unclear whether public service motivated employees perform better on every aspect of their work and contribute to all dimensions of public performance. Theoretically, public service motivated employees are expected to put in more effort (Perry & Wise 1990), but towards *what* is unclear. It could be that public service motivated employees are motivated to help by adhering to the rules, or by ensuring a due process, but are less responsive to the individual needs of citizens because they focus on broad societal goals. Moreover, do public service motivated employees feel equally motivated to work efficiently and to deliver quality? Brewer and Selden (2000) were the first to acknowledge the multidimensionality of performance in a public context when studying PSM, but consequent research has not followed that line. In 2010 Brewer argued that since PSM and performance are multidimensional there is

reason to believe that there may be stronger links between some dimensions of PSM and performance than others. He argued PSM's compassion dimension could be expected to be related to fairness, justice, equity and client satisfaction, the instrumental dimension to economy and efficiency, and the normative dimension to quality, effectiveness, accountability and transparency (Brewer 2010; p.172). Although he proposed these relationships, no theoretical rationale was provided for each separate relationship. It does show that the relationship between PSM and performance may be less straightforward when the complexity of performance in a public context is accounted for. Accounting for various dimensions of performance such as outputs, efficiency, responsiveness, service and democratic outcomes (Boyne 2002) it is likely that PSM is not similarly related to each dimension. Therefore a first, explorative, proposition can be formulated as:

PI: The relationship between PSM and performance differs between various dimensions of performance.

However, these relationships may also differ between contexts. Andersen et al. (2013) for instance argue that under certain conditions public service motivated employees may be very paternalistic and little responsive to citizens. It is therefore important to also look at the specific context in which the relationship is studied and what dimension of performance is likely to be emphasized.

Perceived, subjective and objective fits

Second, research has, to date, mostly focused on a direct perceived fit (Rectangle C in Figure 1) with much less attention given to subjective and objective fits. Research on perceived fit is valuable for gaining insight into whether the institutional context matters, but it provides little information on *which* characteristics matter for the relationship between PSM and performance. For example, Bright (2007) showed that the relationship between PSM and self-reported supervisor ratings of performance was fully mediated by perceptions of a fit between individual and organizational values (person-organization fit), and although this shows that organizational values are important it tells us little about *which* values are relevant for the PSM-performance relationship. A good case could be made for public values such as equity, accountability and fairness (Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007), but it may equally be that 'new public management' values such as client orientation matter more, as argued by Meyer et al. (2013). Clarifying this is not only necessary to improve PSM theory, but also to be able to provide public organizations with sound advice on how to create and manage a productive work environment.

To broaden use of fit experimental designs could be useful as applied by Bellé (2013) but natural occurring diversity in institutional contexts might be more appropriate for studying the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship. For instance, one could investigate characteristics such as red tape or autonomy or, by comparing different users, types of services or types of ownership (public, private and hybrid).

This is not an argument to abandon perceived fit as it is most valuable, but the PSM literature would benefit from broadening the scope of approaches to fit in studying the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship and highlighting the value of also

studying subjective and objective types of fit (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). While perceived fit can be useful, especially when the main concern lies with the relationship between PSM and performance and the sample is drawn from a homogeneous population (Andersen et al. 2014), if the sampled population work in contexts which differ in elements relevant for PSM, such as the degree to which jobs have a potential impact on society (Leisink & Steijn 2009), a subjective or objective fit approach seems more appropriate.

Regarding the role of objective, subjective and perceived fit, one can pose the following proposition:

P2: Objective or subjective characteristics of the publicness of the institutional context moderate the relationship between PSM and individual performance; and direct perceptions of fit mediate this relationship.

Different fit situations

A third, related, gap is that with its focus on perceived fit, PSM research has only marginally paid attention to different fit situations. Theoretically, one cannot expect a positive relationship in every institutional context. Several different situations can be distinguished, and we can learn valuable lessons by investigating how well public service motivated individuals perform in each of these situations. To illustrate the possibilities, in Table 2.2, public service motivation and the publicness of the institutional context have been simplified to three levels: low, moderate and high. In reality, of course, levels of these concepts are much more complex and refined but for the sake of theoretical exploration three levels are distinguished. Considering the potential relationships, several different expectations can be advanced regarding the relationship between PSM and performance. These are summarised in Table 2.2 and the arguments behind its construction follow.

Table 2.2: Nine PSM x context situations and their potential influence on performance.

Publicness context	Public service motivation		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	o	-	-
Moderate	o	+	+/-
High	o	+/-	++

Firstly, when PSM is low, PSM cannot have an added effect on performance since it is absent and cannot provide extra energy for the individual (o). However, if an individual feels moderately motivated to contribute to society, he or she will seek opportunities to do so through the context in which the work is being done (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Steijn 2008; Taylor 2008). If this need is met, and the institutional context is perceived as highly public and offering opportunities to contribute to society, we can expect PSM and performance to be positively related (+) since the institutional context is stimulating behaviour aimed at having a meaningful impact on society (March & Olsen 1989; Perry 2000). A similar expectation can be formulated for high PSM and a strong public orientation (++) leading to the third proposition:

P3: The relationship between PSM and individual performance will be strongest when PSM is high and the institutional context has a high degree of publicness.

Further, two uncertain situations can also occur. First, what happens if an employee is motivated to contribute to society, but the opportunities to do so exceed the motivation, that is, an oversupply situation exists? It could be that PSM contributes to performance because there are ample opportunities to use that motivation, but it could also be that the 'dark side' of PSM surfaces in such a situation (Giauque et al. 2013). Being motivated to go 'above and beyond the call of duty' (DiIulio 1994) may in such a situation drive employees to do all that is possible and more, and overload themselves in the process. For instance, does a nurse with 40 patients to take care of perceive this positively because there are plenty of opportunities to help others, or does this lead to overreaching, stress and possibly burn-out as suggested by Giauque et al. (2013)? It may be that when the institutional context provides too many incentives for public service motivated employees, their well-being suffers. If their wellbeing suffers, it is highly likely their long-term performance will also suffer even if, in the short term, they are performing well (Judge et al. 2001). Using a balanced approach (Boselie 2010; Paauwe 2009) and following Boyne's (2002) framework, the wellbeing of employees should also be considered as important in public performance. These arguments lead to the fourth proposition:

P4: The relationship between PSM and wellbeing, as a component of public performance, will be negative when there is a misfit between the degree of publicness of the institutional context and the level of PSM.

Finally, there can be a situation where the employee is public service motivated but the institutional context lacks publicness, and regulates or constrains behaviours towards making a societal contribution (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). With such a misfit, the opportunities ('supply' in person-environment fit theory) fall short of the need to have a meaningful impact on society (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). The individual is not able to show behaviour appropriate to the values they have internalized (Deci & Ryan 2000; Ryan & Deci 2004) and this not only frustrates but also reduces the ability to regulate behaviour on the task (Deci & Ryan 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). The effect of PSM on performance is then less than many might anticipate, and can even become negative due to the frustration (and perhaps also a lowered wellbeing) of the employee. This leads to the following proposition:

P5: The relationship between PSM and individual performance will be non-significant or even negative when the institutional context's degree of publicness is perceived by the employee as falling short of the level of PSM.

By investigating these various situations, one can more accurately map when PSM will be positively related to performance, and when not, thus placing boundaries on the proposition that PSM is positively related to performance.

Elements of the institutional context

The fourth gap considered pertains to the level and elements of the institutional context that have been addressed in studies on PSM and performance. Institutional theory recognizes multiple levels on which institutions can be studied, from the macro (state) level to the micro-level of job characteristics as carriers of institutions, and different aspects of institutions such as their structural, normative and cultural-cognitive characteristics (Scott 2001). In comparison, the scope of person-environment fit theory has been limited to the work environment, where it distinguishes between job, supervisor, team, department, organization and vocation (Edwards & Shipp 2007). PSM is seen as a means, or 'human resource', through which public organizations can improve their service delivery and, consequently, the focus is usually on the internal, organizational context (Paarlberg et al. 2008) even though the external context, which is admittedly less manageable, may also matter.

In terms of PSM research, two studies have specifically addressed the organizational level by including person-organization fit (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013), and in the wider PSM literature there is also a strong emphasis on congruence in values on the level of the organization (Moynihan & Pandey 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008; Wright & Pandey 2010). Some studies have focused on fit with the job, such as whether the job provides opportunities to have a meaningful impact on society (Leisink & Steijn 2009; Taylor 2008) or includes contact with beneficiaries (Bellé 2013; Grant 2008). Much less attention has been paid to the role of the supervisor (with the notable exception of Kroll & Vogel 2013), the team or the vocation.

The external environment is less emphasized. Although sector has been a central issue in studies on public administration, it is much less prominent as part of the institutional context in studies on the relationship between PSM and performance (it is, however, studied as outcome of the influence of PSM on job choice; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012). Only Francois (2000) described PSM as a 'reason for government provision of public goods', arguing that public service delivery is best provided when the organization can make optimum use of PSM to induce effort, which, according to the author, occurs in a governmental, public, setting.

The reason why the focus is often on the organizational level could be because the fit with *organizational values* is seen as the most important for employees with public service motivation. There is, however, no clear theoretical rationale for giving the organization paramount importance in the relationship between PSM and performance. Firstly, because theory on person-environment fit regards the characteristics of the environment closest to the aimed-for behaviour as the most important in determining whether the desired behaviour will occur: the job level can be expected to be the most important for job-level outcomes such as individual performance (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005; Lauver & Kristof 2001). Secondly, the theory on PSM assumes that employees with high public service motivation want to deliver a public service, which is distinct from a more general motivation to be part of a public organization, in which job security and pension plans also play a role (Wright 2001).

Those motivated to contribute to society and help others will probably want to have opportunities to achieve such things in their daily work, thus indicating that the job will be most important. Studies on the role of person-environment fit in the relationship between PSM and job choice (Christensen & Wright 2011; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012) suggest that it

may be more important for the job to provide opportunities to contribute to society than for the organization be public or privately owned or controlled. The two are, however, likely to be related since most jobs in which an individual can have a meaningful contribution to society are presumably in public or semi-public organizations (Perry & Wise 1990; Rainey 2003). This leads to the sixth proposition:

P6: The most important fit for the relationship between PSM and individual performance concern the publicness of the job.

This proposition can only be tested if studies on the PSM-performance relationship start to include multiple types of fit or multiple aspects of the environment, as done by Christensen & Wright (2011). As outlined earlier, the publicness of the institutional context refers to several elements and is not only a matter of degree. Even distinguishing between public and private organizations appears to be problematic because it can be based on various aspects such as funding or ownership (Bozeman 1987). Within the public sector, the publicness of organizations varies since they form a patchwork of organizations with different missions, strategies, structures, users, roles and cultures (Vandenabeele 2008). The opportunities in the job to contribute to society (i.e. whether the job provides opportunities to actually have a meaningful impact on society) or the actual impact (Bellé 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009) and employee perceptions thereof can also be relevant in determining whether PSM relates to performance. These opportunities may be determined by the job characteristics, but also by, for instance, the budget of the organization. In terms of the relationship between PSM and performance, some aspects may be of greater importance than others. Since PSM is a motivation directed at *working for society*, the primary process is expected to be of crucial importance.

Overall, the variations in the primary process may form a good starting point for analysing the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship. One fundamental difference is the type of service offered. Kjeldsen (2013) found that the relationship between PSM and job choice depended on the type of service, distinguishing regulation (people-processing) from production (people-changing) services (Hasenfeld 1987). These differences may also matter for the relationship between PSM and performance, and even for what dimension of performance PSM is related to as service providers differ in mission and tasks. In Table 2.1, studies on PSM's relationship with behaviour and performance were differentiated according to the type of performance studied, such as outputs, efficiency, service outcomes, responsiveness and democratic outcomes (Boyne 2002). Comparing performance in different institutional contexts could show whether PSM leads to similar types of performance or behaviours in all contexts. For instance, teachers may place greater emphasis on responsiveness, whereas police officers may emphasize equity because their respective institutional contexts emphasize these behaviours, and regulate and stimulate employees towards these specific behaviours (March & Olsen 2006).

The formulated propositions all form potential new avenues for research on the relationship between PSM and performance. A survey design is useful for diving deeper into which types of fit, such as job or organization, are more important, or for studying subjective fit with specific characteristics of the institutional context. Additional data will

be necessary to study objective fit since external data will have to be gathered on the institutional context (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). This could be obtained from registers, but another option is through interviews on, for instance, the societal impact potential of a profession, or the type of service offered. Objective fit could also be studied using an experimental design, as has been demonstrated by Bellé (2013). Less common research designs may also be of value, such as vignettes in which the context is manipulated (Christensen & Wright 2010; Moynihan 2013) or interviews that probe the interaction between institutional context and public service motivation (Kjeldsen 2012).

2.9 This dissertation

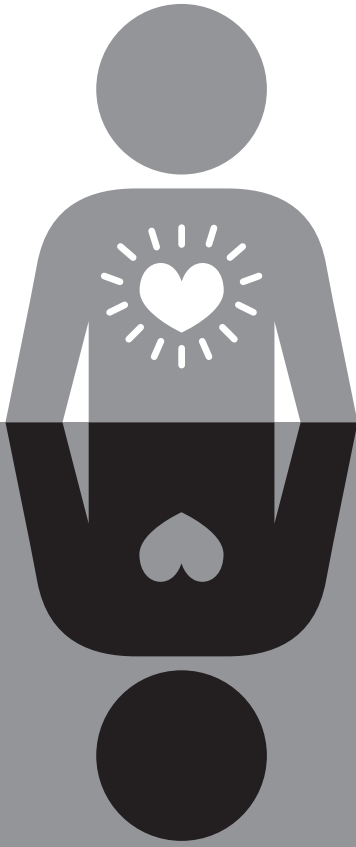
This dissertation aims to contribute to the literature by addressing these propositions, although this is not the single aim of this dissertation. On top of providing insight in the role of the institutional context for the PSM – performance relationship, this dissertation also aims to provide insight in the influence of institutional context on PSM (chapter 3). In Table 2.3 the propositions are shown with the chapters that aim to provide more insight in these propositions.

Table 2.3: *Propositions and the relevant chapters.*

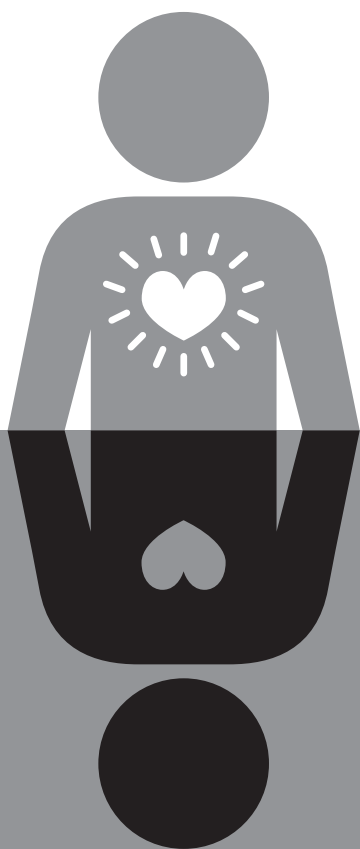
Propositions	Chapter
P1: The relationship between PSM and performance differs between various dimensions of performance.	Chapter 4 and 7.
P2: Objective or subjective characteristics of the publicness of the institutional context moderate the relationship between PSM and individual performance; and direct perceptions of fit mediate this relationship.	Chapter 5, 6, 8 and 9.
P3: The relationship between PSM and individual performance will be strongest when PSM is high and the institutional context has a high degree of publicness.	Chapter 6, 8 and 9.
P4: The relationship between PSM and wellbeing, as a component of public performance, will be negative when there is a misfit between the degree of publicness of the institutional context and the level of PSM.	Chapter 6.
P5: The relationship between PSM and individual performance will be non-significant or even negative when the institutional context's degree of publicness is perceived as falling short of the level of PSM.	Chapter 8 and 9.
P6: The most important fit for the relationship between PSM and individual performance concern the publicness of the job.	Chapter 5 and 8.

2.10 Conclusion

The relationship between PSM and performance has been widely researched and, from the findings, one might well conclude that, yes, PSM is positively related to performance. However, it is time to move beyond the simple proposition that PSM is related to performance because this provides insufficient insight into this relationship and, more importantly, the boundaries of the role of PSM for performance. To move forward, a theoretical rationale on how PSM relates to performance is necessary, a need that this chapter aimed to satisfy by integrating institutional and person-environment fit theories. The main emphasis has been that the differences in how PSM relates to performance are due to context, and that there are boundaries beyond which the proposition that PSM is positively related to performance does not hold. In some institutional contexts it can be expected that PSM gives a strong impulse to performance but, in others, this is less likely. Further research is necessary which includes different aspects of the institutional context to provide insight in when and where public service motivation is related to various dimensions of performance, and when not.



Part I: The role of institutional context



Chapter 3.

Talking the talk of public service motivation

*How public organization logics matter for
employees' expressions of PSM*

Summary

This chapter aims to move beyond the public-private dichotomy in studying public service motivation (PSM) by showing how organizational logics matter for the type of PSM (instrumental, normative, or affective) that employees express. Using data from fifty interviews in police stations, prisons, hospitals, municipalities and schools, we show that differences in service logic (the user's feeling of the desirability of a service) and user logic (people-changing or people-processing services) matter for employees' expressions of PSM in that this results in different emphases within public service motives. We conclude that institutional logics matter for PSM expressions and should be addressed in future research, and that research on PSM should account for differences between public service providers.

An article based on this chapter has been published with Peter Leisink and Wouter Vandenabeele:

Van Loon, N.M., Leisink, P.L.M. & Vandenabeele, W. 2013. Talking the Talk of Public Service Motivation: How Public Organization Logics Matter for Employees' Expressions of PSM. *International Journal of Public Administration*. 36 (14): 1007-1019.

3.1 Introduction

The focus in studies on public service motivation (PSM) has tended to be on country or sectorial (public versus private) differences (Andersen et al. 2011; Kim et al. 2013; Steen 2008; Vandenabeele & Van de Walle 2008; Vandenabeele et al. 2006). Only a few studies have investigated whether employees' conceptions of the motivation to contribute to society differ when studying different types of public service providers (Houston, 2000; Kjeldsen, 2012a; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007). This leaves an important gap in the literature. Following recent research on the effect of occupation on PSM (Kjeldsen 2012a), we question whether one can safely assume that one will find similar expressions of PSM among employees working in different types of service providers such as the police and schools. There are, after all, differences between public service providers that may influence which types of public service motives employees express. According to Perry and Wise (1990), these may be rational, affective, or normative motives. In this chapter we focus on the organization, as an institution that may matter in an employee's PSM type, and ask how institutional logics influence employee motivation.

According to institutional theory (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001), institutions at all levels influence individual preferences and behaviours. Institutions communicate what is seen as 'appropriate' attitudes and behaviours, which leads to fairly standardized responses (March & Olsen 1989). The organization, as an institution, matters in individual perceptions (Molinsky & Margolis 2005; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008; Scott 2001). Through selection and socialization, organizations infuse public values in the identity of their employees (Kjeldsen 2012b; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). However, different public organizations operate within different logics, and this may lead to different social values and information being conveyed to their employees, resulting in variations in individual dispositions and therefore PSM.

First, the difference between people-processing and people-changing organizations (Hasenfeld 1972) illustrates how public organizations follow different user logics. Having a focus on realizing change in users (as in schools) means that an organization has information on its prosocial impact (Grant & Campbell 2007; Grant et al. 2007) and employees need to identify with the users to know how to change them. Conversely, organizations focused on processing users do not need a personal bond to achieve the organization's goals. The different logics in these organizations may, through socialization processes, lead to differences in the public service disposition of their employees.

Apart from the difference between people-processing and people-changing organizations marking a fundamental difference in logics, the two types of organizations are dissimilar in service logic. Both people-processing and people-changing organizations may deliver wanted, positive services or unwanted, negative services (Grant & Campbell 2007; Molinsky & Margolis 2005). An organization providing a positive service will receive more signs of gratitude and prosocial impact which can be communicated to employees (Grant & Gino 2010), whereas an organization providing a negative service has to justify its task in term of being good for society despite negative encounters with unwilling users and may therefore emphasize moral justification (Molinsky & Margolis 2005).

This study aims to provide more insight in how these different logics matter for individual motives by examining employees in education, healthcare, the police service,

prisons, and local government to answer the question: *‘How do individual conceptions of public service motivation differ between public service providers who differ in their user and service logic?’* Our research provides a deeper understanding of the interaction between organizational logics and individual motives. We start by exploring the literature on PSM, institutions, and prosocial motivation, followed by a description of the research method and data. Following this, we present the main findings, followed by a discussion and conclusion.

3.2 Public service motivation

Public service motivation (PSM) has been described most simply as *‘an individual’s drive to contribute to society’* (Perry & Hondeghem 2008) and can be seen as a particular type of prosocial motivation (motivation to help others in general). Perry and Wise (1990, p.368) defined PSM as *‘an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations’* and distinguished three types of public service motivation: rational, normative, and emotional. It is these motives that are the focus of this chapter.

The first type, rational, refers to the drive to want to participate, to *‘do something’*, to improve public services. Moreover, individuals may be drawn to public service because it *‘can be exciting, dramatic, and reinforcing of an individual’s image of self-importance’* (Perry & Wise 1990, p.368). Kim and Vandenberg (2010) saw this type of motive as instrumental; emphasizing that a person wants to do something to improve services and thus sees their work as an instrument through which they can achieve this.

The second type of motive is norm-based and reflects the desire to serve the public interest because that is considered important (Perry & Wise 1990). It is a sense of *‘duty’* or *‘calling’* that motivates the individual and involves enhancing social equity while providing services economically and efficiently. Kim and Vandenberg (2010) view this dimension as *‘value-based’* and thus as including values particularly important for public service such as equity and ethical conduct.

The third type, affective motivation, describes an emotional state in which one feels affection for people within a group or society. Kim and Vandenberg (2010) described this type as *‘identification’* with a group, or with disadvantaged citizens, leading to empathy that triggers individuals to do something to help this group.

Based on these types, Perry (1996) identified four dimensions of public service motivation: attraction to politics (rational), commitment to the public interest (normative), compassion (emotional), and self-sacrifice; and these have been used as a starting point for much research. The last of these, self-sacrifice, is not directly linked to one of the types of public service motives but represents the willingness of individuals to go above and beyond the call of duty by risking personal loss and giving back to society more than one receives (Perry 1996). Kim and Vandenberg (2010) see this attitude as the basis of the three types of motives on the grounds that it resembles a fundamental drive that facilitates the other motives.

The debate on PSM’s precise dimensional configuration continues, with some researchers adding dimensions such as democratic governance and user orientation

(Andersen et al. 2011; Vandenabeele 2008), others refining the dimensions to eliminate possible overlaps and to include public values (Kim & Vandenabeele 2010), and yet others using a single global PSM measure (Coursey & Pandey 2007). The types of motives on which the dimensions are based have, however, remained intact and continue to form the basis of public service motivation research (Kim & Vandenabeele 2010; Perry & Hondeghem 2008; Perry 2000). On this basis, we use the three types of motives (rational/instrumental, normative and affective) plus self-sacrifice in our study since they are widely accepted, easy to interpret, and form the basis of the various dimensions.

Although the types of motives can theoretically be distinguished, Perry and Wise (1990, p. 369) caution that *'people are a mix of motives, exhibiting combinations of values over a lifetime and focusing on different motives at various points in their careers'*. Moreover, each individual may have a distinct mix of motives, which could also be influenced by their environment or the type of work they do (Kjeldsen 2012b; Perry & Wise 1990; Perry 2000).

The distinction between types of PSM provides important insights for our study. For instance, Brewer, Selden, and Facer (2000) identified four different types of public service motivated individuals (Samaritan, Communitarian, Patriotic, and Humanitarian) among government employees. Jacobsen (2011) combined qualitative data with survey data on government managers and found that each individual believed that contributing to society was important, but had unique representations of what that meant. Recently, Kjeldsen (2012a) compared interview data from nurses and nursing assistants working in the private and public sectors and found that both sector and occupation influenced the expressions of PSM, with those working for public organizations more motivated to help society at large and those privately employed to be more focused on the individual user.

These studies show that we should take the differences between employees working in different settings into account, but they do not provide insight into whether and why different patterns of PSM are expressed between different public service providers. In the next section we focus on institutional logics which are likely to affect employee motivation.

3.3 Differences between public service providers

Following Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) who placed PSM within an institutional framework, we argue that, alongside other institutions such as profession (Andersen & Pedersen 2012), religion (Perry 1997) and state (Vandenabeele & Van de Walle 2008; Vandenabeele et al. 2006), organizational logics also matter for the disposition of an individual. Organizations attract and select individuals in the light of their mission (Perry 2000; Wright & Pandey 2011) and then socialize these employees through the provision of social information (Grant 2007), culture and social learning (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). Social values and belief systems are conveyed to individuals and play a role in defining their attitudes and behaviour (March & Olsen 1989; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). Through this logic of appropriateness, organizations are able to standardize behaviour (March & Olsen 1989).

Although all organizations with a public task probably convey to their employees some form of public service motive as appropriate, there are important differences between public organizations in what they emphasize (Moynihan & Pandey 2007; Wright & Pandey

2011). We argue that the message which is sent to employees about what are appropriate attitudes and behaviours may depend on the user and service logic of the public organization.

User logic: people-changing versus people-processing

First, the user logic⁵ distinguishes people-processing organizations from people-changing organizations (Hasenfeld 1972). People-processers are organizations that deal with all kinds of users and only change the status or location of a user. The users mostly remain unidentified because the processing requires limited interaction (whether through paper, a project, or in real life). People-changing organizations demand more intense and longer contacts with an identifiable user group because they aim to *change* the user (Hasenfeld 1972)⁶.

When an organization is focused on changing a specific user group, identification with the users is likely to be part of the organization's character and work values. Identification leads to greater sympathy or, when negative tasks have to be executed, feelings of guilt (Grant & Campbell 2007; Molinsky & Margolis 2005). Either way, identification is necessary to know how the users can be changed (Grant et al. 2007; Molinsky & Margolis 2005). In the framework of PSM, this may result in emphasizing affective motivation (Koehler & Rainey 2008). As empathy and self-sacrifice are often found to be strongly related (Koehler & Rainey 2008), we can also expect more expressions of self-sacrifice when empathy is emphasized. When an organization is aimed at processing people, we could expect employees to express instrumental motivation as they want to be part of a bigger whole by participating in public services, and also normative motivation as the organization will emphasize ethical behaviour such as neutrality in processing the various users (Koehler & Rainey 2008; Molinsky & Margolis 2005). However, organizations in both the people-changing and people-processing categories may differ in other respects. For instance, both schools and prisons are people-changing organizations, but the dynamics in these two organizations could be different due to the nature of the service they provide: schools provide positive, wanted services, whereas prisons provide unwanted, negative services.

Service logic: negative versus positive services

The second difference in organizational logic follows from the nature of the service. Organizations providing positive services acquire a more direct view of their prosocial impact because these organizations are more likely to receive positive feedback and gratitude than organizations providing negative services (Grant 2008). For instance, a school is able to show all its employees the prosocial impact of their work on graduation day. Moreover, because the users are more willing partakers of the provided service, the organization socializes its employees to be open, caring, and concerned with the fate of the users. Grant and Gino (2010) for instance found that perceiving a prosocial impact leads to willingness to help, both the person in question and other unknown users.

5 The users are those citizens using the 'service', for example a suspect when detained by the police, as against the *beneficiaries*, who in this instance could be the victims of the crime.

6 In 1983, Hasenfeld distinguished a 'middle' category called people-sustaining services, aimed at sustaining the characteristics of people. Since this category is not studied here, the discussion is limited to people-changing and - processing.

Providers of negative, unwanted services have fewer opportunities to show employees the prosocial impact of the organization, if there is one, since they tend to perform tasks that are to an extent ‘impossible’ and a ‘necessary evil’ because they harm users for ‘the greater good’, because the users are unwilling, and with their goals under constant dispute (Hargrove & Glidewell 1990; Moynihan 2005; Margolis & Molinsky 2008, Molinsky & Margolis 2005). Such organizations do not focus on identifying with the users because they will never do a good job in their eyes. Instead, they emphasize what they can and should do well: displaying ethical conduct and meeting norms, and the fact that someone has to do this work (a duty). Negative service organizations provide information on why their tasks have to be done (for the greater good) and reconstruct the work as morally justified on this basis. According to Margolis and Molinsky (2008), organizations have an important influence on employee attitudes and reactions to working on negative, unwanted tasks.

The service logic of an organization matters for the individual’s motivation because the organization conveys this logic to its employees. In negative service providers, we can expect the individuals’ affection towards users and thus their affective motivation to decrease over time, and their normative motivation to become more pronounced. In positive service providers, the opportunities for their employees to see their impact on society, plus the likely receipt of feedback and gratitude, will enhance feelings of empathy and impact, leading to an emphasis on affective and instrumental motives.

Four types of public service providers

The two types of organizational logic distinguished can be combined to form a framework with four quadrants: ‘people-processing positive service providers’, ‘people-processing negative service providers’, ‘people-changing positive service providers’, and ‘people-changing negative service providers’. Based on the descriptions of the two organizational logics, we can now formulate four expectations:

- 1: *Employees working in ‘people-processing positive service providers’ pronounce instrumental motives most strongly, and to lesser extent normative, affective and self-sacrificial motives.*
- 2: *Employees working in ‘people-changing positive service providers’ primarily emphasize affective and self-sacrificial types of public service motivation and, to lesser extent, instrumental motives.*
- 3: *Employees working in ‘people-changing negative service providers’ show a balanced mix of normative, affective and self-sacrificial public service motives, but little instrumental motivation.*
- 4: *Employees working in ‘people-processing negative service providers’ most strongly pronounce normative public service motivation and, to lesser extent, instrumental motives, but do not emphasize affective or self-sacrificial motives.⁷*

7 This does not mean that such motives are not expressed by other types of service providers, but less pronounced.

3.4 Methods

In the following section the data and analysis are discussed.

Data

Data for this chapter were collected from several public and semi-public organizations in the Netherlands. Given that little is known about the dynamics of employee motivation in different types of service providers, an open qualitative approach was chosen. It is hard to find organizations that are perfect examples of the four types distinguished above. We can however identify organizations that are ‘more-or-less’ typical. When looking for public organizations that aim to change people we think of education, hospitals, and prisons. For instance, secondary schools aim to change the skills and knowledge of their students, and prisons aim to change inmates so they do not reoffend on release. However, whereas schools and hospitals provide wanted services, prisons do not for their clients.

Users of people-processing organizations, such as municipalities and the police force, have a different status. Municipalities give citizens ‘approvals’ and licenses; while the police process suspects from the street to the justice department⁸. The municipality provides mostly wanted services, whereas the police’s services are mostly unwanted although they sometimes do aid citizens⁹. To provide clarity we have placed the studied organizations in a framework (see Figure 3.1) based on the two organizational logics.

Wanted services	
Local government (Strong emphasis on instrumental motives, to a lesser extent normative, affective motives and self-sacrifice)	Education, Healthcare (Strong emphasis on affective motives and self-sacrifice, to a lesser extent on instrumental motives)
One-time	Long-time
Police (Strong emphasis on normative, to a lesser extent instrumental motives)	Prison (Emphasis on normative and affective motives and self-sacrifice)
Unwanted services	

Figure 3.1: Public services on two dimensions and the expected emphasis on motives.

Interviews

Interviews form an appropriate method for studying the dynamics between organizational logics and individual expressions (Boeije, 2010; Perry, 2000). Interviews can provide insight into individual thoughts and PSM patterns by providing rich data and the opportunity to probe an employee’s responses. Since little is known about how the types of public service

8 Even ‘neighbourhood police officers’ are mostly focused on working together with social services. They identify certain individuals or groups and try to refer them for justice or to social services.

9 In the Netherlands, the focus is on fighting crime; in policy documents, the task of ‘aiding’ has been removed from the ‘core tasks’ of the police, who should only focus on fighting crime, and leave helping the public to other services.

motivation manifest themselves and why these might differ amongst public organizations, interviewing is a suitable option.

The interview data was gathered within secondary schools (14 interviewees), a police office (10), a prison (9), a hospital (8), and a municipality (9). Respondents were either randomly picked from a list of employees (in the case of the police) or identified by the organization based on function and asked to cooperate. The main aim of the interviews was to gain insight into the organizations and the roles of the several types of PSM. We chose to interview several different functions, such that our datasets include a mix of primary process, support, and management functions since everyone in an organization can feel that they contribute to the organization's mission. Thus, an organization's service and user logics can matter for the motivation of all employees in the organization, not just the street-level employees. We are thus in a position to identify patterns of responses across public organizations, which can lead to insights into the dynamics between organizations and an individual's PSM (Kjeldsen 2012b; Wright & Grant 2010). If we had only interviewed street-level bureaucrats, we might have gained insight into job, but not organizational dynamics.

In total, 27 'primary process', 9 supportive, and 14 management employees were interviewed, of whom 30 were women and 20 men. An overview of the characteristics of the respondents is provided in Appendix 1¹⁰. Each interview took between forty-five minutes and one hour and was conducted in 2012 by the first author. The main question in each interview was 'What motivates you to do your work well?'.¹¹ By starting with this broad question, interviewees were expected to reveal their motives without picking up on discussions on being motivated to contribute to society. Another example question was 'Can you give an example of a work situation which gave you energy to perform well?' The topic list can be found in Appendix 2.

Analysis

The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and made anonymous. All the interviews were read and then reread and coded using the qualitative data analysis program Nvivo 10. The codes were determined in advance by the researchers based on descriptions provided by Perry and Wise (1990), by Perry (1996), and by Kim and Vandenabeele (2010) of the various types of PSM. The main codes used were 'instrumental or rational', 'normative or value-based', 'affective', and 'self-sacrifice'. Each main code had several sub-codes which related to descriptions of motives to help the identification process. The coding scheme can be found in Appendix 3. All the respondents were also coded as being either part of a negative or a positive service, and in a people-processing or a people-changing organization. After the initial coding of all the interviews, the fragments were reread and then condensed to show response patterns. Following this coding, a 'query' was conducted in which the individual responses were compared between service providers based on the two dimensions.

¹⁰ To ensure anonymity all respondents are referred to as 'him/he' and are assigned a code 'R[number],[service domain],[function]'. Service domain is only mention for education/hospital. Function names are pp (primary process), mng (management) and sst (supportive staff).

¹¹ In general one can distinguish between motives for choosing a job and motives to perform well within the job. These do not have to be similar, as Jacobsen (2011) has shown. Our study focuses on the motivation to work well and perform within the job.

3.5 Results

The analysis of the individual dispositions within different logics is first presented in terms of the responses by interviewees in each type of organization. Then we place the patterns of the condensed responses in a framework to compare these responses in terms of the emphasis placed on the various PSM types.

‘The beauty of democracy’ – Local government

We start with local government, a people-processing positive service provider, where the complexity and beauty of the political ‘game’ of public issues in which the interviewees operated was emphasized. Their expressions of PSM were mostly focused on their work being relevant for society, and working with multiple conflicting interests:

‘What is exciting about a municipality is the incredibly complex organization. On the one hand it listens to its voters and has citizens as customers who can choose, and on the other hand it has citizens that cannot choose but are dependent on you.’ (R32, mng).

Other expressions voiced working for a particular cause (R27, sst) and the political dimension of the work, thus emphasizing instrumental motives:

‘It is the game, with so many different stakeholders that you all need as a municipality. The fact that I can be a ‘helicopter’, and connect things with each other with all these stakeholders...’ (R24, mng)

The interviewees also expressed notions of normative motivation when they for instance referred to the public values which they felt they had to uphold or their exemplary function. Affective or self-sacrifice motives were much less pronounced; only one of the respondents, who worked on social cases, indicated he was motivated when a citizen with an urgent case was made happy through his work (R25, mng).

‘Not something Mother Theresa like’, but close – Secondary school, hospital

Moving to the people-changing positive service providers, the responses show a different pattern. The respondents talked about improving services (instrumental), but even more on their contact with the users and the emotional bond as a driver (affective). Some of the respondents got quite emotional:

‘What I think is really upsetting, is the negative attitude towards VMBO [lower vocational education]. Like it is the worst thing that could happen to a kid. To just place the children, who are happy here and get a good education and are NOT [raised voice] doomed to fail in life, in a box forever. They should be ashamed of themselves. Who are you, to think that?! How can you even think that way?! Why? I can get very angry about that.’ (R10, education, sst)

The respondents expressed a need to help the underprivileged and emphasized they were willing to sacrifice time and energy beyond their normal job to make sure users are doing

well, both in the schools ('It fits me to work in a less privileged environment.' (R6, education, mng) and the hospital:

'[What motivates you in your work?] - the patient. They are completely at the top and central. For them you do anything. There is more to it, you want quality. ... It is mainly healthcare in general. However, if a patient arrives at 4, you know you will not be finished before 5; it is the patient that determines this. I work from 8 to 5, but if a patient comes in with suspected leukaemia and they call, then 5 is not 5. It just has to be done.' (R49, healthcare, pp)

This last quote also shows how the respondents connect affection and self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice to benefit patients or students was expressed when they described how they would stay late if it was in the best interest of the patient, or indicated they were still working beyond retirement age ('I could have retired a long time ago but I didn't do that. From a passion for the profession and the students I am still working' (R4, education, mng), or not for the pay (R3, education, mng), or how they sacrificed time and energy:

'It should not be something Mother Theresa like, you can just contribute. And that is important. Look, I do not think you go into education to get rich. [...] Even if you give teachers more time for mentoring, they always go way over the time that is allotted [...] Putting in extra effort; all teachers do that. I never see teachers saying "sorry my time is up"' (R2, education, mng)

Other types of motives were also found, such as instrumental thoughts about improving services ('For me, the most important thing is to enhance healthcare. Within healthcare a lot is happening, it is dynamic, there are stricter preconditions. And how can you still provide the best care.' R50, healthcare, pp), about being a 'catalyst' ('you can also be a motor to make things that are in them, you can be a catalyst to make things happen. And education is just the easiest instrument I have.' R12, education, pp). Finally, there were some respondents that did not express any PSM, for instance some education respondents indicated that contributing to society was not a motive, rather job security and the benefits were important (R13, education, sst; R8, education, pp).

'It could happen to anyone.' - Prison

In the third quadrant, the prison represents a people-changing negative service provider. The employees firstly described their motivation in terms of helping inmates get back on track and making sure they do not reoffend. Several interviewees emphasized that 'it could happen to anyone' (R21, pp), and showed how they identified with the inmates, 'they have families too' (R22, pp), and seemed to be motivated by this empathy:

'[What I think is important] is to make sure that these people, that they do not come back. That is fun. It does not work that often, but the one time it does work is enough for me. This was also the first time I was mentor, I got that person back on the right track, that was the trigger for me, so much that I thought, yes this is my aim.' (R16, pp)

Furthermore, all the respondents expressed major concerns about ethical behaviour (*'Of course some of them did horrible things, but it is not up to me to judge that.'* R23, mng), fair treatment and emphasized that they wanted to provide a dignified stay in which they do not harm the inmate (emphasizing normative motives), and go as far as to state that they do not want to know what an inmate has done:

'Whatever the inmate did, it does not interest me. Because I do not think it should influence the care someone receives.' (R20, mng)

They expressed resentment towards politics and that politicians have no insight into the impact of their work on society. Some indicated they do not think it is important to contribute to society through your work, but then go on to talk about how they help keep the Netherlands safe by keeping people inside who are not ready to be out in society. They do not see their work as an instrument through which they can change anything, and feel rather restricted in that sense. For one of the respondents, the low impact of the work was the reason for focusing on other parts of the job (management) to replace his original motivation of helping inmates get back on track (*'I had the illusion we could help people, but when I saw the recidivism numbers...'* R17, mng). However, humane treatment stood central in the responses, and was often coupled with a strong drive to help the inmates:

'For me it is not important what they have done. I would not go to look for this, because that could lead to... well...they have done this, and in your treatment you could just approach someone differently. There are some people who you can gently push in the right direction. If that is not there anymore, then it is just locking people up. No, that drive has to be there for me. ... If you get a letter - that they are doing well - or you see them working. Those are the things, well, that is what I am doing it for.' (R19, pp)

'Allergic to injustice' – Police force

In the final quadrant, the police represent a people-processing negative service provider. Here normative motives were the recurring pattern: the 'need to fight injustice' was omnipresent or as some put it: *'everyone working for the force has a strong sense of injustice'* (R35, pp, R36, pp). The respondents show an allergy to misbehaviour, illustrated by descriptions of how they cannot stand people jumping the queue or not behaving in traffic. They see their job as a 'calling' (*'A calling is what they say. We get paid badly so that should not be it. Injustice has to be something you cannot stand.'* R39, pp) and show how committed they are to doing something about injustice:

'Some things you just cannot tolerate: battery or burglary. It has an enormous impact on people. And yes, as an organization we want to fight that. Every servant has that in him. That he wants to fight injustice.' (R36, pp)

Sometimes respondents told stories of chasing thieves, situations in which they had to risk injuring someone and tried to justify these situations in the interviews. They also expressed a willingness to act and not just to stand around when something happens, and

policing is the only job in which you are allowed to act in their opinion (*'Guarding the public order. Aiding those in need. I think it is nice that I can and am allowed to do that. That if they need you, you are there.'* R37, pp). Others gave numerous examples of when they were able to help someone or stop a criminal which, as Perry and Wise (1990) would put it, seems to contribute to their own image of self-importance:

'If something happens and then you can act, I appreciate that. Maybe it is a bit of a feeling that you can do something about injustice. ... I enjoy that I can finally [now he is working for the police] give traffic fools a fine. Or people who go out and punch someone. It gives a good feeling, also for those people, that you can do something about it.' (R35, pp)

Several interviewees reported that their empathy for those they meet 'wears off' over the years. Some speak of how they, when they first entered the force, thought *'how can you treat someone like that?'* (R41, pp) but now notice they do just the same, or explain how they normalize the problems of criminals (*'the people we meet are extremes. But you tend to normalize that, like -oh another one with a bad childhood-, you know.'* R36, pp) and downplay the dramatic situations they encounter (R40, mng), or describe how they become cynical and distance themselves of their users, which shows how they are not motivated by empathy:

'I have my experiences on the street, you bring that with you. It changes your character a bit; you become more cynical, blunter. ... You only deal with the excesses: all the aggressive, crazy weird people; if you only deal with those you become more cynical and suspicious.' (R39, pp)

Two of the respondents (R33, pp; R35, pp) expressed affective motives. They explained how helping citizens gave them a boost, for instance when assisting in a reanimation or when they could go back to the victims after arresting a burglar. This shows that distancing does not happen in all situations.

Several policemen emphasized that no one is in this work for the money, some had even switched from a well-paid job to the police to be able to contribute something instead of earning money to make someone rich (R40, mng). Respondents expressed that the employees were always willing to put in extra effort. However, when asked what triggered this behaviour they would unanimously state it was because of colleagues, who would otherwise be stuck with the work, and not mention the wider public or society.

Overview

The responses that the interviewees in the various service providers emphasized are summarized in Figure 3.2. It provides an overview of the PSM patterns found in each service provider. Most respondents referred to at least one type of PSM during the interviews, but there were two respondents who did not mention any and, when asked directly, indicated that contributing to society was not an important work motivation for them. This is important to note because it shows that PSM is just part of a broader set of work motives. Following these analyses, we can now consider whether our expectations were valid.

Wanted services	
Local government Political game, interests (I) Strive for particular interest (I) Complexity of issues and weighting interests (I) Relevant work for society (I) ‘Beauty of democracy’ (N) Public values (N) Should focus on public interest (N)	Education, Healthcare Wanting to help improve service (I) Education as ‘an instrument’ (I) Emotional contact with user as important driver (A) Empathy for underprivileged (A) Love, care, emotion: to mean something for user (A) Extra effort, sacrifice for user (S)
One-time Police Doing something, taking action (I) Not standing on the side line (I) Feel need to fight injustice (N) Moral justification of actions (N) Allergy towards misbehaviour (N) ‘Calling’, exemplary function (N) Less empathy, cynical (nA) Distancing from users (nA) Normalizing problems of users (nA) ‘Not for the money’ (S)	Long-time Prison Do not see impact on society (n-I) Help inmates not to return (I) Ethical behaviour (N) Importance of fair treatment (N) ‘Stick up for underdog’ (A) Strong drive to help inmates (A) Identification and empathy (A) Aversion of politics (nI) Gratitude of inmates as a driver (A)
Unwanted services	

Figure 3.2: Typical responses for each type of service provider; I=instrumental, N=normative, A=affective, S=Self-sacrifice, an ‘n’ means this response shows the reverse of the type of motive.

Our first expectation was that those working in local government would emphasize instrumental motives and to a lesser extent recognize other PSM types. Looking at Figure 3.2, we see that they indeed express instrumental motives, such as the political game, policy interests, and the attractiveness of weighting interests. Normative motives are also expressed in mentioning public values and the beauty of democracy. Although some expressed affective motives, this was not typical. Therefore we find partial support for our first expectation: an emphasis on instrumental and to lesser extent normative motives was established, but affective motives and self-sacrifice were less emphasized than we had expected.

Affective and self-sacrificial motives were strongly pronounced by those working in secondary schools and the hospital, with references to care, love, emotion, and empathy. This was expected since these organizations provide positive people-changing services. Another pronounced motive was to ‘enhance or improve services’, which relates to instrumental motivation. We therefore conclude that we have found sufficient evidence for our second expectation.

Third, we had expected prison employees to show a mix of normative, affective, and self-sacrificial types because they work in a people-changing negative service provider. The responses in Figure 3.2 partially confirm this expectation: the pattern shows a focus on normative (‘fair treatment, ethical behaviour’) and affective motives (helping inmates get back on track, gratitude from ex-inmates) and an allergy towards elements which relate to instrumental motives. However self-sacrificial motives were less pronounced and affective motives were stressed more strongly, than we had expected.

Finally, our fourth expectation posited that employees working for the police would pronounce normative public service motivation the most strongly, instrumental motives to a lesser extent, and no affective or self-sacrificial motives since the organization is a people-processing negative service provider. Indeed, the pattern of expressions appearing in the final box of Figure 3.2 do mostly relate to normative motives: a calling, a sense of duty, and the strong importance given to upholding justice all refer to a moral obligation. 'Doing something', which is related to instrumental motives, was also articulated several times. Further, a lack of affective motives was emphasized. Therefore we conclude that our final expectation is confirmed.

3.6 Discussion

The results have provided new insights into how differences between service providers matter for individual expressions of contributing to society. Based on institutional theory, we assumed that organizations provide social information linked to individual identity and values (Knoke & Wright-Isak 1982; March & Olsen 1989; Perry 2000), but that the social information conveyed to the employees differs between public organizations with different user and service logics. The differences in motives found between the service providers were rather consistent with the expectations from the literature (Grant & Campbell 2007; Grant 2008; Grant & Gino 2010; Hasenfeld 1972; Koehler & Rainey 2008). The different types of PSM (rational/instrumental, normative, and affective) and self-sacrifice that underpin PSM operationalization (Kim & Vandenabeele 2010; Perry & Wise 1990; Perry 2000) were indeed identified in this study, but the emphases differed between the positive and negative service providers, and between the people-changing and people-processing service providers.

Two of the findings were to an extent unexpected. We found less emphasis on affective motives in local government workers than we had expected. This could be due to sample selection bias as we did not include all tasks, but could also be explained by the wide variety of organizational tasks and user roles. The respondents talked about how they have to balance different interests and stand between conflicting parties, which may make it hard for them to identify with users seeking impartiality from public servants. The organization may be communicating to its staff that it is inappropriate to get emotionally involved, resulting in a pattern emphasizing instrumental motives such that a user logic (people-processing) is more salient than the service logic.

Second, within the prison, typified as a negative people-changing service provider, we found a stronger emphasis on normative and affective motives than expected. This may be explained by Margolis and Molinsky's (2008) description of how service providers who perceive their task as unjustified may develop feelings of guilt, leading to empathy. In terms of our framework, we could interpret this as prison employees trying to 'push' their work towards the positive people-changing service corner. This is supported by the emphasis placed on the gratitude of ex-inmates (even though that only happens occasionally). They search for those moments in which they are able to help and receive gratitude and see them as energizing moments. From this we can see that, in organizations in which

the logics are sending different signals, one of the two logics may become more salient and determine the employees' appropriate attitudes and ways of acting (March & Olsen 1989; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008).

The findings show that institutions matter for individual expressions of PSM. Individual expressions of PSM were related to two important organizational features: service logic (desirability) and user logic (processing or changing). Our findings can be related to Perry's (2000) framework in which a direct link is made between organizational incentives and an individual's values and identity. Moreover, our findings highlight that one should move beyond the public-private dichotomy in showing that PSM expressions differ between service providers. That is, we should not see the public sector as a homogeneous whole but accept that it contains many very different organizations and that this matters for individual dispositions. The theoretical and methodological implications of this chapter are discussed next.

This chapter contributes to research on PSM by further unravelling how institutional characteristics matter for individual predispositions (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008; Perry 2000). Our study links to Kjeldsen's (2012a) findings that sector matters when comparing PSM expressions in similar jobs in the public and private sectors, but goes further by showing that PSM patterns also differ *between* service providers within the public sector. PSM and prosocial motivation research has already made significant progress in unravelling the dynamics between institutions and individuals in terms of motivation (Andersen et al. 2011; Andersen & Pedersen 2012; Grant & Campbell 2007; Grant 2008; Kjeldsen 2012a; Kjeldsen 2012b; Wright & Pandey 2011). This chapter contributes to this line of research by uncovering how the desirability of the service and user interaction both matter for individual predispositions (Perry 2000).

Second, using the results of this study, we can now look more closely at whether individuals and the public work they do actually match. If public service providers attract and retain individuals that express certain sets of PSM logics then this matters for those wanting to join a public organization. Research on the relationship between PSM and person-environment fit does indeed show that the match between an individual's PSM and the job opportunities and values of the organization matter for job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and individual performance (Bright 2007; Bright 2008; Steijn 2008; Wright 2007; Wright & Pandey 2008). Moreover, Kjeldsen (2012b) showed how students had preferences for either service providing or regulating jobs during their study. Here, we show that researchers should consider the differences between public service providers as not all services will speak to the same types of public service motivated employees. We could not however determine whether the differences found were due to attraction and selection or to socialization effects. Based on Kjeldsen (2012b), we would assume that both dynamics are at work and lead to the observed PSM patterns. That is, both before joining and after entering an organization, workers are provided with social information about appropriate attitudes.

Third, we contribute to the literature on prosocial motivation (Grant 2007; Molinsky & Margolis 2005) by showing that the organizational context is an important element. Whereas prosocial research has tended to focus on job design, irrespective of whether or what kind of public service is provided, we show that the context in which a job is done can also matter for an individual's predisposition.

Fourth, this study provides several insights into the concept of PSM by using *types* of motives rather than dimensions since the latter have caused conceptual discussions (Andersen et al. 2011; Kim & Vandenabeele 2010; Vandenabeele 2008). A somewhat novel approach was that we viewed the motivation of self-sacrifice as an attitude. While most dimensions are seen as based upon one of the three types of motive (instrumental, value-based or affective), self-sacrifice is generally not. According to Kim and Vandenabeele (2010), self-sacrifice is the very foundation of PSM: an altruistic basis which makes individuals willing to risk personal interests for the sake of the greater good and to accept less reward than what they give. This premise received some support in this study in that some respondents referred to self-sacrifice (of time, pay, being at risk) as something you have to be able to accept if you want to do their work. As such, a self-sacrificing attitude should be considered as a prerequisite for the other types of motives. Before one can confidently state this, further research is required on the relationship between the various types of motives and self-sacrifice.

Moreover, in this study, the public values to which respondents were committed differed quite substantially. For instance, prison employees emphasized fair treatment and equality, whereas local government employees emphasized transparency and democracy. We therefore wonder what would happen if public values were included when measuring PSM in service providers. This study shows that certain values may be emphasized more by one group than another, but does this mean that one group is ‘less’ public service motivated? We think not. While including very specific public values may reduce the universal applicability of PSM (Kim & Vandenabeele 2010), making PSM too universal may make the concept less relevant in local contexts (Giauque et al. 2011). This study shows that the measure of PSM may be sensitive to organizational context, and that we should be careful about generalizing and lumping all public employees together in a single sample as if they are a homogeneous group. Whether one can treat ‘public employees’ as a group also depends on whether one is aiming to measure the various dimensions based upon the different types of motives (Perry 1996; Vandenabeele 2008), or intends to use a global measure of PSM which may tap into a more general drive to ‘contribute to society’ (Coursey & Pandey 2007; Perry & Hondeghem 2008). If dimensional, researchers can account for the organizational variance in their sample by using multi-group analysis or by limiting the variance in their sample. Further, to increase confidence in the patterns found in this study, future research could test our premises using quantitative data. This would provide a robust test for the influence of organizational characteristics on individual motivation.

This study shows that, within the public sector, employees in different service providers place different emphasis on instrumental, normative, and affective public service motives and on self-sacrifice, and explains this by considering the user and service logics. Consequently, we argue that context matters and that therefore we should be conscious, in both research and in practical implementations, of the institutions and environmental factors which influence PSM. That is, although employees of many public service providers ‘talk the talk’ of public service motivation, it is important to recognize they may be speaking in different ‘tongues’.

Limitations

The aim of this research was not to provide generalized results on differences in PSM within the public sector, but rather to generalize towards theory by contributing to uncovering institutional dynamics (Boeije, 2010; Perry, 2000). One should be cautious in generalizing these results to the whole population as our samples are not necessarily representative of all the public employees in the organizations studied. Moreover, respondents could have given socially desirable answers. To minimize this risk, efforts were taken to ensure honest answers (anonymity, private interviews) and to minimize any perceived direction towards giving PSM answers (respondents were not directly asked about contributing to society but asked only what motivated them). During the interviews, respondents were often very critical and were not afraid to say they felt that contributing to society did not play a role in their motivation. This strengthens our view that the respondents' answers were honest and do provide valid insights into the logics at play in their work.

Notwithstanding these limitations, this chapter provides new insights into why there are different patterns in the expressions of public service motivation in various public service providers.

3.7 Conclusion

This qualitative study aimed to gain insight into why and in what way one could expect differences in the types of public service motivation found among employees in various public service providers. Using data from fifty interviews, in policing, education, the prison service, a hospital, and local government, this study has showed how the emphasis placed on instrumental, normative, and affective motives and also on self-sacrifice (Kim & Vandebaele 2010; Perry & Wise 1990; Perry 2000) differ when distinguishing between public service providers on two organizational logics: the desirability of the service and type of user interaction, providing new insights into how individual predispositions are related to institutional logics.

First, we expected that people-changing and people-processing organizations (Grant & Campbell 2007; Hasenfeld 1972) provide different social information based on the need to identify with a group to change them or to stay impartial and impersonal. Second, we expected differences based upon service logic: positive or negative service providers due to opportunities to show the prosocial impact and communication of a positive or negative image of the users, (Grant & Gino 2010; Grant et al. 2007). Based on these two dimensions expectations were formed for each combination.

The results largely supported our expectations. We found patterns of more strongly emphasizing instrumental motives in the people-processing positive service provider (local government), of emphasizing affective and instrumental motives in the people-changing positive service providers (schools, hospital), of normative motives in the people-processing negative service provider (police) a mix of normative and affective motives in the negative people-changing service provider (prison).

The patterns found offer insight into how and why expressions of PSM may vary among public service providers and how institutional dynamics matter for PSM. Given the

differences found in the presence of PSM types, we conclude that organizational logics are important socializing features. As such, a shift in focus, from the public – private dichotomy towards the organizational characteristics of public organizations, would lead to clearer insights into the dynamics between institutions and individual predispositions. This study has provided a first step in this process by showing how the desirability of an organization's service and the nature of its user interactions matter when it comes to the public service motivation 'talk' of employees.

APPENDIX 1: List of respondents

Table A3.1: Overview of respondents.

Respondent	Service	Supervisor	Task	Type of service	User logic
R1	Schools	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R2	Schools	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R3	Schools	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R4	Schools	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R5	Schools	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R6	Schools	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R7	Schools	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R8	Schools	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R9	Schools	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-changing
R10	Schools	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-changing
R11	Schools	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R12	Schools	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R13	Schools	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-changing
R14	Schools	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R15	Prison	No	Supportive staff	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R16	Prison	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R17	Prison	Yes	Management	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R18	Prison	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R19	Prison	Yes	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R20	Prison	Yes	Management	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R21	Prison	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R22	Prison	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R23	Prison	Yes	Management	Negative unwanted	People-changing
R24	Municipality	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-processing
R25	Municipality	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-processing
R26	Municipality	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-processing
R27	Municipality	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-processing
R28	Municipality	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-processing
R29	Municipality	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R30	Municipality	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-processing
R31	Municipality	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-processing
R32	Municipality	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-processing
R33	Police	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing

R34	Police	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R35	Police	Yes	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-processing
R36	Police	Yes	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R37	Police	Yes	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R38	Police	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R39	Police	Yes	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R40	Police	Yes	Management	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R41	Police	No	Primary process	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R42	Police	Yes	Management	Negative unwanted	People-processing
R43	Hospital	Yes	Management	Positive wanted	People-changing
R44	Hospital	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-changing
R45	Hospital	Yes	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-changing
R46	Hospital	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R47	Hospital	No	Supportive staff	Positive wanted	People-changing
R48	Hospital	Yes	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R49	Hospital	Yes	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing
R50	Hospital	No	Primary process	Positive wanted	People-changing

Appendix 2: Topic list

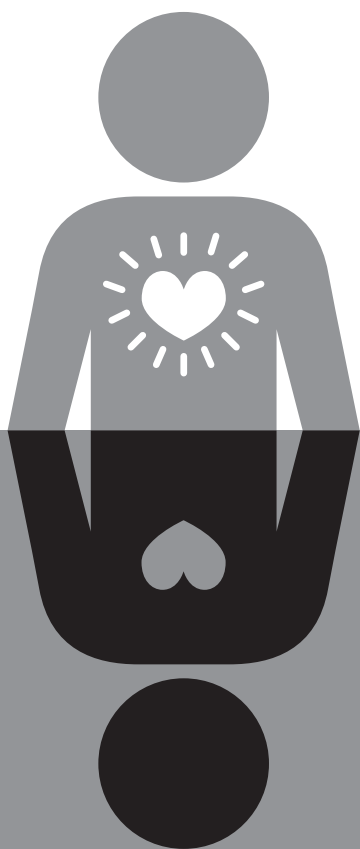
Table A3.2: *Topic list*

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Introduction research• Confidentiality, anonymity, recordings• Description of work and function• Motives to perform well in work• Example of work situation which generated new energy/motivation• Personal importance of work goals/values• <i>If PSM not mentioned:</i> Importance of work contributing to society for motivation?• <i>If PSM mentioned:</i> What do you mean by.../ Can you describe further...

APPENDIX 3: Codes and sub-codes

Table A3.3: *Codes and sub-codes.*

Instrumental/rational
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Participate in policy-making• Societal relevance• Being able to influence• Being part of greater good• Contributing to solving societal problems
Normative/value based
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Public values importance• Loyalty to society• Duty or moral obligation• Future (generations)
Affective
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Identification/affection with group• Wellbeing of others• Sympathy for the underprivileged
Self-sacrifice
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Acceptance of less reward as a sacrifice• Giving more than one receives• Risk of personal loss



Chapter 4.

Do public service motivated employees perform better on all dimensions of performance?

The relationship between PSM and multiple dimensions of self-reported performance-related behaviour in various service providers

Summary

Empirical studies have found a positive relationship between public service motivation (PSM) and individual performance. However, it is unclear what public service motivated employees are doing in terms of behaviour that makes them perform. Moreover, it is uncertain whether PSM inspires similar behaviours among employees in different contexts. Conceptualizing performance as a multidimensional construct, this study investigates the relationship between PSM and self-reported output, service outcome, responsiveness and democratic outcome behaviours. Using structural equation modelling on survey data from 459 employees in people-changing (service production, aimed at changing the user) and 461 in people-processing (service regulation, categorizing and processing users) organizations, the results show that PSM is related to all performance-related behaviours in the people-changing group, but neither to output nor responsiveness in the people-processing group. PSM's relationship to behaviour may thus differ between contexts.

An article based on this chapter is forthcoming:

Van Loon, N.M. Does context matter for the type of performance-related behavior of public service motivated employees? The relationship between PSM and multiple dimensions of self-reported performance-related behavior in various service providers. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*.

4.1 Introduction

In recent decades, attention towards explaining why public employees shirk or act in their own interests has been balanced by studies trying to explain why they do their job correctly, work hard and do good for society. Researchers have aimed to provide an alternative perspective to the ‘budget-maximizing, lazy’ public employee by studying why firefighters, policemen, nurses, policymakers and other public employees, despite the sometimes difficult circumstances, go above and beyond the call of duty and perform well (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990). One explanation seems to be rooted in public service motivation (PSM), which drives employees in organizations or jobs with a public function to work hard and perform well (Brewer 2008; Perry & Wise 1990). Empirical research has shown that PSM matters for whistleblowing behaviour, ethical conduct and performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Brewer 2008; Bellé 2013; Brewer & Selden 1998; Choi 2004).

However, although studies generally show that those with high PSM perform better, this does not provide full insight into how public service motivated employees behave, and whether this varies according to context. Behaviour is seen as a crucial intermediate between attitudes and performance in the HRM literature but has been underexposed within the public management literature (Boselie et al. 2005; Wright & Nishii 2006). What performance, and performance-related behaviour, actually is in public service providers is not easily captured: public service providers have multiple goals and multiple stakeholders, and what they should do is politically determined (Boyne 2002; Brewer 2006; Brown et al. 2006; Moynihan et al. 2011). This multiplicity of interests makes it impossible to identify a single measure that accurately represents performance (Brewer 2006). Boyne (2002) therefore conceptualized the performance of public service providers as multidimensional, consisting of output, efficiency, service outcomes, responsiveness and democratic outcomes.

If the desirable performance of public service providers is multidimensional, employees will have to show behaviours relevant to all those dimensions to perform well. In references to public employees, authors have argued that multiple types of performance-related behaviour are expected of them (Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007; Moynihan et al. 2011). This study therefore follows Boyne’s (2002) multidimensional view – but applies it to the individual level.

When focusing on multiple dimensions of behaviour, the institutional context becomes highly relevant because what is asked of the service providers depends on the service they provide. If the primary goal of the service provider is to redistribute or regulate services, referred to as *people-processing*, other types of behaviour are seen more appropriate than where the main purpose of the service is to produce services by *changing people* (Hasenfeld 1972; Hasenfeld 1983; March & Olsen 1989). The institutional context, which determines whether this logic is predominantly people-processing or people-changing, provides guidelines for appropriate behaviours (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 2008).

As PSM is an autonomous, yet extrinsic, obligation type of motivation (Deci & Ryan 2000; Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013), behaviour is likely to be influenced by both external and internal pressures. Thus, an employee with high public service motivation will be directed by this motivation, but also by norms, rules and practices that are shaped by the institution in which the work is done (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). From a

democratic-legal perspective, it is both unlikely and undesirable for internal drivers such as PSM to be the sole driver of the behaviour of public employees. Here the relationship between PSM and different types of behaviour is investigated in two types of public service providers which differ in dominant logic.

This chapter aims to further unravel the PSM-performance relationship by exploring the relationship between PSM and different types of behaviour in two types of service providers in order to gain knowledge on the context-dependency of this relationship. Using structural equation modelling in Mplus v7.11 (Muthén & Muthén 2010-2014) with survey data from public employees ($n=459$ and $n=461$), the relationships between PSM and various dimensions of self-perceived behaviour are simultaneously analysed. The perceptions of employees can be seen as ‘one piece’ of the performance puzzle (Andrews et al. 2006) given that performance is a multifaceted concept that is impossible to fully grasp in a single indicator (Brewer 2006). Being based on self-perceptions, the used measure of behaviour could be influenced by bias, but it has a value in that it is comparable across jobs and domains, and provides insight into how PSM employees *perceive* they are behaving. This chapter starts with a discussion of the relevant literature, from which several hypotheses are formulated. Then, the methods used are presented, followed by the results. In the final section, the results are discussed.

4.2 PSM as an institution-based motivation

Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as ‘*an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations*’ (p. 368). Vandenamee (2007), who placed PSM within an institutional framework, describes PSM as ‘*the beliefs, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate*’ (p. 547). The latter definition specifically mentions that it is a motivational force to act accordingly *whenever appropriate* which suggests that institutional context may play a role in determining how public service motivated employees behave, and so this definition is adopted here.

Vandenamee (2013) empirically linked PSM to self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan 2000). Self-determination theory posits that motivation is much more complex than intrinsic versus extrinsic types of motivation, and that it should instead be seen as on a continuum ranging from controlled to fully autonomous (Deci & Ryan 2000). The more controlled the motivation is, the more it is influenced by external pressures and rewards. The more intrinsic, or autonomous, the motivation, the more internal drivers, as opposed to external pressures, determine behaviour (Ryan & Deci 2004). Vandenamee (2013) found that PSM is mostly related to extrinsic but still autonomous types of motivation. Houston (2011) described PSM as an obligation-based type of motivation. Both these views position PSM as an intermediate type of motivation, one where both internal drivers and external pressures (the institutional context) play a role in determining behaviour.

Studies on PSM have shown how institutions, such as family, religion, education, organizations and profession, influence the development of PSM (Kjeldsen 2013; Pandey

& Stazyk 2008; Perry 1997). Although the institutional context has been theoretically and empirically found to play a role in the development of PSM, research on the relationship between PSM and outcomes beneficial for the individual (such as job satisfaction), or for the organization, have placed less emphasis on institutions.

Significant relationships have been found between PSM and work effort (Frank & Lewis 2004; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Wright 2007; Taylor & Taylor 2011), job performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Bright 2007), organizational citizenship behaviour (Kim 2006) and organizational performance (Brewer & Selden 1998; Kim 2005). However, before the relationship between PSM and performance-related behaviours can be discussed, the concept of performance in service providers, and the related behaviours, needs to be discussed.

4.3 Behaviour and performance

What performance is, and what behaviours lead to performance, is complex and especially so for public service providers (Boyne 2002). Public service providers have a multitude of stakeholders that they are expected to serve apart from their direct users. Each of these stakeholders has a different view on what constitutes good performance, and may emphasize different aspects of performance (Andrews et al. 2006) with their interpretations of performance differing substantially (Andrews et al. 2011). Since all stakeholders, including political appointees, form an opinion on what is most important, performance in public service providers is an inherently subjective concept (Brewer 2006). As such, there is no single measure that can be used to accurately capture performance (Boyne 2002).

Recognizing this, researchers have argued that in a public context a multidimensional view on performance is most appropriate. For instance, Brewer and Selden (2000) distinguished internal and external efficiencies, effectiveness and fairness when studying perceived organizational performance. Boyne (2002) argued that performance consists of outputs (quality and quantity), efficiency, service outcomes (equity, value for money, impact), responsiveness (citizen and user satisfaction) and democratic outcome (fairness, participation, accountability). While these dimensions are important to all public service providers, their weighting can differ between contexts and across time. For instance, in schools it is important to be responsive towards students and build a relationship, whereas democratic and service outcomes are emphasized in the police (Hasenfeld 1983).

This multidimensional view has been used in several studies (including Andrews et al. 2010; Brewer & Walker 2013; Walker et al. 2011). Although these studies focus on organizational performance, employees and their behaviours are seen as important factors in determining the performance of public service providers (Atwater et al. 1998; Brewer & Selden 2000; Delery & Shaw 2001). Despite the HRM literature emphasizing that behaviour is a crucial intermediate between attitudes and performance (Boselie et al. 2005; Wright & Nishii 2006), the intermediate motivational and behavioural processes have received limited attention within the HRM literature (Guest 1997; Van Veldhoven 2012). This is surprising given that performance is mostly distant, and therefore hard to measure, whereas behaviour represents a proximal outcome that can be linked to attitudes (Guest 1997; Boselie et al. 2005).

Through their behaviour, employees create the services that are delivered and, in doing so, they have a certain degree of discretion (Hasenfeld 1983; Lipsky 1980). This is especially so in public service providers since the policy only comes to life through the actions of the employees. If city hall employees are frustrated and therefore become less responsive to citizens, the public service provider as a whole will be evaluated negatively by citizens (Shingler et al. 2008). When looking at what behaviour is expected of public employees, similarities can be seen to Boyne's (2002) dimensions of organizational performance. For example, Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) found multiple values describing how public service employees should behave, and argued that these employees are expected to 'think and act' accordingly. Amongst these values were responsiveness, equity, accountability, reliability and fairness (Jørgensen and Bozeman 2007). Hood (1991) found three value clusters that can be emphasized: sigma (lean), theta (fair) and lambda (robust). Similarly, Dias and Maynard-Moody (2007) illustrated how frontline workers feel they are pressured to act efficiently whereas they felt it was more important to be responsive to their clients, showing potential trade-offs between behaviours. It should thus be possible to distinguish various dimensions of behaviour on the individual level.

In general, individual performance can be defined as an individual's contribution to achieving the public mission of the organization. Individuals can contribute to the mission of the organization through their behaviour, which is more than simply doing the most output for the least amount of money. Employees are asked to deliver high quality and quantity, give value-for-money, work efficiently, treat users fairly and equally, be responsive and account for what they have done (Boyne 2002; Jørgensen & Bozeman 2007). These dimensions do not only represent different aspects of a job, they may also differ in relevance for specific stakeholder groups (with responsiveness important for direct users and service outcome for society at large) and 'proximity' to the daily work (with outputs being closer than service outcomes).

There is however no consensus on how individual performance can best be measured. Some argue that objective measures are the gold standard because subjective measures are biased due to individuals overrating their own performance (Meier & O'Toole 2013); others argue that there are no objective measures as all performance measures are politically determined (Brewer 2006). Most researchers agree that both subjective and objective measures have their weaknesses, but also their value (Andrews et al. 2011; Brewer & Selden 2000; Conway & Lance 2010). Objective data are those collected from sources without influence of the actor who is being judged, whereas subjective data can be reported by the actor or someone else such as clients or supervisors. Since objective data are rarely available on a broad spectrum of performance aspects, these measures are often quite narrow and hard to compare across domains or jobs (Andrews et al. 2006; Brewer & Selden 2000). Although subjective data can be biased due to overestimation, research suggests that the assumption that individuals inflate reports on their own performance is overstated (Andrews et al. 2011; Conway & Lance 2010; Spector 2006).

Employees are seen as a valuable source of information because they have a good view on internal processes (Brewer 2006), *'have a better all-round understanding of the challenges facing their organization'* and their perceptions *'provide more insight in performance measures on which organizational decisions are based'* (Andrews et al. 2010: p.109). This study

uses self-reports from employees on performance-related behaviour. When no other sources are available, employees can provide valuable insights. Moreover, since this study includes a range of different jobs and domains, subjective data are the most suitable as they are easier to compare. Finally, this measure aims to capture multiple types of specific behaviour, but, as it is, it reflects just 'one piece of the performance puzzle' (Andrews et al. 2010), and may be biased due to the self-reporting.

4.4 Previous findings on the PSM-performance relationship

When reviewing the empirical evidence on the relationship between PSM and performance, almost all surveys have found a positive association (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009; Kim 2006), although Alonso and Lewis (2001) failed to find a relationship. In a study using objective performance data, Andersen et al. (2014) found that teacher's PSM was positively associated with their student's examination marks. Of these studies, only one analysed more than a single individual performance-related behaviour. In a quasi-experimental setting, Bellé (2013) studied the relationship of PSM with persistence, output, productivity and vigilance (behaviours) in voluntary tasks, and found PSM mattered for all four. An important caveat remains since no study has analysed multiple dimensions of performance-related behaviours simultaneously. However, this does not mean there is no evidence as to whether one could expect a relationship with each dimension.

First, regarding output, Bellé (2013) found that high PSM increased the quantity and quality of output on undertaking voluntary tasks for employees who perceived a high prosocial impact. Moreover, Park and Rainey (2008) presented evidence that PSM was indirectly related to the quality of work. However, there is also evidence that other norms, such as professional norms and standards, explain quality better than public service motivation (Andersen 2009). This perhaps suggests that 'outputs' are not the most salient dimension of performance for public service motivated employees.

Turning to efficiency, Ritz (2009) found that only the 'commitment to the public interest' dimension was related to the internal efficiency of the organization, and other dimensions were not. Bellé (2013) found that PSM was related to efficiency measured as the time spent divided by the number of kits correctly prepared. Still, Petrovsky and Ritz (2014) found no relationship between PSM and internal efficiency after controlling for bias.

Three studies provide insight into how PSM might be related to service outcomes. First, Andersen and Serritzlew (2012) studied register data services of Danish physiotherapists. Although they found no differences in the number of services, having a high PSM did affect the proportion of disabled patients treated, suggesting that PSM contributes to attending to general wellbeing. Considering providing value for money, Moynihan (2013) 'debunked' the idea that bureaucrats are budget-maximizers by showing through a vignette study that PSM did not lead to budget maximization. Finally, Andersen et al. (2014) found that teachers' PSM was positively related to student exam grades. Given that service outcome is a very public or community-oriented type of performance, the relationship with PSM may be strong.

Focusing more on the individual user, responsiveness then reflects a stakeholder entity other than societal service. Pedersen (2013) argued that it is not PSM but user-orientated motivation that relates to behaviour aimed at individual clients. Nevertheless, we would assume that PSM is related to client satisfaction insofar as the latter overlaps with societal interests, whereas, if these do not overlap, then service outcome will be placed above individual needs by public service motivated employees (Perry & Wise 1990). For instance, a teacher may be as responsive as is possible to individual student needs, but not to such a degree that it disturbs teaching all the students.

Evidence of a relationship between PSM and democratic outcome is mostly linked to ethical conduct. For instance, Brewer and Selden (1998) found that those who 'blow the whistle' were also highly motivated to serve society, and Choi (2004) found that the 'self-sacrifice' dimension was related to more ethical conduct. Two studies have also found a positive relationship between PSM and the use of performance information, seen as indicative of accountability (Kroll & Vogel 2013; Moynihan & Pandey 2010). Finally, Kim (2006) related PSM to better compliance. Thus, there is evidence that PSM is related to democratic outcome.

What a public service motivated employee perceives as being appropriate behaviour will to an extent be determined by the institutional context in which the work is done (March & Olsen 1989). The institutional context matters for the behaviour of employees because it provides employees with a set of guiding norms and may thus determine to what dimension PSM is related in which context (March & Olsen 1989; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). This is discussed next.

4.5 How institutional context matters in the relationship between PSM and behaviour

Institutional theory emphasizes how institutions influence behaviour through defining what is seen as appropriate, and through providing individuals with social norms that they can use to make sense of a situation (Greenwood et al. 2010; Scott 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Institutions can impose restrictions or support certain behaviour through rules and norms that define what behaviour is 'appropriate' (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). For instance, in a private company, behaviour aimed at getting the highest profit possible may well be highly appreciated, whereas in public service providers such behaviour could be seen as inappropriate. Moreover, what is seen as appropriate behaviour can change over time. For instance, market incentives and developments often placed under *new public management* such as output steering have led to a greater emphasis within public organizations on economic value as opposed to democratic values (Boyne 2002; Bozeman 2007; Moynihan 2010), and this may influence employee behaviour.

Institutions are present on multiple levels, and even carry through in the structures of organizations and job characteristics. Scott (2001) distinguished three pillars of institutions: coercive, normative and cultural-cognitive. The first can be seen as a structural view of institutions: rules and regulations can prevent individuals from acting in certain ways because they impose consequences on certain actions. Tough sanctions on accepting

bribes may prevent public employees from accepting them because the employees make a rational analysis of the overall effect on their own self-interests.

Individuals also look at the norms and symbols in their environment for clues on how to act and to deduce the appropriate behaviour (March & Olsen 1989). The institutional context communicates certain norms and expectations towards individuals as to what course of action they should take. Thus, institutions influence individuals not only through determining structures but also through determining a dominant normative logic on what is seen as appropriate behaviour, and the meaning given to symbols and artefacts (Scott 2001).

This implies that there are variations within institutional contexts that lead to different signals towards individuals. According to Perry and Wise (1990), a public institutional logic incentivizes public service employees to do well. However, what this publicness is remains unclear (Rainey 2003). First, it is unclear what 'public' is, and what it is not. Bozeman (1987) for instance argued that all organizations are public to some degree because publicness is determined by ownership, financial resources and political control. Recent bank takeovers in Europe illustrate how what was previously thought of as a private domain can suddenly become public. Second, even when concentrating on organizations with a public function, these organizations can differ substantially in their type and degree of publicness (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997; Bozeman 1987; Vandenabeele 2008). Rather than public service providers being homogeneous, they actually form a complex web of organizations with different missions, stakeholders, tasks and political control.

Since this study focuses on public service motivation – the motivation to contribute to society – the type of work is highly relevant (Kjeldsen 2013). The present study argues that the primary process's dominant service logic will influence what behaviour employees with high PSM see as appropriate because the primary process leads to the PSM-desired outcome: a meaningful impact on society. A fundamental distinction within public service providers regarding their primary process is whether services are produced that aim to change the users of the service, or to regulate service by processing users (see chapter 3; Hasenfeld 1972; Hasenfeld 1983)¹². For instance, in a school, one might expect employees to build long-term connections with the students to be able to teach them, whereas city hall public employees are asked to refrain from too personal a contact so as to stay as neutral as possible in assessing an application.

In people-changing organizations, the main purpose is to change the user and thus to provide a service (Hasenfeld 1972). Kjeldsen (2013) calls this 'service production'. As examples, a student needs to learn new things and a patient needs to be cured. This type of service requires long-term and/or personal contacts, interactions with users and a focus on being responsive towards the user. In people-changing service providers, one can expect employees that want to do good for society to be focused on responsiveness and treating all users properly and reporting on progress since this is key to 'delivering' or creating the services. Without such cooperation, and thus a good relationship, with a student, patient

12 In 1983, Hasenfeld distinguished a 'middle' category called people-sustaining services, aimed at sustaining the characteristics of people. An example of this is nursing homes. Since we do not study any sustaining service providers, and people-processing and people-changing are the most distinctive, we only discuss these here.

or inmate, employees are unable to reach them, make contact and ‘change’ them (Hasenfeld 1972; 1983). This argument leads to our first hypothesis:

H1: In people-changing service providers, PSM is positively related to all types of performance-related behaviour, but most strongly to responsiveness and democratic outcome.

In people-processing service providers, such as many functions within a city hall, the focus is on regulating services and the product is a changed status of the user. This requires objective classification and often entails short, one-off interactions (Hasenfeld 1972; Hasenfeld 1983). The primary process emphasizes the community at large rather than the individual user. For instance, a city hall employee can change the status of a citizen by granting a residence permit, but will then move on to the next case (Kjeldsen 2013). In people-processing service providers, responsiveness may be of less importance. Given that the core tasks are regulating and redistributing public goods, public service motivated employees can be expected to focus more on fair treatment, due process and the value for society as a whole – thus service and democratic outcome. This leads to our second hypothesis:

H2: In people-processing service providers, PSM is positively related to all types of performance-related behaviour, but most strongly to service and democratic outcome.

4.6 Methods

In this section the data collection, the measures employed and the data analysis are explained.

Data collection

An online survey was sent out in 2012 to several organizations with a public function, including schools, municipalities (city hall), police, prisons and a hospital. All the employees of the selected organizations were invited to participate through e-mail¹³. Although the distinction between people-processing and people-changing logics was derived from interviews prior to the survey (see chapter 3), all the job descriptions as provided by the respondents were also independently coded by three researchers as ‘management’, ‘supportive’, ‘people-processing’, ‘people-changing’ or ‘mixed’. The job coding (available from the author on request) confirmed the division of the organizations based on the earlier interviews. Two groups were made: schools, prisons and hospitals were identified as people-changing services, and city hall employees of the municipality (excluding social services) and the police as people-processing services.

Although online surveys have many advantages, such as low costs and ease of use, a drawback is the associated response rates (Crawford et al. 2001). Therefore, great care was

13 In the hospital, the survey was instead posted on the intranet, resulting in a much lower response rate.

taken in designing the survey (from use of colour and typeface to ease of navigation). Further, the survey was personalized through including a photograph of the researcher, anonymity was guaranteed, a chance to win a voucher was offered and several reminders were sent (Couper 2008). Finally, it was not compulsory to answer all the questions. All these actions were designed to increase the response rate and reduce social bias (Couper 2008).

In total, 1,138 surveys were returned (38.7%). The response rates per domain are shown in the appendix. Of the respondents, 40.1% were male and 51.4% female (8.5% did not say). The average age was 43.4, the average tenure 11 years and 14.7% held a supervisory position. Additional analyses were conducted to check how representative the samples were of the wider population based on demographic characteristics. The samples, based on national statistics on gender division and average age, were representative for all the types of organization except for the average age of the police (although the sample was representative of the region from where it was drawn) and there being a slight over-representation of women in the school sample.

After checking for missing data on the key variables, 1,031 respondents filled in the questionnaire at least partly. However, for the regression analysis responses from 459 employees working in people-changing and 461 employees working in people-processing services were usable due to missing responses on key variables.

Measures

Performance-related behaviour was measured with items developed by the author that drew on Boyne's (2002) five dimensions of performance. They were formulated to refer to specific behaviours employees performed as part of their job. The output dimension was measured with two items, efficiency with one, service outcomes with four, responsiveness with four and democratic outcome with two. Responses by employees to the survey revealed that one item did not measure what had been intended (the aim was to investigate the provision of equal treatment; but the respondents saw it as referring to distinguishing between citizens to provide good services). Further, the item for efficiency did not actually measure efficiency but output, and one of the responsiveness items actually measured service outcomes since it referred to societal impact. The items were therefore carefully reviewed by the author and two other researchers, and regrouped into four types of behaviour: output, service outcome, responsiveness and democratic outcome (see Appendix for full list of items).

Public service motivation was measured with items from the international scale developed by Kim et al. (2013) with four items for each of the four dimensions (attraction to public service, commitment to public values, compassion and self-sacrifice). However, the dimensional structure was not supported by the data: the overlap between dimensions was too high for the individual dimensions to be distinguished. Therefore, using two items from each dimension, a global PSM scale was tested. Although each dimension may have different effects on work outcomes, a global scale reflects the general motivation to contribute to society (Wright et al. 2013).

Finally, several *control variables* that have been found elsewhere to be related to performance were included in the structural equation modelling. Gender, job tenure and supervisory position were included as these may be related to performance (Bright 2007).

Data analysis

Full structural equation modelling, using Mplus v7.11 (Muthén & Muthén 2010–2013), was applied to test the hypothesized constructs and relationships. By using structural equation modelling, it is possible to simultaneously test for multiple dependent variables (Kline 2010, Byrne 2012). Moreover, since the measurement model is also included, it can partially control for measurement error. A two-step approach is used, in which the measurement model (i.e. only the structure of the constructs) is first tested, and only if this fits the data are the regression paths added in a second step (Anderson & Gerbing 1988; Byrne 2012; Kline 2010).

To confirm the structure of the measures was acceptable, a confirmatory factor analysis with a robust maximum likelihood (MLR) estimator was used. This estimator corrects for the skewness of the parameters and non-normality of the items (Kline 2010). Three fit indices are used to assess the fit of the measures to the data. Since the commonly used chi square index is known to be inflated when the sample size exceeds 200, the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) were used (Byrne 2012; Hu & Bentler 1999; Kline 2010). 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 (Byrne 2012; Kline 2010). Reliability was assessed using Raykov's rho (Bacon et al. 1995; Raykov 2009) which is considered more appropriate than Cronbach's alpha in structural equation modelling since it is based on factor loadings.

To test the hypotheses, correlations are first analysed. Following this, a full structural equation model, including paths from PSM to each type of performance-related behaviour and the control variables, is tested for the people-changing and people-processing group.

4.7 Results

In this section first the measurement model is discussed, followed by the correlations and structural equation models.

Measurement model

Each construct was first tested separately, followed by a full measurement model that included all the constructs. A CFA using the four types of performance-related behaviour (Model 1: outputs (3 items), service outcomes (4 items), responsiveness (3 items) and democratic outcome (2 items), indicated that there was room for improvement (see Table 4.1). The modification indices indicated that item F was highly correlated with several other items. Model 2, with this item removed, shows an improved fit. The modification indices then suggested that item E, part of the service outcome scale, was also problematic and so this was also removed. Items E and F are both rather general in referring to contributing to the mission and to the wellbeing of citizens, which may be an explanation for their correlations with all other items. This Model 3 fitted the data better, but there was still one more alteration (removing item J) which could improve the fit. For the resulting Model 4 (with three items for outputs, and two each for service, responsiveness and democratic outcome) all fit indices indicated a good fit.

Table 4.1: Measurement models for performance-related behaviour.

	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	Df	N
Model 1	.908	.873	.061	48	945
Model 2	.936	.907	.053	38	945
Model 3	.956	.931	.048	29	945
Model 4	.974	.956	.040	21	945

The global PSM scale and the performance-behaviour scale were tested with the people-changing and the people-processing samples, shown in Table 4.2. For PSM one item, on self-sacrifice, had to be deleted to achieve a good fit on all three indicators. Table 4.2 shows that the seven-item model fitted both samples well. The performance-behaviour final model, 4, was also tested separately within the people-changing sample and the people-processing sample. Table 4.2 shows that the model fits both groups well. The types of performance-related behaviour were also sufficiently distinctive since correlations were between .369 and .673 (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4). A full measurement model was tested that included both PSM and the various types of performance-related behaviour. This model fitted both groups well: people-changing CFI=.959, TLI=.948, RMSEA=.033; people-processing CFI=.957, TLI=.946, RMSEA=.032). All items and factor loadings can be found in the appendix.

Table 4.2: Fit indices for PSM and performance-related behaviour in people-changing (PC) and people-processing (PP) groups.

	PSM		Performance behaviour	
	PC	PP	PC	PP
CFI	.967	.980	.977	.968
TLI	.951	.970	.961	.944
RMSEA	.048	.034	.039	.045
Df	14	14	21	21
N	508	523	467	478

Invariance between the groups was also tested. Configural invariance tests whether the construct has the same factor structure across groups and, in this multi-group model, all loadings and variances are allowed to differ. In testing for metric invariance, all the factor loadings are constrained, and for scalar invariance, factor loadings and intercepts are constrained to be equal. Using Mplus v7.11, the full measurement model was tested and comparisons made between the three levels of invariance. When comparing the configural and the metric models, there was no significant difference in their chi square values ($\Delta \chi^2=14.588$, $df=11$, $p=.202$). Since chi square does not always accurately reflect the invariance, the difference in the CFIs of the two models was also examined (Cheung & Rensvold 2002). The difference in the CFIs was .001 (.959 and .958) which is just on the threshold of demonstrating metric invariance. However, since the factor loadings differed between the groups and the fit decreased significantly when further constraints were placed on

the model, it would be dangerous to assume invariance. Testing for scalar invariance, the difference between the chi square values of the configural and the metric models was significant ($\Delta\chi^2=78.627$, $p<.0001$), and model fit decreased significantly (CFI=.920, TLI=.912, RMSEA=.042). The people-changing and people-processing groups are thus analysed separately.

Table 4.3: Correlation table for the people-changing group.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PSM	-							
2. Output	.157*	-						
3. Service outcome	.189**	.494***	-					
4. Responsiveness	.226***	.524***	.500***	-				
5. Democratic outcome	.291***	.488***	.635***	.574***	-			
6. Gender	.068	.116*	-.068	.048	.023	-		
7. Tenure	.070	.204***	.200***	.295***	.108	-.088	-	
8. Supervisory pos.	.067	-.009	.038	-.109*	.081	-.139**	.007	-

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Table 4.4: Correlation table for the people-processing group.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PSM	-							
2. Output	.030	-						
3. Service outcome	.211***	.398***	-					
4. Responsiveness	.126	.408***	.673***	-				
5. Democratic outcome	.347***	.369***	.651***	.545***	-			
6. Gender	.097	.129*	-.111	.028	-.073	-		
7. Tenure	-.002	.096	.018	.081	.047	-.149***	-	
8. Supervisory pos.	-.005	.064	.060	.066	.129*	-.186***	-.035	-

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

A Harman's single-factor test, in which all items are loaded onto one dimension, was performed to test for common method bias within each group. These models had significantly worse fits (people-changing: CFI=.482, TLI=.402, RMSEA=.111; people-processing: CFI=.442, TLI=.356, RMSEA=.110), indicating that common method bias is unlikely to influence the results (Podsakoff & Organ 1986). All items, their factor loadings and their reliabilities are shown in Table A1 in the Appendix.

Structural model

The first step in analysing the relationship between PSM and perceived behaviour is to consider the correlations between the main concepts and with the control variables. Table 4.3 shows that, in the people-changing sample, PSM is related to all types of performance-related behaviour, whereas, in the people-processing sample, it is not significantly related to output or to responsiveness behaviours (Table 4.4). The tables also show that the different types of behaviour are related, but not so strongly as to create analytical problems. Testing a structural equation model enables the relationship between PSM and behaviour to be better understood.

The full structural equation model for the people-changing group of employees (controlling for gender, job tenure and supervisory position) is shown in Figure 4.1. The overall model fitted well (CFI=.953, TLI=.939, RMSEA=.032, df=130, n=459). In terms of the various behaviours, the model explained 3.2% of the variance in output, 4.6% in service outcome, 7.2% in responsiveness and 4.3% in democratic outcome. PSM is positively related to all types of performance-related behaviour. PSM is most strongly related to responsiveness ($\beta=.211$, $p<.01$) and democratic outcome behaviours ($\beta=.267$, $p<.001$). As such, the results fully support Hypothesis 1 in that PSM is related to all types of performance-related behaviour, and most strongly to democratic outcome and responsiveness behaviour.

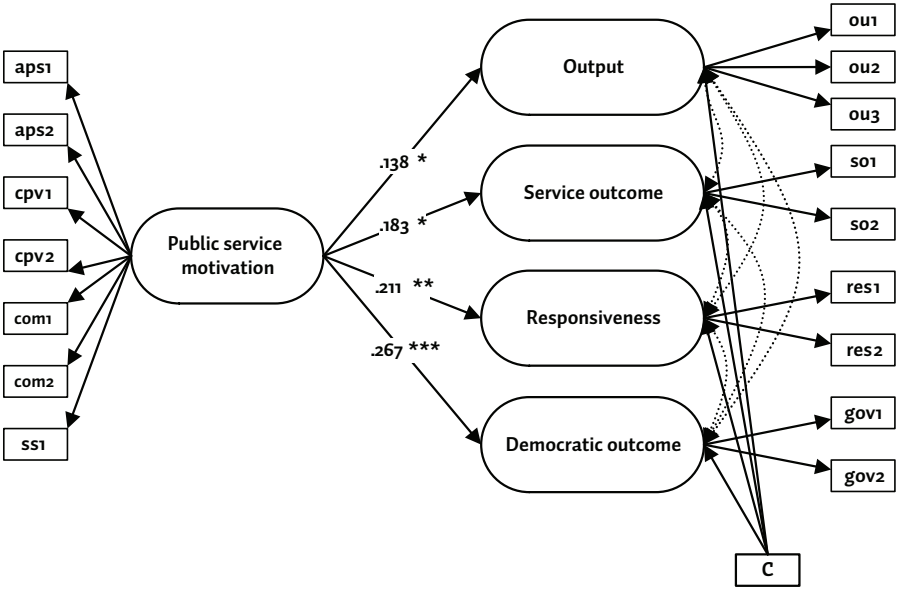


Figure 4.1: Structural equation model for the people-changing group, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.

Figure 4.2 shows the full structural equation model for the people-processing group. The model fitted the data (CFI=.935, TLI=.916, RMSEA=.035, df=130, n=461). The explained variances were 4.8% in terms of output behaviour, 6.1% for service outcome, 3.0% for responsiveness and 15.8% for democratic outcome. For this group, higher public service

motivation was significantly related to democratic outcome ($\beta=.362, p<.001$) and service outcome ($\beta=.202, p<.001$) behaviours, but not to output and responsiveness behaviours. As such, the results only partially support Hypothesis 2 in that the expected relationships between PSM and output and responsiveness types of performance-related behaviour were not found, although the strongest relationships were indeed with democratic outcome and service outcome behaviours.

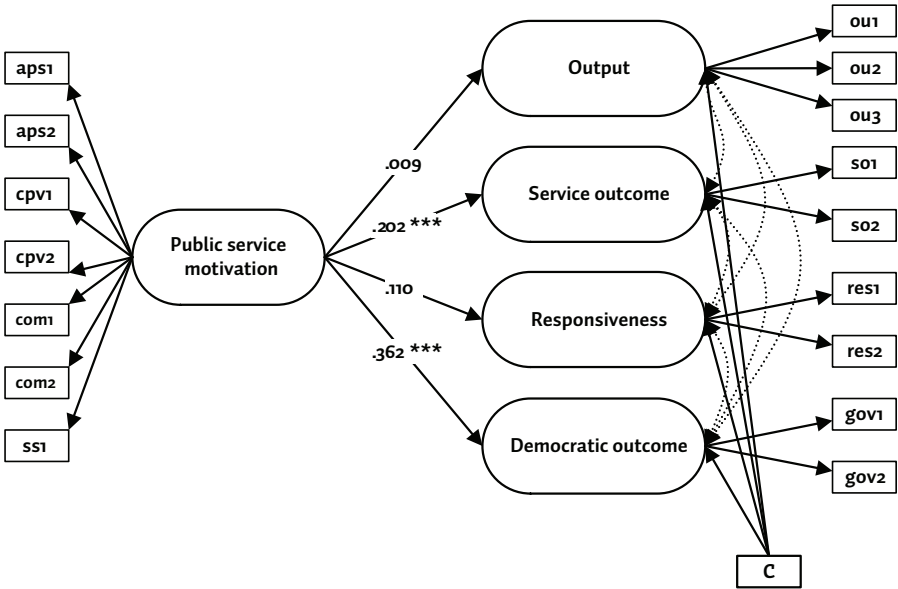


Figure 4.2: Structural equation model for the people-processing group, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.

The results of the analysis in the people-changing and people-processing group should not be compared one-on-one as there was no scalar invariance. Therefore this study is only able to say that PSM was related to all types of performance-related behaviour in the people-changing group but not in the people-processing group. Possible explanations for these results are discussed in the final section.

4.8 Discussion

Unlike the findings of earlier studies, the results of our study indicate that PSM is *not* always related to all types of self-reported performance-related behaviour. In a context with a people-changing logic, such as schools and hospitals, it appears that high public service motivation is related to all behavioural types but mostly to democratic outcome and to responsiveness towards users. Considering the primary process, this seems logical: responding to the needs of the users – responsiveness – can be seen as crucial to delivering the service. Without satisfactory contact, employees will be unable to teach or change the users. Moreover, if treated unfairly, students, inmates and patients may be unwilling

to cooperate, while their cooperation is needed to deliver good services (Hasenfeld 1972; Lipsky 1980). Employees with high PSM also strongly perceive themselves as delivering high quality work and giving society good value-for-money than do those with a lower PSM.

The finding that PSM was related to all types of performance-related behaviour in the people-changing group corroborates other studies in such settings who similarly found that PSM was positively related to performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013). This study shows that employees with a high PSM in such organizations may perform well because they deliver high quality work, work efficiently, pay attention to equity, account for what they do and are responsive to their users.

For employees in people-processing service providers (city hall and police) highly significant relationships were found between PSM and democratic outcome (accountability and equity) and service outcome, but not with output or responsiveness behaviours. In people-processing organizations, such as city halls, employees may be asked or socialized to refrain from being over-responsive. When redistributing services or regulating, it may be best to keep a distance to ensure you cannot be accused of unfair treatment or processes (Hasenfeld 1972; Hasenfeld 1983; Kjeldsen 2013).

Interestingly, PSM with the people-processing group was not significantly related to two types of performance-related behaviour. While most studies have found a positive relationship between PSM and performance in such contexts, some have not (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Ritz 2009). Although some have stated that the evidence of a relationship between PSM and performance is now overwhelming (Andersen et al. 2014), this study shows that this evidence may be context-dependent and that it might be premature to conclude that PSM is positively related to performance in every setting (see also Petrovsky & Ritz 2014).

This study has shown that, when distinguishing between different types of performance-related behaviours (Boyne 2002), PSM is strongly associated with democratic outcome behaviours. Previous studies have shown that those who have a strong public service motivation will show more ethical behaviour such as whistleblowing (Brewer & Selden 1998) and this study underlines those findings. The results also show that some behaviour may be more appropriate in one setting than another (March & Olsen 1989) and it appears that public service motivated employees respond in ways that are seen as appropriate in their specific institutional context. They are therefore neither runaway agents nor fully controlled by the institutional context, but appear to combine their own motivation with what is asked of them by their environment.

Could PSM then be an important way to safeguard public values? In a time when public organizations are pressured to become more business-like and to focus on efficiency, democratic values are downplayed as a part of the performance of public service providers and less measured (Boyne 2002; Moynihan et al. 2011). These more general institutional pressures have probably found their way to the employees studied here. The people-changing service providers, who are more on the fringes of the public sector, may have felt strong pressures to become more business-like. The financial incentives offered to for instance hospitals have changed from input to output subsidies, and this may well be visible in the results since a significant relationship between PSM and output was found for the group of employees of whom hospital workers are a significant proportion. However, the results also

indicate that institutional pressures do not fully determine what public service motivated employees do. Employees with high PSM in both groups reported higher democratic outcome related behaviour such as treating citizens fairly and working transparently. PSM may thus be a buffer against reduced attention to these aspects of performance.

An important limitation of this study is its cross-sectional nature that does not allow one to draw cause-and-effect conclusions. That is, from this study, it cannot be concluded whether behaviour influenced PSM or vice versa. However, the theoretically argued relationship is that PSM influences performance-related behaviour (Perry & Wise 1990). Further, since the questions on PSM and performance were asked in the same survey and were thus subjective, the data could be subject to common method and social desirability bias. To limit possible bias, several actions were taken, such as providing full anonymity in completing the survey and separating motivation and performance-related behaviour in the survey. Additional tests were also conducted which indicated the results were unlikely to be due to bias (Podsakoff & Organ 1986). Moreover, by using self-reported data, we were able to study different jobs and organizations (Brewer 2006). The results here offer one view on performance, that from the employee perspective. Nevertheless, this study is valuable in that it is the first study to show how PSM relates to several types of performance-related behaviour studied simultaneously.

This study was based on data from providers of public services in the Netherlands and therefore its generalizability to other contexts may be limited (Giauque et al. 2011). It is quite possible that, in other countries, other institutional logics matter in the relationship between PSM and behaviour. Finally, in terms of the measures, a global measure of PSM was used and it could be that the various dimensions of PSM are related to behaviours in different ways. For example, compassion could be strongly related to responsiveness and commitment to the public interest to democratic outcomes. However a global measure is more comparable between groups as these might differ in type of motive emphasized. Finally, in measuring performance, Boyne's (2002) five-dimensional view on public service performance was adjusted to the employee level but due to difficulties in conceptualizing efficiency, only four of the dimensions (output, responsiveness, service impact and democratic outcome) were analysed.

This research makes two major contributions. First, by distinguishing between several types of performance-related behaviour in testing the relationship with PSM, we have shown that, for the people-processing group of employees, there is no link between PSM and either output or responsiveness behaviours. Second, this study adds to the knowledge on how the relationship between PSM and performance-related behaviour is dependent on the context.

What does this mean for practice and future research? It seems that organizations are able to steer their public service motivated employees towards certain types of performance through the organizational logic. It appears that public service motivated employees are not 'runaway agents' that do whatever they think is best for society, but at least to an extent 'behave appropriately' and observe the organizational logic (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990). Employees are driven by many factors, and their behaviour is determined not only by their (public service) motivation, but also by what is seen as appropriate. As opposed to the structural view on institutions, which focusses on rules and control systems, we focussed on institutional logics and differentiated between people-changing and people-processing

organizations. From this perspective, structural arrangements are not the only way to steer; it is also possible for employees to follow an institutional logic through internalizing norms and adopting appropriate behaviours (Scott 2001; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Public service providers can communicate such logics through transformational leadership, training and communicating their mission (Paarlberg et al. 2008; Paarlberg & Lavigna 2010).

This study also leads to new questions that could not be answered with the data available. First, greater insight is warranted into which dimensions of performance-related behaviours are related to PSM. To what dimensions of performance is PSM related in other contexts? Second, in this research employees' perceptions of their own behaviour were used. Other stakeholders such as citizens, inspectors or supervisors may have different views (Andrews et al. 2011). Future research could usefully investigate whether these findings are repeated if other data sources such as client or supervisor ratings are used. Another important question is how exactly institutional logics matter in the relationship between PSM and performance. Studies including person-environment fit have shown that the congruence between individual values and perceived organizational values has a role in the relationship between PSM and performance (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013). This study suggests that the environment may also matter in a different way, apart from the perceptions of the individual, by determining what public service motivated employees see as appropriate behaviour (March & Olsen 1989). Although this research has been able to provide a first step in unravelling the relationship between PSM and different types of performance-related behaviour there is more to discover.

4.9 Conclusion

Rather than asking whether PSM is related to performance, this study has focused on several types of behaviour as self-reported by public service motivated employees. Conceptualizing individual performance-related behaviour as multidimensional, the relationship between PSM and output, service outcome, responsiveness and democratic outcome related behaviours was studied. A distinction was made between employees in people-changing public service providers (those who deliver services to change the user, such as schools) and those in people-processing providers (who categorize and redistribute services, such as city halls) to investigate the relevance of institutional context. Analysing survey data from 459 employees in people-changing services and 461 employees in people-processing services, this study found that, in both types of services, PSM relates most strongly to democratic outcome behaviour. In the people-changing group of employees, PSM was also strongly related to responsiveness and less so, but still significantly, to output and service outcome-related behaviours. In the people-processing group, PSM was also related to service outcome behaviour, but not to responsiveness and output behaviour. An explanation is offered that argues that the institutional context, which determines the type of service and primary process delivered, communicates different types of behaviour as being appropriate, emphasizing either interaction and contact (people-changing), or neutrality and objectivity (people-processing). Context may thus be an important factor to include when studying the relationship between PSM and performance-related behaviour.

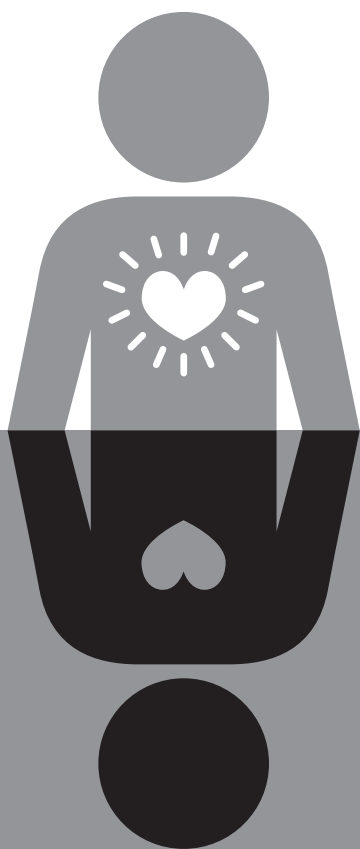
Appendix: final survey items, factor loadings and standard errors in full measurement model

Table A4.1: Response rates per service domain.

Domain	N	Response %
Schools	224	40.9
Municipality	351	39.5
Hospital	181	7.2
Prison	103	48.9
Police	172	57.1
Total	1031	38.7

Table A4.2: Items, standardized factor loadings (std.fl) and standard errors (st.e) for people-changing and people-processing.

Items	People-changing		People-processing	
	Std. fl	St.e	Std. fl	St.e
Public service motivation (PC $\rho=.760$; PP $\rho=.751$)				
I think it is important to be part of activities aimed at solving social problems.	.475	.052	.558	.047
It is important for me to contribute to the common good	.601	.044	.601	.039
I think equal opportunities for citizens are very important.	.548	.045	.410	.052
It is important that citizens can rely on the provision of accessible public services.	.544	.041	.490	.041
Considering the welfare of others is very important to me.	.595	.041	.517	.048
I empathize with people who face difficulties.	.552	.042	.642	.039
I would agree to a good plan to make life better for the poor, even if it costs me money.	.569	.041	.541	.044
Public performance-related behaviour				
<i>Output (PC $\rho=.725$; PP $\rho=.690$)</i>				
A. I deliver the work assigned to me on time.	.549	.052	.561	.052
B. I deliver high quality work.	.753	.041	.615	.057
C. I perform my work tasks in an efficient way.	.688	.045	.732	.052
<i>Service outcome (PC $\rho=.755$; PP $\rho=.714$)</i>				
G. The work I perform gives society/the public value-for money concerning their taxes.	.472	.059	.502	.052
K. Society/the public can be satisfied with my work.	.858	.059	.827	.050
<i>Responsiveness (PC $\rho=.663$; PP $\rho=.605$)</i>				
H. The [target group] are satisfied about the way I do my work.	.614	.061	.624	.056
I. I receive few complaints.	.759	.050	.687	.050
<i>Democratic outcome (PC $\rho=.700$; PP $\rho=.714$)</i>				
L. I treat the people for whom we work in a correct/decent way.	.803	.054	.819	.047
M. If necessary, I can provide citizens and inspectors insight into what I do in my work.	.583	.064	.562	.059



Chapter 5.

Clarifying the relationship between public service motivation and performance

*The relative contributions of person-job and
person-organization fit*

Summary

A core proposition of public service motivation (PSM) theory is that PSM is positively related to individual performance. Some studies however suggest that this relationship is mediated by person-job or person-organization fit. This study aims to further clarify the relationship between PSM and performance by, first, studying the mediation role of both person-job and person-organization fits and, second, by investigating this mediation for both in-role and extra-role behaviour. Whereas in-role behaviour is aimed at the individual task, extra-role is aimed at helping colleagues. This difference may matter for the role of PSM and fit. To this end, we conducted structural equation modelling with bootstrapping on self-reported survey data from public employees ($n=1,031$). The analysis showed that person-job, but not person-organization fit, fully mediated the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour. The relationship with extra-role behaviour was not mediated. The PSM-performance relationship may thus be more complex than previously envisioned, as both type of performance and person-job fit matter.

An article based on this chapter is forthcoming:

Van Loon, N.M., Vandenabeele, W. & Leisink, P.L.M. Clarifying the relationship between public service motivation and in-role and extra-role behaviours: The relative contributions of person-job and person-organization fit, *American Review of Public Administration*

5.1 Introduction

Public service motivation (PSM), described as the motivation to contribute to society (Perry & Wise 1990), can drive employees to go above and beyond the call of duty when working on meaningful public services (Brewer 2008; DiIulio 1994). Empirical research has found that PSM is positively related to organizational commitment, to job satisfaction and to several types of performance such as job performance (Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009), extra-role behaviour (Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2006), supervisor ratings (Bright 2007) and even student grades as a measure of teacher performance (Andersen et al. 2014). In general the PSM-performance relationship seems robust across study designs (survey and experiments) and various ways of measuring performance (self-perceived and objective), and this has made PSM a promising concept in improving public services (Andersen et al. 2014; Brewer 2008).

However, it may be premature to conclude that PSM is unconditionally related to higher performance because, placing PSM within institutional theory (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008), both the individual and the environment play a role in determining behaviour. Following person-environment fit theory (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005) PSM can be seen as a 'need' to contribute to society (Steijn 2008), which should be given opportunities to be put into practice through the job (i.e. person-job fit), or as a set of personal values that needs to fit with the organization's values (i.e. person-organization fit), if the PSM is to lead to better performance.

Although some studies have found direct effects of PSM on performance, others have found that person-environment fit is an important intermediate mechanism (Bright 2007; Kim 2006; Leisink & Steijn 2009). The relationship between PSM and performance thus seems much more nuanced and complex than the original proposition that PSM is positively related to performance (Perry & Wise 1990). Regarding the role of a fit with the job versus the organization, only one study has simultaneously analysed the relative importance of person-job and person-organization fit for the relationship between PSM and *job choice*, and this study found that the fit with the job was more important (Christensen & Wright 2011).

Moreover, from the viewpoint of the person-environment fit literature it is argued that the relative importance of the P-J and the P-O fits depends on the type of performance being considered, claiming that P-J fit is more important for job-related performance, and P-O fit for organizational performance (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Understanding the relationship between PSM and performance is thus further complicated by the fact that studies have addressed different measures of performance. There remains a lack of insight into whether the relationships between PSM and the various types of performance can be expected to be similar, and whether the person-job and person-organization fits are important mediators.

The primary objective of this chapter is to explore the mechanisms of this relationship by, firstly, simultaneously studying the roles of both person-job and person-organization fits and, secondly, by studying their mediating role for two types of self-reported performance: in-role and extra-role behaviours. Insight into the importance of the two types of fit in the relationship between PSM and different types of performance will help clarify when PSM is a potential force for public organizations, and when it is not. Using a dataset of survey

responses from public employees (n=1,031) we tested a set of hypotheses using structural equation modelling (Kline 2010). Bootstrapping techniques that can more accurately test the significance of a mediator (Preacher & Hayes 2008; Zhao et al. 2010) were used to analyse the relative mediation of the person-job and person-organization fits.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. It begins with an theoretical explanation of PSM, performance, the relationship between these concepts and the importance of the person-environment fit. Next, the discussion is expanded by addressing the two main points of this paper: the relative importance of P-J and P-O fit; and the importance of fit for different types of performance. This leads to the development of hypotheses. In the methods section, we then discuss the set-up of our study. Following this, we report on the testing of the hypotheses and present the results. In the final section, the findings and their implications are discussed.

5.2 Motivation of public employees

Literature on HRM in the public sector draws attention to the important role of employees for the performance of organizations (Gould-Williams et al. 2013). In the public sector the motivation of employees to contribute to society has gained attention as critical factor (Andersen et al. 2014; Leisink & Steijn 2009). However, these employees work in a specific – public – environment which poses constraints on their work. This study therefore focuses on the interaction between the institutional environment, using person-environment fit theory to explain how this environment may matter for the performance resulting from motivated employees, and public service motivation as distinct type of motivation.

Public service motivation is seen as part of a broader set of motives that attract and motivate employees to work for the public cause (Perry & Hondeghem 2008; Wright 2001). In differentiating it from motives to work *in* the public sector, such as job security or pension rights, Perry and Wise (1990) defined public service motivation as ‘*an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations*’ (p. 368). Four dimensions were later distinguished by Perry (1996): attraction to public policy, commitment to the public interest, compassion and self-sacrifice. The debate as to PSM’s exact configuration continues, with some researchers adding dimensions (Vandenabeele 2008; Andersen et al. 2011) while others have revised the original dimensions to attraction to public service, commitment to public values, compassion and self-sacrifice, to aid international comparisons (Kim et al. 2013). Most studies have used a global measure of PSM which includes the various dimensions (Wright et al. 2014).

Apart from the studies concerning measurement issues, PSM research can be divided between studies on the antecedents of PSM, for instance finding that selection, socialization through education, organizations and life experiences matter (Perry 2000; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012), and studies on the consequences of PSM that address issues such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment and performance (Brewer 2008).

In terms of performance, Perry and Wise (1990) proposed a positive relationship between PSM and performance. Brewer (2008) argued that a positive relationship can be expected because public service motivated employees would identify strongly with their

tasks within a public context, be more committed to reaching the public goal, put in more effort and as a result perform better than employees with low PSM. Empirical studies have found positive associations between PSM and a range of performance types including general job performance, supervisor ratings, efficiency, quality, organizational citizenship behaviour, and even student grades as an outcome of teacher performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Kim 2006; Vandenabeele 2009). However, there have also been studies that have either failed or only partly established a relationship between PSM and performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Ritz 2009). Some have argued that common method, social desirability or omitted variable biases may have been behind the mostly positive results (Wright & Grant 2010). The various setups in the studies and the amalgam of performance conceptualizations make it difficult to draw definitive conclusions. The possibility remains that the relationship with public service motivation varies for different types of performance.

5.3 Performance in the public sector as a multifaceted concept

Public employees play a role in the performance of the public service since they co-create the policy or product, such as care or security, on the 'work floor' (Lipsky 1980). Since PSM is an individual predisposition, it will most likely affect individual performance because this is the most direct relationship (Perry & Wise 1990). Consequently, this chapter focuses on the relationship between PSM and *individual* performance. Often, individual performance is not clearly defined. In this study, individual performance in public service is defined as '*the individual's contribution to achieving the organization's public mission*'. This definition is broad, as what the organization's mission is can be the focal point of political debate. We have added 'public' to emphasize that the organization's mission may be more limited than the public goals it intends to achieve.

Oftentimes the mission of a public organization is multifaceted. Boyne (2002) for instance distinguishes between output, service outcomes, responsiveness, efficiency and democratic outcomes as together forming the performance of public organizations. Referring to the organization's public mission we follow Boyne (2002) in stating that performance of public organizations is more than the traditional organizational goals of efficiency and effectiveness. Moreover, performance is 'in the eye of the beholder' as all measures are to some extent subjective and valued differently by various stakeholders (Brewer 2006). Since this makes performance a difficult concept to grasp in public organizations we focus on the behaviour of employees that leads to performance.

Employees contribute to the organization's mission through their behaviour, for instance putting in effort, executing tasks well, exercising their knowledge and doing their best, but also through behaviours that do not directly concern the job, such as helping colleagues. This study focuses on two different 'parts' of individual performance: in-role and extra-role behaviours (Williams & Anderson 1991). As such, we focus on aspects of behaviour that influence performance. Self-reported in-role and extra-role behaviours, as used here, can be compared across domains and jobs, and are therefore appropriate for the aims of this study.

In-role behaviour refers to the task-specific role requirements that an individual carries out. What is meant by 'appropriate' in-role behaviour is highly job dependent: for a surgeon a requirement could be 'follows procedures correctly during surgery', which is clearly not appropriate in-role behaviour for a teacher. Appropriate in-role behaviour can thus be seen as employees performing well the tasks expected of them and meeting the standards that have been set (Williams & Anderson 1991). In public organizations the role requirements may be multifaceted: a teacher should educate, be responsive, treat students equal and fair, etcetera (Boyne 2002). Moreover, what performing well means is always subjective (Brewer 2006) as various stakeholders may hold different perceptions of what 'well' means. Here we focus on the perception of the employee of how well he or she performs the formal task requirements.

With only doing one's own job tasks well is not sufficient for high performance (Motowidlo & Van Scotter 1994). Helping colleagues is often essential to achieving the organization's public mission. If, for instance, an established surgeon does not help a new doctor with getting to know the routines at the hospital this may result in major issues although the surgeon has shown good in-role behaviour. The neglected extra-role duties, which benefit the organization but are not required or rewarded formally, have been described as organizational citizenship behaviour, prosocial organizational behaviour or extra-role behaviour (Lemmon & Wayne 2014; Organ & Ryan 1995; Pandey et al. 2008).

Such extra-role behaviour contributes to the broader goals of the organization as it 'lubricates the social machinery' (Smith et al. 1983: p.654), making it run smoother and, therefore, facilitating achievement of the organization's mission. Behaviours can be helpful to others or to the organization (Williams & Anderson 1991; Kim 2006). Studies have shown that extra-role behaviours, and particularly helping behaviours, are positively related to organizational performance (Podsakoff et al. 1997).

5.4 The relationship between PSM and performance

Perry and Wise (1990) proposed a positive relationship between PSM and performance since individuals with higher PSM would put in more effort when their goals align with that of the organization. Brewer (2008) added to this stating that a positive relationship can be expected because public service motivated employees would identify strongly with their tasks within a public context, be more committed to reaching the public goal, put in more effort and as a result perform better than employees with low PSM.

However, whether public service motivated employees perform better may depend on what type of performance outcome one is focusing on. Using our definition, the assumption is that the mission of the organization under study has societal relevance. Moreover, it assumes that in the eyes of the individual that mission is indeed the most desirable to work on for society. When there is no agreement on the desirable outcome of the organization or this outcome does not comport with the individual's ideas about contribution to society it is unclear whether PSM relates to performance. Therefore the perceptions of individuals regarding the values – and the fit between the individual and organizational values may matter (Bright 2013; Gould-Williams et al. 2013), which is discussed later.

Empirical studies have generally found positive associations between PSM and performance measured as general job performance, supervisor ratings, efficiency, quality, organizational citizenship behaviour, and student grades as an outcome of teacher performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Kim 2006; Vandenabeele 2009). However, there have also been studies that have either failed or only partly established a relationship between PSM and performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Ritz 2009). Some have argued that common method, social desirability or omitted variable biases may have been behind the mostly positive results (Wright & Grant 2010). The various setups in the studies and the amalgam of performance conceptualizations make it difficult to draw definitive conclusions. The possibility remains that the relationship with public service motivation varies between contexts and what performance outcome is studied.

In terms of a relationship between public service motivation and in-role behaviour, empirical research has shown a positive relationship between PSM and both job performance and self-reported supervisor rating, which could indicate that those who are motivated to contribute to society and work for a public service provider perform their tasks better (Bright 2007; Vandenabeele 2009). Thus, PSM can be expected to be positively related to executing tasks well because it contributes to society when working in a public organization:

H1: PSM is positively related to in-role behaviour in public service providers.

Public service motivation can be expected to relate to extra-role behaviour in that the latter is seen as behaviour that is not strictly necessary to get paid, but for which an employee nevertheless sacrifices energy and time (Smith et al. 1983; Williams & Anderson 1991). As such, it relates strongly to going ‘above and beyond the call of duty’ (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990). Employees in a public context with a high PSM will perform more extra-role behaviours because they are more focused on contributing to society than their self-interest (such as going home on time instead of helping a colleague), and they will perceive helping others to do their work as contributing to society (Pandey et al. 2008). Studies have found a strong positive relationship between PSM and helping others in the organization (Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2006; Pandey et al. 2008). Since we study public organizations we expect that:

H2: PSM is positively related to extra-role behaviour in public service providers.

PSM need not be equally related to both in-role and extra-role behaviours. In-role behaviours are those that are required, and there may in some jobs be limited discretionary space in which PSM can play a role. Extra-role behaviours relate to situations that are unclear: there are no formal expectations but they can help achieve the mission of the organization (Smith et al. 1983), and there is thus more autonomy for individuals to decide what they want to do. Perry and Wise (1990) argued that PSM would be a strong predictor in situations that are ambiguous and complex, and in which it is unclear what to do. As such, we expect PSM to be most strongly related to extra-role behaviour:

H3: PSM is more strongly related to extra-role behaviour than to in-role behaviour.

Although most studies have found a positive relationship between PSM and performance, some have not (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014). It may be that employees with PSM need to perceive they can actually contribute to society to have a positive effect. Not all environments are able to provide such fit to the same degree for public service motivated employees to perform as even in the public domain organizations and jobs differ in their potential to contribute to society (Wright & Pandey 2008). The fit with the environment may therefore be an important factor in the relationship between PSM and performance. This aspect is further addressed below.

5.5 The importance of person-environment fit

Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) have argued that PSM cannot be seen apart from its context and should therefore be imbedded in institutional theory. Institutional theory emphasizes how institutions form and direct the behaviour of individuals by describing how individuals are 'supposed to act' through rules, norms and practices (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). Institutions can support behaviour, for instance by providing possibilities to have an impact on society, but can also hinder employees in doing what they want to do. PSM is not only influenced and incentivized by institutions, it also influences those institutions (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008; Perry 2000; Scott 2001). As such, there is a constant interaction between the public service motives of an individual and the environment. Whether PSM boosts performance will therefore depend on whether the environment provides opportunities and supports the provision of meaningful public service. Accordingly, aspects of the environment can be seen as *moderators* in the relationship between PSM and performance (Bellé 2013; Taylor 2013).

The mechanisms through which PSM and institutional context interact can be illustrated using person-environment fit theory. Kristof-Brown et al. (2005) defined person-environment fit as '*the compatibility between an individual and a work environment that occurs when their characteristics are well matched*'. This definition is very broad, and research has used many different person (P) and environment (E) measures (Edwards & Shipp 2007; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). For instance, the environment has been studied on the level of the supervisor, the job, the organization and the vocation (Edwards & Shipp 2007). Moreover, there are differences between studying a fit in values (most often with the organization), a fit in demands and abilities, or in needs and supply (most often on the job level). Finally, distinct terms are used to distinguish three types of fit: (1) *perceived fit* referring to a direct assessment by the individual of a fit; (2) *subjective fit* referring to a comparison of P and E characteristics as reported by the individual; and (3) *objective fit* involving a comparison of P and E characteristics reported by different sources (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005).

Central to person-environment fit theory is the idea that an interaction will occur between personal characteristics and elements of the environment, and that this leads to an objective fit with the environment. At the same time, the individual has a *perception* of

the environment, called subjective fit. Finally, an individual's characteristics lead to a direct perception of their fit with the values and norms or practices (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). This perceived fit can be seen as a *mediating* variable, as it includes aspects of both the institution and the individual (Edwards et al. 2006). Thus, differences in the institutional context regarding service logics and job characteristics are reflected in the direct perception of fit by the individual. Significantly, studies have found that *perceptions* of fit matter more for work outcomes than the *actual* environmental situation because individuals base their reactions to a situation on their perceptions (Kristof 1996; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). The person-job and person-organization fits are seen as the most important in determining behavioural outcomes, and are consequently the most researched types of fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005; Lauver & Kristof 2001; Muchinsky & Monahan 1987). Many studies have concentrated on how the perceived person-organization or person-job fit *mediate* the relationship between individual characteristics and several types of work outcomes (Cable & Judge 1996; Cable & DeRue 2002; Saks & Ashforth 1997; Vogel & Feldman 2009).

Within public service motivation research, most have focused on *perceived* (person-job or person-organization) fit as mediator. Some studies using person-organization fit have found that this fully mediated the relationship between PSM and supervisor ratings, and others that it only partially mediated the relationship between PSM and organizational citizenship behaviour (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013). With regard to person-job fit, some studies have shown that job characteristics moderate the relationship between PSM and performance (Bellé 2013) and that having a societal impact potential in combination with high PSM had an effect independent of the effect of PSM on perceived effort (Leisink & Steijn 2009).

This study focuses on a person's perceived fit with the job and the organization. PSM can contribute to a perceived fit with a public service environment because the individual perceives the values as congruent or because the tasks providing opportunities to deliver a public service are in line with internal motives (Perry & Wise 1990; Stritch & Christensen 2013). However, an individual who does not perceive their job as fulfilling their need to contribute to society or the organization as supporting public values cannot be expected to perceive a fit and consequently to perform better than other employees (Moynihan & Pandey 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008). PSM research including P-J or P-O fits have found both to be relevant, but studies on public service motivation and person-environment fit have been ambivalent as to their relative importance.

Which fits matter when?

Person-job fit and person-organization fit refer to different levels of the environment and are therefore seen as distinct constructs (Boon et al. 2011; Kristof 1996). In considering the relative roles of different fits in performance, Kristof-Brown et al. (2005) concluded that it depends on which type of performance is being studied as to whether P-J or P-O fit matters most. P-O fit is expected to be more important when considering organizational outcomes such as organizational commitment and extra-role behaviour due to the focus here being on the mission and organizational values. Kristof-Brown et al.'s (2005) meta-analysis showed P-O fit as being moderately correlated with extra-role performance but only weakly correlated with job performance (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Conversely, Hoffman

and Woehr (2006) found that P-O fit was more strongly related to task performance than to organizational citizenship behaviour. Person-job fit is often linked to job-related outcomes such as job satisfaction and task performance because these are on the same level of the environment. A meta-analysis found that person-job fit correlates moderately with task, job and in-role performance, but that it was also related to organizational commitment (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005).

Insights into the *relative* importance of the person-job and person-organization fits are however scarce, with only a few studies that have simultaneously studied multiple types of fit (Hoffman & Woehr 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). As such, findings seem inconclusive at best as to whether the relative roles of these two fits depend on the type of performance being considered. One of the few studies that addressed both fit types considered the mediation and moderation roles of person-job and person-organization fits in the relationship between HRM practices and several work outcomes, including extra-role behaviour (Boon et al. 2011). They found, for most outcomes, that P-O and P-J fit had distinct effects but for extra-role behaviour only the person-organization fit had a mediating effect. Drawing on person-environment fit theory and using the type of performance as our reference, we would expect P-J fit to be more important for in-role behaviour, and P-O fit for extra-role behaviour:

H4a: Person-job fit will be a more important mediator than person-organization fit in the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour.

H4b: Person-organization fit will be a more important mediator than person-job fit in the relationship between PSM and extra-role behaviour.

Challenging the ideas from person-environment fit that the outcome of interest determines the type of fit most relevant, studies on PSM have included type of fit based upon what seems most relevant for employees with a high public service motivation. For instance, Bright (2007) and Gould-Williams et al. (2013) focused on person-organization fit because they expected the values of the organization to be important for a public service motivated employee. Bellé (2013) and Leisink and Steijn (2009) focused on the job instead, because they expected that employees with PSM would want to do work that contributed to society.

Only one study has specifically set out to ‘disentangle’ the contributions of person-job and person-organization fit in the relationship between PSM and *job choice*, and this concluded that person-job fit was more important than person-organization fit (Christensen & Wright 2011). These authors argued that it is the type of work (whether it is related to public services) that determines whether a public service motivated individual is drawn to a job, and not the values of the organization. Applying this line of reasoning to the relationship between PSM and performance, it may be that the fit with the job is more important than with the organization because it is the perception as to whether one is able to work for society that drives public service motivated individuals to perform well. Thus, a competing hypothesis can be formulated rivalling hypothesis 4: When taking the ‘person’ element, i.e. PSM, as the reference, we could expect person-job fit to be the more important regardless of the type of performance.

H5: Person-job fit will be a more important mediator than person-organization fit in the relationships between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviours.

The next section now explains how these hypotheses were tested.

5.6 Methods

In this section, the data collection, the sample descriptives, the measures used and the data analysis are discussed.

Case and data

This study is based on data collected through a web-based survey among employees in public service organizations. These public organizations were schools, municipalities, police, prisons and a hospital all from the centre region in The Netherlands. The organizations were selected based on their willingness to participate after randomly selecting organizations from this one region. As a result nine schools all falling under one school board participated, two municipalities, two prison locations, one police region and one hospital. Example jobs in these organizations are policy maker, nurse, police officer, teacher, supportive staff and team leader. Although there are many differences between these employees and their jobs, they are all working on a public service and there is no reason to assume that PSM would not matter for supportive staff.

In most of the participating organizations employees were invited to complete a survey by email. However, in the hospital we could only post the survey on the internal website as opposed to addressing each employee individually. The response rate in this organization was thus much lower than in the other organizations (see Table 5.1). The hospital was however also a much larger organization than the rest regarding the number of employees, evening out the number of respondents per group.

The data were collected between March 2012 and September 2012. Although web-based surveys have many advantages, a significant drawback is the low response rates attributed to this technique (Crawford et al. 2001). Several techniques were therefore used to increase response rates, such as designing the survey to be as user-friendly as possible, including a photograph of the researcher to 'personalize' the survey, distributing the email through senior officials in the organizations, giving participants the potential to win a 25 euro voucher, sending two reminders, enabling respondents to remain anonymous. Finally, answering individual questions was optional which has been found to increase the response rate and reduce social bias (Couper 2008).

Table 5.1: Response rates per service domain.

Domain	N	Response %
Schools	224	40.9
Municipality	351	39.5
Hospital	181	7.2
Prison	103	48.9
Police	172	57.1
Total	1031	38.7

After reviewing the data in SPSS v20.0 and removing respondents with complete missing data, a total of 1031 respondents remained. To check the representativeness of the sample in terms of demographic variables, the gender balance and the average age in the various public domains (education, police, healthcare, municipalities and prisons) were compared to available national statistics. These analyses showed that the samples did not differ substantially from the typical workers in those sectors. The only significant differences were that the average age in the police sample was lower than the national average (but similar to the region's average) and that the sample of school employees included slightly more women than the national average would suggest.

The average age of the overall sample was 43 years (SD 11.3) and 54% were female, 37.5% male (8.5% non-report). The average tenure was almost 11 years (SD 9.6) and 152 respondents (14.7%) held supervisory positions. In Table 5.2 the percentage of primary process, management and supportive functions can be seen. Most respondents held jobs in the primary process.

Table 5.2: Percentage of respondents working in the primary process, management and supportive staff.

Function	N	%
Primary process	694	67.3
Management	83	8.1
Supportive	211	20.5
Missing	43	4.2
Total	1031	100

Measures

The concepts used in this study are explained below. Confirmatory factor analysis in Mplus v7.11 (Muthén & Muthén 2010-2014) was used to test the fit of the measurements. We used MLR estimation, which corrects for non-normality, because both PSM and performance were skewed (Kline 2010). As chi square values do not accurately represent the fit when sample sizes exceed $n=200$, we instead used the CFI, TLI and RMSEA fit indices (Hu & Bentler 1999; Kline 2010)¹⁴. Raykov's rho (ρ) is used to assess reliability based on factor

¹⁴ For CFI and TLI, cutoff values of .90 and above are seen as indicating acceptable fit, and above .95 an excellent fit. RMSEA values below .10 indicate an acceptable fit, and below .08 an excellent one.

loadings¹⁵, with values above .70 indicative of a reliable measure (Bacon et al. 1995; Raykov 2009). Oftentimes scales have to be adjusted, removing items from the scale, to assure an adequate fit to the specific sample (Kline 2010). All the final items and their factor loadings are listed in the appendix.

Public service motivation: In this study, the international instrument developed by Kim et al. (2013) was the basis for measuring PSM. However, the instrument's four distinct dimensions could not be confirmed across the organizations due to high correlations between dimensions and insufficient item loadings. Instead, as elsewhere, a global PSM scale was formed (Wright et al. 2013). Two items, seen as core items in each dimension, were included in this global measure. As such, all the items were thus part of a validated scale. One item was deleted, after which the model fitted the data well (CFI = .973, TLI = .959, RMSEA = .042). The measure also showed reliability ($\rho = .757$).

Person-job and person-organization fits: Person-organization fit was measured by asking about the congruence between personal and organizational values. The four items included in the questionnaire were derived from validated scales (Cable & Judge 1996; Cable & DeRue 2002). Person-job fit was measured with five items referring to whether the job offered opportunities to do the work one wanted to do (Saks & Ashforth 1997; Vogel & Feldman 2009). A two-dimensional model, with P-O and P-J fit as separate dimensions, provided a good fit to the data (CFI = .969; TLI = .957, RMSEA = .065) and demonstrated reliability (person-organization fit $\rho = .850$; person-job fit $\rho = .843$).

In-role and extra-role behaviours: Subjective measures of in-role and extra-role behaviours were used because these allow comparison across domains (Brewer 2006). Although there is generally held to be a relationship between self and other ratings (Conway & Huffcut 1997; Hoffman et al. 1991), there is no consensus on the best way to measure performance. There are studies showing that subjective and objective measures are related and that management practices show similar effects using both subjective and register performance data, while others view objective data as 'the golden standard' (Andrews et al. 2011; Bommer et al. 1995; Hoffman et al. 1991; Meier & O'Toole 2013). Self-reported measures could be prone to bias, although studies differ on the actual impact of such bias (Conway & Lance 2010; Meier & O'Toole 2013). At the same time, objective measures are criticized for being too narrow and not being available for complex tasks.

While the discussion continues, most researchers agree that each concept of performance measures a different aspect of performance, and is thus always limited. In the public domain there is no single measure that can accurately represent individual performance as there are multiple stakeholders and multiple goals to live up to (Brewer 2006). Our measure represents the self-perceptions of employees, who are important internal stakeholders, and shows how they think they behave.

In-role and extra-role behaviours were measured using items from the validated scale developed by Williams and Anderson (1991). Limitations on survey length meant that only three questions on in-role and three on extra-role behaviour could be included and

15 Since Cronbach's alpha is, despite certain issues with it, still the standard measure of reliability, these are also reported in the appendix.

we selected those considered most appropriate for our context. The confirmatory factor analysis showed that the measures of in-role and extra-role behaviour fitted well once one extra-role item had been deleted (CFI=.993, TLI=.982, RMSEA=.036). The measures were also reliable (in-role $\rho = .716$; extra-role $\rho = .769$).¹⁶

Control variables: All the analyses were carried out while controlling for gender, age and supervisory position as these variables may influence the performance of an employee (Bright 2007).

Data analysis

After testing each construct separately, a full measurement model including all the constructs was tested. The fit was adequate (CFI=.940, TLI=.930, RMSEA=.041 (.036-.045)) but the modification indices (Byrne 2012) indicated that it could be improved by deleting one reversed item from the P-O fit scale. After removal of this item the fit was improved (CFI=.954; TLI=.940, RMSEA=.036 (.031-.041)). Following this removal, risk of common method bias was tested by loading all the items onto a single dimension. This model had a significantly worse fit (CFI=.453, TLI=.389, RMSEA=.120), indicating that common method bias has a limited influence.

Next, regression paths were added. We tested three full structural equation models, each with and without the control variables. The first model tested the relationship between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviours. In the second model, person-job and person-organization fits were added as full mediators. The final model tested partial mediation in allowing for both direct and indirect relationships between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviours (MacKinnon et al. 2002). To determine the significance of the indirect path coefficients, a Sobel test with nonparametric bootstrapping (1,000 replications) was conducted (Preacher & Hayes 2008). Here, we switched to ML estimation since bootstrapping automatically includes inequality of parameters in the analysis (Muthén & Muthén 2010-2014). The paths are seen as significant if the 95% confidence interval does not include zero (Preacher & Hayes 2008).¹⁷

5.7 Results

The correlations between the tested variables are shown in Table 5.3. PSM is significantly correlated to perceptions of both person-job and person-organization fits and to in-role and extra-role behaviours. Both fit perceptions are significantly correlated to in-role behaviour but, surprisingly, not to extra-role behaviour. Further, of the control variables, only gender is correlated with in-role behaviour. Using a different parameterization in which instead of a factor score the mean on the factor is calculated (Todd et al. 2006), the

16 All the constructs also demonstrated convergent validity, since all the factor loadings were statistically significant, and discriminant validity, since correlations were not close to unity (Table 5.1).

17 As opposed to chapter 4 and 6, the data is not split up between people-changing and people-processing organizations. The differences between these logics are represented in the *direct perceptions* of person-job and person-organization fit.

means of the factor scores were computed. The respondents have an average PSM of 3.86, score higher on P-J fit (3.71) than P-O fit (3.52) and higher on in-role behaviour (4.19) than extra-role (4.10).

Table 5.3: Correlation table.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PSM	-							
2. P-O fit	.267***	-						
3. P-J fit	.253***	.565***	-					
4. In-role	.148***	.115*	.224***	-				
5. Extra-role	.213***	.079	.060	.611***	-			
6. Gender	.130***	.037	.007	.093*	-.009	-		
7. Age	.090*	.073*	.111***	.048	-.052	-.084**	-	
8. Sup.pos.	.031	.086*	.135***	.053	.047	-.152***	.138***	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, $n = 1,031$; Sup.pos=supervisory position

The relationship between PSM and performance behaviour

Our first model tested the relationship between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviours. Overall, this model fitted well with the control variables included (CFI=.937, TLI=.921, RMSEA=.041, $n=926$) and even better without controlling for gender, age and supervisory position (CFI=.964, TLI=.953, RMSEA=.036, $n=1,031$)¹⁸. The model including controls explains 2.4% of the variation in in-role behaviour and 5.5% in extra-role behaviour. Looking at the individual paths in this model, PSM is significantly related to in-role behaviour ($\beta = .122$, $p < .05$), supporting Hypothesis 1, and extra-role behaviour ($\beta = .214$, $p < .001$), supporting Hypothesis 2. Further, the coefficients show that PSM is more strongly related to extra-role than to in-role behaviour in line with Hypothesis 3. The relationship is shown in Figure 5.1.

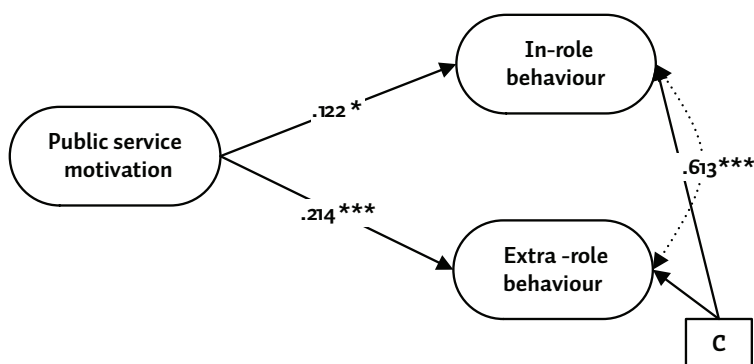


Figure 5.1 Full structural equation model, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, c=control variables.

¹⁸ This may be due to the slightly different samples as 105 respondents did not fill in control variable questions.

Mediation by person-job and person-organization fit

Our first mediation model tested whether person-organization and person-job fit fully mediated the relationships between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviours. The overall model fitted the data well (CFI=.932, TLI=.921, RMSEA=.043, $n=926$)¹⁹, explaining 7% of the variance in person-organization fit, 6.1% in person-job fit, 5.8% in in-role behaviour but only 1.4% in extra-role behaviour. Figure 5.2 shows the path results for this model.

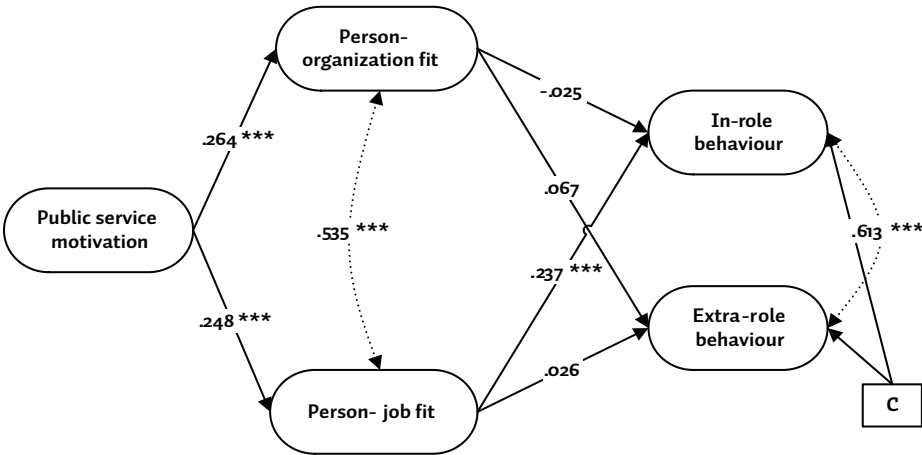


Figure 5.2: Full structural equation model, full mediation P-O and P-J fit, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, c=control variables.

The figure shows that PSM is positively related with both person-organization and person-job fit. That is, employees with higher levels of PSM perceive greater congruence with their organization's values and perceive that they are doing what they want to be doing through the job. Further, it appears that only person-job fit is significantly related to in-role behaviour, and that neither P-O nor P-J fit are significantly related to extra-role behaviour. A Sobel test indicates that the indirect relationship from PSM through P-J fit to in-role behaviour is significantly different from zero ($\beta = .059$, $p < .01$).

The second, partial mediation model (see Figure 5.3) included both direct and indirect paths from PSM to in-role and extra-role behaviours. This model, including control variables, fits the data adequately (CFI=.935, TLI=.924, RMSEA=.043, $n=926$)²⁰. The model explains 6.9% of the variance in P-O fit, 6.1% in P-J fit, 6.3% in in-role behaviour and 5.6% in extra-role behaviour. In terms of extra-role behaviour, this is substantially more than the full mediation model (+4.2%). Allowing a direct relationship between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviours reveals a positive and significant direct association between PSM

19 Again, the model fitted better without the control variables (CFI=.948, TLI=.939, RMSEA=.042, $n=1,031$).

20 Again the model fitted better without the control variables (CFI=.951, TLI=.942, RMSEA=.041, $n=1,031$).

and extra-role behaviour. However, there is no corresponding significant direct relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour. Testing for indirect effects using bootstrapping shows that the relationship of PSM with extra-role behaviour is not mediated, whereas its relationship with in-role behaviour is, by person-job fit ($\beta=.055$, $p<.01$). Including the control variables shows that women score higher than men on in-role behaviour and that older employees show less extra-role behaviour.

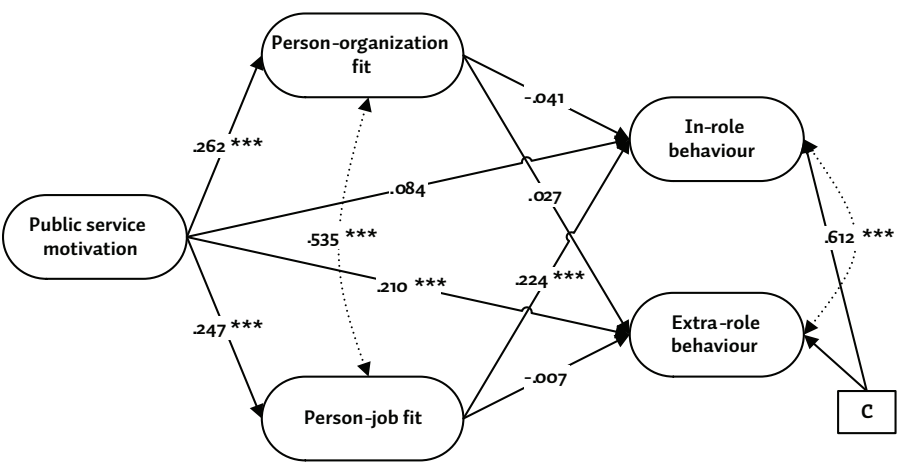


Figure 5.3: Full structural equation model, partial mediation P-O and P-J fit, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p< .001$, c=control variables.

As such, the results show support for Hypothesis 4a: that the person-job fit would be a more important mediator than the person-organization fit in the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour. Contrary to expectations, person-organization fit was not relevant for extra-role behaviour, and thus Hypothesis 4b is rejected. Hypothesis 5, which stated that person-job fit would be a more important mediator than person-organization fit for PSM, because public service motivation is about the work that is done, was supported by these results. Subsequent analyses including either person-job fit or person-organization fit, but not both, showed that this finding is not due to confounding effects from a high correlation between P-J and P-O fit. In fact, when running the model without P-J fit, P-O fit was still not significantly related to in-role or extra-role behaviours, and neither did it have a mediating role for PSM. When including only P-J fit, this still only mediated the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour. These findings will be discussed in the final section.

5.8 Discussion

In this study, we have shown that public service motivation is positively related to extra-role behaviour and indirectly to in-role behaviour: two behaviours that have been found to be important for organizational performance (Brewer & Selden 2000; Podsakoff et al. 1997).

The variance in perceived performance explained by PSM was limited but not insubstantial given that many other variables determine individual performance such as abilities, skills and personality (Hoffman et al. 1991; Fox & Bizman 1988). The results also illustrate that the relationship between PSM and performance is more complex than originally envisioned by Perry and Wise (1990).

This study has contributed to the literature by studying person-job and person-organization fits simultaneously and showing that PSM is *directly* related to helping others on the job but is only related to fulfilling in-role requirements through its contribution to the fit with the job. Here, we have built upon previous studies that have included person-environment fit as an explanation for the relationship between PSM and performance (Bright 2007; Kim 2012; Leisink & Steijn 2009).

PSM studies in the past have mostly looked at general performance, or equated different types of performance, whereas this study indicates that the mechanisms through which PSM relates to different types of performance can diverge. For instance, Alonso and Lewis (2001) did not find an effect of PSM on supervisor rating which may be because they did not take into account whether employees perceived a fit with the organization. In comparison, Bright (2007), who included person-organization fit, did find an indirect relationship with (self-reported) supervisor ratings. It may be that P-O fit is an important factor in supervisor ratings and, as found here, that person-job fit influences in-role behaviour. We also showed that PSM was directly related to extra-role behaviour, and thus fit may play a role in PSM's relationship with some, but not all, types of performance. For instance, public service motivation has been related to whistleblowing behaviour (Brewer & Selden 1998), and it is very likely that those who blow the whistle do not perceive a fit with the organization. As another example, a public service motivated nurse may feel a misfit with the job because there is no time to talk to patients but still be very willing to give up hours after work to help colleagues. It could also be that other types of fit, such as person-team, are very important in determining extra-role behaviour. Perhaps perceiving a match with colleagues is quite important for individuals to show helping behaviour towards them.

Regarding the relative importance of person-job and person-organization fits in the relationship between PSM and performance, we have contributed by shedding light on which type of fit matters most. Our finding that only person-job fit matters in the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour corresponds to results from studies on the relevance of P-J and P-O fit in the relationship between PSM and job choice (Christensen & Wright 2011; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012). It may be that P-O fit is less important because public service motivated employees care about the *task* they are doing more than the organization for which they do their job regarding whether they put in their effort (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012). As suggested by Hoffman and Woehr (2006), it is possible that the mediating effects of P-O fit found in some studies were confounded because respondents were thinking about their job. The findings in this chapter illustrate that, in order to know which fits matter, both P-J and P-O should be included. Another explanation for the findings could be related to 'organization' being a somewhat abstract term. As an example, 'the police', as an organization, includes all police departments in the country, and thus one's fit with this overall organization might not seem that important, whereas the fit with the local department is.

We have contributed to the person-environment fit literature by simultaneously

analysing the relative importance of person-job and person-organization fit for two types of performance. This responds to the call for greater insight into how different types of fit relate to each other (Hoffman & Woehr 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Within the person-environment fit theory, it is assumed that the relative importance of P-O and P-J fits depends on the type of performance being considered (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Although we found that person-job fit was, as other studies have found, related to in-role behaviour, we failed to find a relationship between person-organization fit and extra-role behaviour. This unexpected result questions whether the relevance of a fit is determined by the type of performance being considered, or whether it depends on the personal elements considered – in this study PSM – as to which type of fit matters. Only a few studies have been able to include both job and organization fit when studying outcomes and this makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions on which type of fit matters most for which types of performance (Hoffman & Woehr 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). This study highlights that more research, that includes both types of fit, is necessary to generate accurate insights into the relevance of the P-J and P-O fit.

Perhaps surprisingly, the models fitted better without the control variables. Not all respondents entered details on their supervisory position or otherwise, or on their gender, so the model including control variables was calculated on a reduced sample, and this may explain this unexpected outcome. Also, women reported higher in-role behaviour than men. Age was negatively related to extra-role behaviour: those who were older helped their colleagues less. Since age was correlated with supervisory position, it may be that the latter explains much of this relationship; a supervisor may be more distant than other colleagues.

The results should be seen in the light of the study's limitations. First, this study is based on self-reported data which carries a risk of common method or social desirability bias (Meier & O' Toole 2013), although some argue these dangers are overestimated (Conway & Lance 2010; Spector 2006). Nevertheless, they form a limitation of this study. The risk of bias was minimized by ensuring anonymity and providing the option not to answer the performance questions so respondents did not feel forced to provide a desirable answer (Couper 2008). The likelihood of common method bias was also reduced by placing the items on motivation, fit and performance in different sections of the survey (Podsakoff et al. 2003). Although self-reported performance reflects only one aspect of performance, it is important because it shows how employees think they are doing (Brewer 2006).

The use of only cross-sectional data limits us to saying that relationships were found between PSM and performance, without being able to say what causes what. PSM could be influencing performance or vice versa, or both effects may exist simultaneously. However, the following causal path is defensible because theory and empirical results both suggest that PSM influences performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Perry & Wise 1990): PSM leads to a certain degree of perceived person-environment fit (Stritch & Christensen 2013), and this fit influences performance (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Both relationships, from PSM to performance and vice versa, probably exist.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to knowledge on the relationship between PSM and performance in three main ways. Firstly, by showing that the relationship between PSM and performance varies depending on whether one is looking at in-role or extra-role behaviour. Secondly, by identifying person-job fit as an important mediator in

the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour. Thirdly, by showing that the P-O fit has little influence.

Future research could address the possibility that PSM is not similarly related to all types of performance, and that a fit with the job may matter for some behaviour, but not others. Future studies could also address some of the limitations of this study by using longitudinal data, by investigating different types of performance such as equity behaviour or responsiveness (Boyne 2002), or by replicating this study in different contexts to test the robustness of the findings. We studied these relationships in a single country, and thus we cannot be sure that the results can be generalized to other countries. However, the effect sizes found are very similar to those in other studies in different countries (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013) and thus our results may be fairly generalizable. It may however be that besides job and organizational fit country level institutional factors also matter, which can only be studied through country-comparison. Moreover, it may be, when distinguishing between behaviours, that organizational logics matter in the relationship between PSM and behaviour. In particular, P-O fit warrants extra attention, because its mediating role identified in this study differed from previous studies (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013). Finally, studying specific aspects of the environment, such as red tape, goal ambiguity or societal impact, to test the importance of subjective and objective fits, as opposed to our focus on perceived fit, could generate further insight into under what specific job or organizational conditions PSM is or is not related to performance.

The results of this study are relevant for public organizations that want to enhance their performance because it provides insights into the dynamics and situations in which PSM relates to higher performance. Public organizations, by discussing motivation and expectations during job interviews, could benefit from considering PSM in the selection or socialization of their employees (Paarlberg et al. 2008). However, a positive outcome depends on an organization offering working conditions in which an employee perceives a fit between their PSM and the job (by being able to contribute to society), since it is through this fit that PSM relates to higher in-role behaviour.

For public organizations under financial stress, in which employees need to reduce costs and are more occupied with saying 'no' to citizens applying for support than helping them, the new big challenge in maintaining in-role performance may be in providing sufficient evidence of the job being important for society. On a brighter note, public service motivated employees showed higher levels of extra-role behaviour (activities for which they are not rewarded) regardless of the fit of their PSM with the job or the organization, and this may form a buffer for organizations under financial stress that have to increasingly rely on such extra efforts to maintain the quality of their services.

5.9 Conclusion

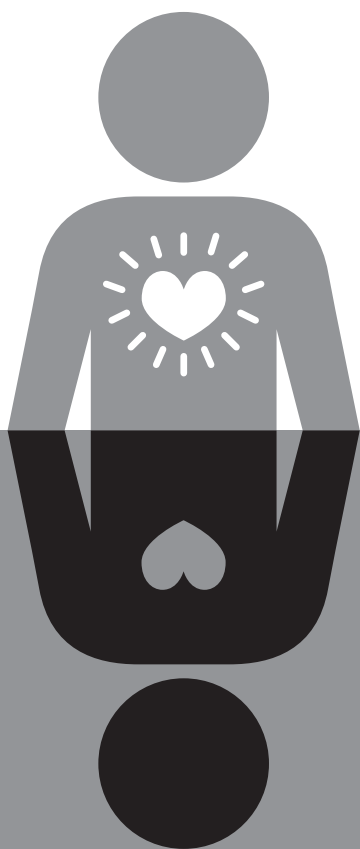
In this study the mediating roles of person-job and person-organization fit in the relationship between public service motivation and in-role and extra-role behaviour were analysed using survey data. The results show that PSM is directly and positively related to extra-role behaviour, but to in-role behaviour indirectly through person-job fit. Despite the

limitations of this study, such as its cross-sectional design, we have contributed to the literature on PSM by showing how person-job fit (but not person-organization fit) plays a role in PSM's relationship with in-role behaviour and that the association between PSM and behaviour can vary for different types of behaviour. Moreover, we contributed to the person-environment fit literature by studying person-job and person-organization fit simultaneously and showing that the person-job fit was more relevant than person-organization fit. The results indicate that public organizations should take note that the PSM-performance relationship depends partly on whether employees perceive they can contribute to society through the job. In times of budget cuts and increased work pressures, the high PSM normally found in teachers, policymakers and police officers may act as a buffer against falling performance because such workers will continue to perform the extra-role duties that they are not paid for but that contribute to organizational performance. However, these pressures may reduce in-role performance if they are perceived as interfering with the ability to provide a meaningful public service through the job.

Appendix: Items, factor loadings, standard errors and reliability.

Table A5.1: Items, factor loadings, standard errors (SE) and Cronbach's alpha.

Construct and items		Std. fl	SE
Public service motivation $\alpha=.743$			
1.	I think it is important to be part of activities aimed at solving social problems.	0.531	0.034
2.	It is important to me to contribute to the common good.	0.598	0.028
3.	I think equal opportunities for citizens are very important.	0.474	0.035
4.	It is important that citizens can rely on the provision of accessible public services.	0.520	0.029
5.	Considering the welfare of others is very important to me.	0.536	0.033
6.	I empathize with other people who face difficulties.	0.611	0.028
7.	I would agree to a good plan to make life better for the poor, even if it costs me money.	0.576	0.030
Person-organization fit $\alpha=.827$			
1.	There is a match between what I think is important in my work and what my organization thinks is important.	0.795	0.022
2.	My values match or fit the values of this organization.	0.807	0.018
3.	What this organization stands for is very important to me.	0.761	0.023
Person-job fit $\alpha=.828$			
1.	The attributes that I look for in a job are fulfilled very well by my job.	0.805	0.017
2.	My job does not enable me to do the work I would like to do (rev).	0.692	0.031
3.	My job provides me with the opportunity to work on goals that I personally see as important.	0.679	0.027
4.	If I think about what I would like to achieve, I sometimes doubt whether I chose the right job (rev).	0.690	0.024
5.	There is a good match between my personal interests and the kind of work that I do.	0.672	0.027
In-role behaviour $\alpha=.764$			
1.	I consistently meet the formal performance requirements of my job.	0.692	0.034
2.	I conscientiously perform the tasks that are expected of me.	0.787	0.029
3.	I always execute essential duties of my job well.	0.680	0.032
Extra-role behaviour $\alpha=.714$			
1.	I help new colleagues even if it is not expected of me.	0.734	0.035
2.	I pass along important work-related information to co-workers.	0.756	0.034



Chapter 6.

On the bright and dark side of public service motivation

*Investigating the relationship between PSM and
employee wellbeing from an institutional perspective*

Summary

This study reveals that the relationship between PSM and employee wellbeing depends on the societal impact potential (SIP) of the job and user logic, differentiating between people-changing and people-processing public service providers. In people-changing organizations, PSM relates to higher burn-out and lower job satisfaction when SIP is *high*: employees sacrifice themselves too much for society. However, in people-processing organizations, *low* SIP relates to higher burn-out and lower job satisfaction: employees experience frustration if they cannot contribute. This shows that whether PSM is positively related to employee outcomes depends on institutional logics.

An article based on this chapter has been published with Peter Leisink and Wouter Vandenabeele:

Van Loon, N.M., Leisink, P.L.M. & Vandenabeele, W. 2015. On the bright and dark side of public service motivation: the relationship between PSM and employee wellbeing, *Public Money & Management*, 35(4).

6.1 Introduction

For public organizations, having a satisfied and healthy workforce is important for the delivery of high service quality because employee wellbeing is related to performance, organizational commitment, vigour and lower absenteeism (Castaing 2006; Grant 2008; Vandenabeele 2009; Van den Broeck et al. 2008). Wellbeing can be seen as positive and negative employee outcomes such as job satisfaction, happiness, stress, overload, strain and burn-out (Bakker & Demerouti 2006). Unfortunately, employees in public organizations that are characterized by role ambiguity, high work pressure and emotional demands seem particularly prone to low wellbeing (Grant & Campbell 2007; Maslach et al. 2001).

A possible buffering force against these circumstances could be public service motivation (PSM), i.e. the motivation to contribute to society, since previous research has found PSM to be positively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Bright 2008; Crewson 1997; Naff & Crum 1999; Vandenabeele 2009). Based on this, it seems public organizations should seek new employees that have PSM and encourage it in current employees. However, recent studies point out there may also be a *dark side* to PSM. Giauque et al. found PSM was related to resigned satisfaction meaning that employees did no longer care for their work (2012), and work stress (2013), possibly due to frustration about low societal impact (Grant & Campbell 2007; Taylor 2013). Thus, theory offers two contradictory expectations: that PSM is related to positive outcomes such as satisfaction, and, that employees with high PSM risk disappointment and frustration.

Given these two contradictory expectations, one might ask whether circumstances determine if PSM is a bright or dark force. Following institutional theory, employees' attitudes are not only determined by themselves but also by the environment (Scott 2001). The institutional logic of the organization may matter for the relationship between PSM and employee wellbeing since not all public organizations have the same aim. This study focuses on the user logic. Hasenfeld (1972) distinguishes between organizations aimed at behavioural changes (such as a school) and people-processing organizations where the aim is to classify or redistribute (for instance city administrators). Whereas people-changing requires intensive personal contact, in people-processing organizations sufficient distance is essential to be able to distribute fairly. This may influence wellbeing as intensive contacts have been related to burn-out (Bakker & Demerouti 2006).

Moreover, according to Scott (2001), these institutional logics are also present in various types of 'carriers' such as jobs. It is assumed that each organization has a pre-dominant logic which is communicated to, and influences, the employees and their jobs. Previous research on PSM has shown that the positive relationship between PSM and job satisfaction partly depends on whether it is possible to have an impact on society through the job (Bright 2008; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Taylor 2013). However having many possibilities to contribute and thus going 'above and beyond' often, may also lead to overreaching resources and burn-out (Maslach et al. 2001).

In this study, we aim to increase understanding by being the first to simultaneously investigate PSM's possible dark (burn-out) and bright (job satisfaction) consequences, and at the same time explore circumstances under which PSM is a 'bright' or 'dark' force. Using survey data from people-changing ($n=459$) and people-processing organizations ($n=465$),

illustrated with insights from 50 interviews, we aim to gain insight in how PSM is related to job satisfaction and burn-out, and whether the societal impact potential and user logic moderate these relationships.

The paper starts with a discussion of the theoretical arguments, followed by an explanation of the methods. We then focus on the results, and end with a discussion on the implications for research and practice.

6.2 Public service motivation

The motivation to contribute to society has long been a topic in public administration research in many different disciplines and forms (Horton 2008). It was not, however, until Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as *'an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public organizations'* (p.368) and Perry (1996) developed a measurement instrument that research on this specific motivation really took off. Perry (1996) distinguished three types of motives - rational, normative and affective - on which he based his four-dimensional measurement scale (attraction to public policy, commitment to public interest, compassion and self-sacrifice).

PSM has since been redefined as the motivation to contribute to society through work in order to recognize its applicability beyond the public sector - to for instance public service providers in both public and private sectors and non-profit organizations (Steen 2008). Some studies have also used other dimensions or adapted Perry's scale (Kim et al. 2013). Research on PSM divides into two main streams; research on the antecedents of PSM, and research on the relationship between PSM and work outcomes such as job satisfaction. We now delve deeper into the employee outcomes literature.

6.3 PSM and employee outcomes: both bright and dark sides?

Studies on PSM and employee outcomes have mostly confirmed PSM as a 'bright force' by finding that the more one is motivated to serve society, the more one feels satisfied with the job (Vandenabeele 2009; Wright & Pandey 2010) and the more one is committed to the organization (Crewson 1997) within the public domain. Recently, however, authors have started to explore the 'dark side' of PSM and prosocial motivation, highlighting the literature on street-level bureaucrats, burn-out and emotional labour (Giauque et al. 2013; Grant & Campbell 2007). It is argued that the motivation to serve society, and sacrifice oneself, might have negative effects on wellbeing because employees go 'above and beyond' what is asked of them and thus overreach their own resources (DiIulio 1994; Steen & Rutgers 2011).

Those highly motivated to serve society might experience a 'reality shock' when they see that their ideals are not easily executed in real life (Blau 1960; Buchanan 1975). Employees can for instance become discouraged and frustrated when they find that they cannot have an impact on society due to red tape, an excessive workload or difficult clients, or lack positive feedback (Giauque et al. 2013; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012; Moynihan & Pandey 2007).

Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012) found that PSM dropped after employees first entered the workforce, and Giauque et al. (2013) found that PSM related positively to perceived work stress. Burn-out research similarly found that basic needs satisfaction, derived from self-determination theory, acted as a moderator between job demands and burn-out (Van Den Broeck et al. 2008). Hence, an initially high PSM may be either adapted or lowered, lead to a state of resigned satisfaction (Giauque et al. 2012) or even to burn-out when an employee cannot act upon one's 'need' to contribute to society. It therefore seems that whether PSM is a dark or bright force may depend on contextual factors.

In this study employee outcome is conceptualized in two ways. First, job satisfaction is taken as a positive outcome as research suggests PSM is positively related to job satisfaction (Bright 2008). Burn-out is taken as a negative employee outcome since it refers to a state of emotional exhaustion (Maslach et al. 2001). Below, we argue that a contextualized understanding of PSM is required to gain further insight in whether PSM has dark or bright employee outcomes.

6.4 Bringing in institutional context: user logic and societal impact potential

From an institutional perspective the context in which an employee works is seen as influencing work attitudes and behaviour on multiple levels (Scott 2001). We explore whether institutional logics - or logics of appropriateness (Perry 2000) - through the organization's aim and carrying through in the job, influence the relationship between PSM, job satisfaction and burn-out.

First, whether an organization is aimed at people-changing or people-processing may influence the relationship between PSM and employee outcomes. According to Hasenfeld (1972), the product of people-changing organizations is behavioural change, for instance in schools where students become competent, and this type of work requires employees to socialize, interact and build a relationship with users. Those working in people-processing organizations have fewer opportunities to see a direct impact of their job on society because their clients leave the organization 'unchanged'.

Second, several studies have found that the fit between an employee and the work they do influences work outcomes. Kristof-Brown et al. (2005) defined person-environment fit as *'the compatibility between an individual and a work environment that occurs when their characteristics are well matched'*. Studies using fit argue PSM can be a bright force when there are opportunities to contribute to society because the individual feels a match between the tasks and personal values (Bright 2008; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). If a job does not contribute to society, the more frustrated and thus dissatisfied an employee may become (Blau 1960). Moreover, Maslach et al. (2001) found that high expectations increase burn-out risk.

This suggests that it is not the motivation itself but its fit with a job in which there is a societal impact potential (as a job characteristic) that determines the relationship with job satisfaction and burn-out. On the other side, since employees with a high PSM are motivated to go 'above and beyond the call of duty' (DiIulio 1994, p. 281) and are willing to sacrifice their self-interest for the sake of society, it is possible that too many opportunities

to contribute to society may be detrimental to the individual’s job satisfaction and increase risk of burn-out. Thus, both the user logic and the societal impact potential (SIP) may matter for the relationship between PSM, job satisfaction and burn-out.

In people-changing organization the user logic is focused on intensive, personal interactions with the users to be able to change them. It is in these contact-intensive organizations that employees experience high risks of burn-out (Maslach et al. 2001). This could be because opportunities to have a societal impact through the job are paramount and contacts are intensive and personal, encouraging employees to overreach their mental and physical resources (Bakker et al. 2008; Bakker & Demerouti 2006; Maslach et al. 2001). For instance, when an employee wants to help students beyond what is possible in a school in a disadvantaged area.

Thus, we may expect that PSM does not contribute positively to employee outcomes when the job allows for many opportunities to contribute to society, since it drives employees to do too much. Job satisfaction is not only based upon the balance in mental and physical resources, but also on enjoyment of the work and the work content and thus higher societal impact potential may lead to higher satisfaction. However, following a resource depletion line of thought, we would expect that employees with too much to do are not satisfied. On the whole we could therefore formulate the following tentative hypothesis which is depicted in Figure 6.1:

H1: In people-changing organizations, PSM is related to lower employee outcomes when the societal impact potential (SIP) is high.

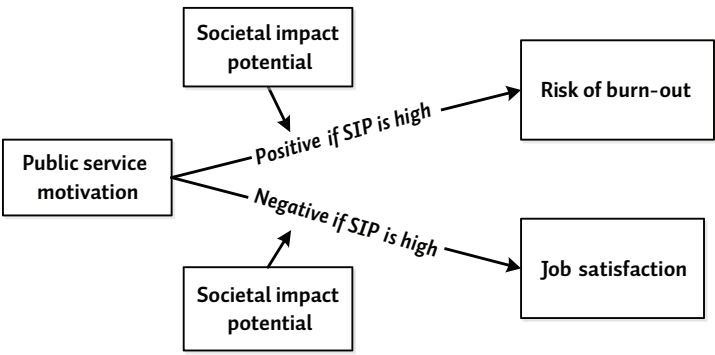


Figure 6.1: Theoretical model for people-changing organizations.

In people-processing organizations, such as municipalities, the product is an altered client status. This requires classification and largely impersonal contacts with clients in order for employees to remain objective (Hasenfeld 1972). For instance, a police officer can change the status of a citizen to that of a suspect but will then hand that citizen over to other organizations (courts, prisons). As such, the societal impact potential may be less visible as the police officer does not work on changes but merely ‘classifies’ and ‘moves’ clients. A reversed working of PSM might be expected when the societal impact potential is low: the motivation

to contribute may lead to frustration and consequently lower job satisfaction and a higher risk of burn-out. Thus, the following hypothesis can be formulated, shown in Figure 6.2:

H2: In people-processing organizations, PSM is related to higher job satisfaction and lower risk of burn-out when the societal impact potential (SIP) is high.

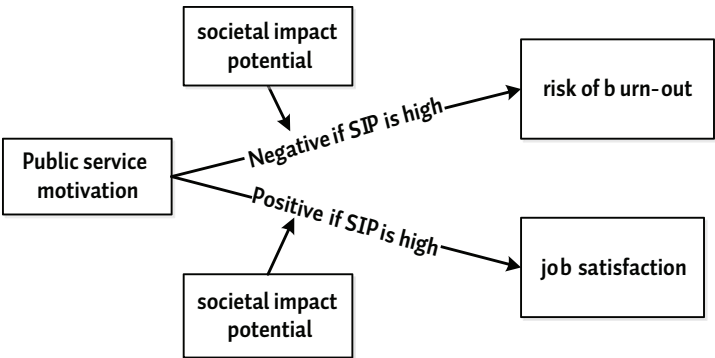


Figure 6.2: Theoretical model for people-processing organizations.

6.5 Methods

In this section we discuss the data collection and describe our measures and the data analysis techniques.

Data collection

The data for this study were collected through 50 interviews with employees from the organizations and a web-based survey among employees in people-processing (police and city hall municipalities), and people-changing (schools, hospital, prisons) Dutch organizations in 2012. The distinction between people-changing and people-processing organizations was derived from the interviews (see Chapter 3), but was reconfirmed through coding all job descriptions of the survey respondents by three researchers independently and then comparing the coding. This analysis confirmed the categorization of the organizations²¹.

The interviews were semi-structures and conducted before the survey. The aim of the interviews was to get more insight in the dynamics within the organizations, the expressions of PSM, person-environment fit, and how this relates to work outcomes. All interviews were recorded, fully transcribed and analysed with Nvivo. Here the interviews are used to illustrate the investigated dynamics found through the survey, for a full explanation and overview of the characteristics of the interviewed employees see Chapter 3.

²¹ The city hall respondents did not include any social service or unemployment benefit workers but only city hall administrators. Within the police several jobs include both pc and pp, but the dominant logic was people-processing.

The web-survey was sent to all members of the identified organizations by email to participate in the survey²². There are many advantages to using web-based surveys such as ease-of-use and low costs, but an important drawback is the low response (Crawford et al. 2001). Several techniques were used to boost responses such as a user-friendly design (colour, typeface and ease of navigating the website), showing photographs of the researchers to ‘personalize’ the survey, having the email sent out by senior officials, offering a chance to win a €25 voucher, guaranteeing anonymity and sending reminders (Couper 2008). Moreover, answering all questions was not compulsory to increase the response rate and reduce social bias (Couper 2008). In total, 1138 surveys were returned (38.7%).

After checking for missing data and rejecting incomplete responses, a total of 465 people-processing and 459 people-changing employee responses remained. The average age was 43 years and the tenure almost 11 years. 51.4% was female, 40.1% male and 8.5% did not enter their gender. Of the sample 152 respondents had a supervisory position (14.7%). To check for representativeness of the sample we analysed whether the subsamples from the different domains were significantly different from the national statistics on gender and age. The analysis showed the samples were representative, except for the average age of the police respondents (slightly lower in this sample, although it was similar to the region’s average) and the percentage of women in the schools which was higher than national.

Measures

We used a statistical method (confirmatory factor analysis; CFA) to ensure that the multiple item constructs measure what they intend to measure. Because each CFA fit index, showing model fit, has its (dis)advantages, it is recommended to study several. The fit indices CFI and TLI indicate acceptable fit above .90 and excellent above .95, RMSEA indicates acceptable fit below .10 and excellent below .08 (Kline 2010). To ensure the items were reliable (i.e. that they are consistent in measuring the construct), composite reliabilities were calculated using Raykov’s rho which is more suitable for factor analysis than Cronbach’s alpha (Bacon et al. 1995; Raykov 2009).

Public service motivation was measured using an international scale (Kim et al. 2013) which measures four dimensions: attraction to public service, commitment to public interest, compassion and self-sacrifice. However the dimensional measure did not uphold and therefore two items from each dimension were selected to form a global measure (Moynihan et al. 2013; Wright et al. 2013).

Societal impact potential was measured with four items developed by the authors and inspired by Leisink and Steijn’s (2009) PSM-fit and Grant’s (2008) prosocial impact. Instead of the actual impact, they refer to whether it is possible to have an impact. An example is ‘Someone with a job like mine can contribute to solving social problems’. The scale fitted the data well, with only the RMSEA proving unsatisfactory due to one negatively worded item. Nevertheless, we decided to retain it because we considered this item to be important.

Burn-out was measured with five items of the emotional exhaustion dimension using a scale from 1 to 7, from the validated Dutch burn-out scale (Schaufeli & Van Dierendonk 2000)

22 Except in the hospital where the survey was posted on the intranet.

and, after deleting one item, the scale provided a good fit. *Job satisfaction* was measured with a single overall job satisfaction item on a scale from 1 to 5. This one-item measure is often used and has been found to be as reliable as multiple item scales (Wanous et al. 1997).

Table 6.1: Fit measures and reliabilities for the constructs by sample (ρ =Raykov's rho).

	People-changing				People-processing			
	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	ρ	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	ρ
PSM	.964	.946	.055	.760	.972	.957	.047	.752
SIP	.993	.978	.123	.888	.998	.994	.062	.896
Burn-out	.998	.993	.051	.918	.996	.987	.056	.856

Table 6.1 presents the fit indices CFI, TLI and RMSEA for the confirmatory factor analyses in each sample which shows validity of the measures. Moreover, all reliabilities (Raykov's rho) are above .70 and thus indicate the measures are reliable. All items are included in Appendix 1.

Data analysis

We use structural equation modelling in Mplus version 7.11 (Muthén & Muthén 2010-2014) to answer our research questions. This technique is similar to regression in which the shared variance between constructs is analysed, but with the advantage of being able to study two outcomes – in this study burn-out and job satisfaction - simultaneously (Afifi et al. 2004; Kline 2010). We use MLR estimation, because our outcome variables (burn-out and job satisfaction) are skewed and MLR is robust when non normality assumptions are violated.

Since common source bias can be an issue when using mono-method data (Podsakoff et al. 2003), we loaded all the items onto one common factor and compared the fit indices of this model to the fit when all items were loaded onto their corresponding factors. The fit was significantly worse (CFI=.955 to .262; TLI=.945 to .139; RMSEA=.042 to .169) indicating that our results are not severely affected by common source bias (Podsakoff et al. 2003).

To make sure our results are not determined by other related factors, we control for gender, age, education and supervisory position. Three models were estimated. In the first, we analyse the relationship between PSM and burn-out and job satisfaction. In the second model societal impact potential (SIP) is included as moderator and in the third model we test whether both SIP and user logic moderates the relationship by including a three-way interaction. The factor scores used for the interaction are standardized which reduces multicollinearity. Interaction terms often lack significance due to complexity and power issues (Aiken & West 1991). The estimates in the equation cannot be immediately interpreted since an interaction in itself is not a unique entity (Kline 2010). Plotting the interaction can be an aid in interpretation.

6.6 Results

The correlation analysis (see Appendix 2) shows that, in both samples, PSM and societal impact potential are unrelated to burn-out but positively related to job satisfaction. To

examine the interaction between PSM and societal impact potential we now turn to the regression analyses.

People-changing organizations

Table 6.2 provides the results for the people-changing sample. As all independent variables are regressed simultaneously on burn-out and job satisfaction they are shown twice. In Model 1, PSM was not related to burn-out but was positively related to job satisfaction. Adding SIP (Model 2) as a moderator shows that SIP matters at the $p < .1$ significance level for burn-out. The interaction shows that PSM has a positive relationship to risk of burn-out (i.e. highly motivated employees have a higher risk) when SIP is high, but negative when SIP is low. Finally, women and supervisors have a lower burn-out risk and women and lower educated more satisfied.

Table 6.2: Structural equation model for people-changing organizations, unstandardized estimates (stand.).

	Model 1		Model 2	
<i>Burn-out</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>
Gender (1=female)	-.297 (-.117)*	.128	-.278*	.129
Age	-.010 (-.101)*	.005	-.009	.005
Supervisory (1=yes)	-.321 (-.102)*	.140	-.368**	.143
Education	.035 (.028)	.064	.024	.067
PSM	-.006 (-.001)	.287	-.068	.295
SIP	-	-	.090	.100
PSMxSIP	-	-	.761 [^]	.463
<i>Job satisfaction</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>
Gender (1=female)	.170 (.111)*	.074	.212**	.075
Age	.004 (.059)	.003	.004	.003
Supervisory (1=yes)	.130 (.068)	.094	.115	.094
Education	-.066 (-.086)	.035	-.094**	.033
PSM	.371 (.133)*	.176	.170	.173
SIP	-	-	.190***	.060
PSMxSIP	-	-	-.220	.216
R² Burn-out /job satisfaction	.032 / .042		-	
CFI	.951		-	
TLI	.939		-	
RMSEA	.042		-	
N	442		442	

[^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (PSM=Public service motivation; SIP=societal impact potential, SE=standard error)

The interviews with employees in a people-changing organization provided further insights into these dynamics. They indicated how PSM combined with many possibilities to have an impact on society can increase the risk of burn-out. For instance, some school employees tell about colleagues who will call parents at night to talk about student problems, while

hospital employees would tell how they would stay longer to solve patients' problems. In the prison employees indicates they sometimes take problems home with them. The following quote illustrates how high PSM may increase burn-out amongst these employees:

'If you look at our absenteeism, the numbers are very low, which says something about our work ethos. But the other side of the coin is that if we have absenteeism, it is always psychological. It has to do with the basis of our education, in which you have to build a relationship with students and thus [it is] always personal. Employees are very engaged. Colleagues just go on and on and on. It is a power, but also a risk.' - R5, school director

People-processing organizations

Table 6.3 provides the results of the analysis for the people-processing organizations. In Model 1, PSM was found not to be significantly related to burn-out but positively related to job satisfaction. In Model 2 societal impact potential is added as moderator, and we see that the interaction for burn-out is significant. The interaction shows that PSM is positively related to the risk of burn-out (i.e. an employee with high PSM is more likely to burn-out) when SIP is low.

Table 6.3: Structural equation model for people-processing organizations, unstandardized estimates (stand.).

	Model 1		Model 2	
<i>Burn-out</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>
Gender (1=female)	.244 (.113)*	.114	.263*	.114
Age	-.001 (-.013)	.005	-.001	.005
Supervisory (1=yes)	.117 (.039)	.143	.099	.140
Education	.017 (.016)	.059	.018	.058
PSM	.228 (.072)	.232	.193	.241
SIP	-	-	.041	.095
PSMxSIP	-	-	-.740*	.372
<i>Job satisfaction</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>
Gender (1=female)	-.110 (-.080)	.067	-.094	.070
Age	.008 (.127)**	.003	.009**	.003
Supervisory (1=yes)	.113 (.060)	.092	.106	.091
Education	.007 (.010)	.029	.006	.029
PSM	.345 (.172)*	.145	.277 [^]	.149
SIP	-	-	.109*	.055
PSMxSIP	-	-	.263	.170
R² Burn-out / job satisfaction	.019 / .060		-	
CFI	.924		-	
TLI	.906		-	
RMSEA	.045		-	
N	467		467	

[^]p<.1, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001 (PSM=Public service motivation; SIP= societal impact potential, SE=standard error)

Again, the interviews help to interpret these results. Employees from city hall would speak of how they feel frustration when they feel their work is not contributing to society. A quote from a police officer, on how being highly motivated but having no actual impact on society can result in frustration, illustrates these findings:

You know who they [criminals dealing drugs] are and how they are doing it. But we are not doing anything because we have other priorities and too many cases. We cannot do it all. [...] I can understand this on the one hand, but it is just so frustrating. –R33, police officer

The results show that societal impact potential moderates the relationship between PSM and wellbeing, but in different ways in people-changing and people-processing organizations. Thus, a final test is to see whether there is a three-way interaction between PSM, societal impact potential and user logic. This final analysis is done on the whole dataset. Table 6.4 shows the results which indicate that both interactions are significant, but for job satisfaction only at the $p < .1$ level.

Table 6.4: Structural equation model for three-way interaction public service motivation (PSM).

Burn-out	Estimate	SE
Gender (1=female)	-.013	.087
Age	-.005	.004
Supervisory (1=yes)	-.173	.101
Education	.024	.043
Public service motivation	-.129	.293
Societal impact potential	.100	.111
User logic	-.235**	.090
PSMxSIP	.810 [^]	.492
PSMxUL	.342	.378
SIPxUL	-.112	.139
PSMxSIPxUL	-1.425*	.597
Job satisfaction	Estimate	SE
Gender (1=female)	.053	.052
Age	.006**	.002
Supervisory (1=yes)	.112	.066
Education	-.044*	.022
Public service motivation	.234	.152
Societal impact potential	.168**	.056
User logic	-.105*	.051
PSMxSIP	-.206	.207
PSMxUL	.082	.214
SIPxUL	-.031	.075
PSMxSIPxUL	.478 [^]	.278
N	919	

Societal impact potential (SIP) and user logic (UL), unstandardized estimates, [^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$,

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, se=standard error.

To better understand these interactions, both were plotted taking the unstandardized estimates and plotting one standard deviation below and above the mean (Dawson, 2013). Figure 6.3 shows that in people-processing organizations, PSM is positively related to burn-out for those with low societal impact potential in their job, and negatively related for those with high societal impact potential. Thus, those with low opportunities in their job to contribute to society and high PSM are more prone to burn-out than those with high opportunities to contribute. The pattern for the people-changing organizations looks opposite. Here employees with high PSM and high societal impact potential are more prone to risk of burn-out. However, those with low PSM and low societal impact also seem to be at risk of burn-out.

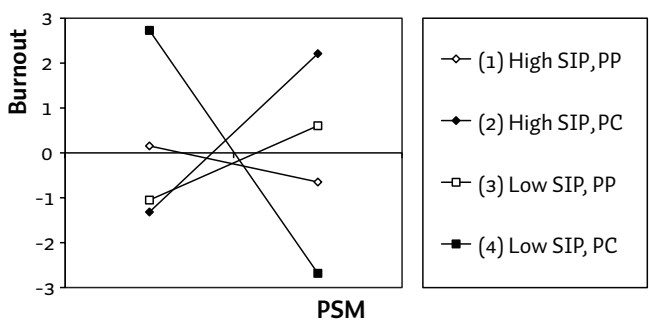


Figure 6.3: Three-way interaction PSM, societal impact potential and user logic on burn-out (factor score), PP = people-processing, PC = people-changing.

Figure 6.4 shows the interaction for job satisfaction. The figure shows all employees are quite satisfied, but that in people-processing organizations PSM is only positively related to job satisfaction if the employees perceive opportunities to contribute to society and if not, there is no relationship. In people-changing organizations the opposite is true; PSM is only positively related to job satisfaction for those who perceive their job as having few opportunities to contribute to society.

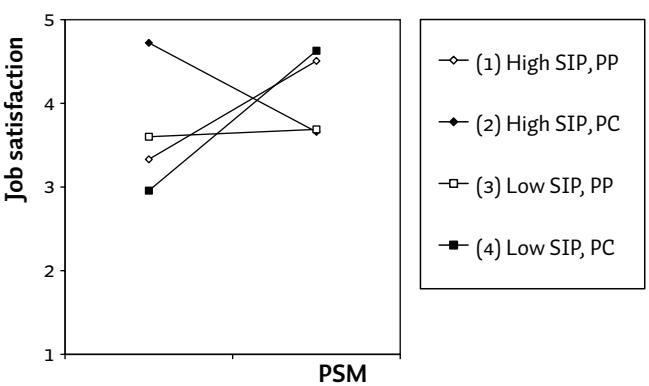


Figure 6.4: Three-way interaction PSM, societal impact potential and user logic on job satisfaction (PP = people-processing, PC = people-changing).

6.7 Discussion

The findings show that the relationship between PSM, burn-out and job satisfaction depends on institutional logics. In comparing people-changing and people-processing organizations, the exact *opposite* interactions were found for burn-out and job satisfaction. In people-changing organizations it appears, in line with Hypothesis 1, that when there are ample opportunities to contribute, a high PSM is more likely to result in overreaching one's resources and capabilities, leading eventually to burn-out (Bakker et al. 2008; Bakker & Demerouti 2006; Maslach et al. 2001). In people-processing organizations, the findings indicate 'frustration' rather than 'overstretching'. Those who are highly motivated to serve society but whose job do not contribute to society become frustrated and disappointed with their work, resulting in higher burn-out (Maslach et al. 2001), in line with Hypothesis 2.

Management influences how employees experience their work and how much effort they put in, and this study shows it is worth paying attention to aspects such as motivation and the job's impact on society as a means of improving public services. Previous research on prosocial motivation (Grant & Campbell 2007) found that employees who perceived a prosocial impact were less likely to suffer burn-out, a finding which we can only support for those working in people-processing organizations. It may be that the societal impact potential is not obvious to employees in such organizations, for instance for a policymaker lacking feedback from beneficiaries or being frustrated by red tape. For these employees one way to increase employee wellbeing could be to invite users to speak about how the work has helped them as users of the service (Grant 2008).

Conversely employees in people-changing organizations may be too involved with their beneficiaries. Perry and Wise (1990) distinguished rational, normative and affective motives, and it could be that excessive affective motivation leads to employees so emotionally involved with their target group (for instance in a school) that they put in too much time and effort and overreach their resources. Here, employees may benefit from discussing how far they should go, for instance in trying to get a troubled student back on track, before passing the problem elsewhere. Since employee wellbeing is positively related to lower turnover and higher performance, public organizations could improve their services through the abovementioned interventions with the goal of maintaining a healthy and productive workforce (Castaing 2006; Grant 2008).

The results show that PSM can have a negative influence on employee wellbeing. As such it can be questioned whether aiming to increase PSM to enhance performance and commitment among employees (Lavigna & Paarlberg 2010) is always fruitful. As Steen and Rutgers (2011) argued, PSM may be a 'double-edged sword' in that it can be a positive force, but potentially also a pitfall for employees and public organizations if there is not a fit between PSM and the environment.

Apart from the influence of PSM, we also found in people-changing organizations that women and supervisors were less prone to burn-out and women were more satisfied, whereas those higher educated were less satisfied. In people-processing organizations, women were more prone to burn-out and older employees more satisfied. We are not sure why the processes are different but it may be related to women more often working part-time, which unfortunately we were unable to control for.

Naturally, there are limitations to this study. First, since we use cross-sectional data we cannot be certain about the causal direction between PSM, job satisfaction and burn-out. The literature used here however suggests placing motivation before employee wellbeing (Bakker et al. 2008; Bakker & Demerouti 2006; Bright 2008; Vandenabeele 2009). Also, the variance in the dependent variables explained was modest in the first model. Other factors such as personal characteristics, skills, goal ambiguity, red tape and client contact may well also explain the wellbeing of public employees. Finally, the categorization in people-changing and people-processing organizations was done by the researchers whereas individual employees may perceive their jobs as the other category.

This study contributes to the field by showing that contextualization is important: without contextualization we would not have found these results. This study shows that the relationship between PSM and employee wellbeing strongly depends on the circumstances in which you do your work. Previous studies have tended to treat public organizations as alike whereas there are many differences between public organizations which may matter for the relationship between PSM and outcomes (Vandenabeele 2008). One could for instance question if the relationship between PSM and employee wellbeing depends on institutional logics and societal impact potential, whether this is also the case for the relationship between PSM and performance.

However, more research is needed to see exactly how institutional logics matter. The found results for job satisfaction were complicated and two different explanations were given; these need to be further investigated which can be done by including more characteristics of the work, or through interviews with employees. One could usefully consider specific characteristics where people-changing and people-processing organizations differ, such as client contact, distance to beneficiaries and positive feedback. Future studies could use these elements to go deeper into these dynamics, or could use longitudinal designs to test the robustness of our results. Finally, we used a global measure of PSM whereas it could be useful to explore the individual dimensions because their relationship may differ (Wright et al. 2013).

6.8 Conclusion

This study provides insight into whether PSM is a bright or a dark force. We have shown that whether PSM is positively or negatively related to job satisfaction and burn-out, controlling for gender, age, education and supervisory position, depends on institutional settings: the user logic (people-processing versus people-changing) and the societal impact potential.

The findings indicate that a contextualized approach to PSM is necessary to understand the dynamics of employee motivation and behaviour. What makes a motivation to serve society increase the risk of burn-out in one context and lower it in another? Future research could pay closer attention to how context co-determines whether PSM is a dark or a bright force, for instance by looking at institutional barriers, the types of tasks and classic public organization characteristics such as role ambiguity.

In terms of management this study shows there is no 'one size fits all', but that public managers should be aware of the message and logic their organization is commu-

nicating to the employees and how this influences their wellbeing. In people-processing organizations it could benefit the organizations to bring employees in closer contact with beneficiaries for instance through citizen participation and on-site visits. In the end, one of the core values of people-processing organizations such as city hall is to remain neutral and distant enough to make a fair judgement and thus some distance will always be part of the work, which means 'expectation management' is evenly important for newcomers. The case of the people-changing organizations shows that customer focus and empathy can also turn against the organization because it can drive highly public service motivated employees over the edge of their abilities. Management can point out the short versus the long run, and emphasize the general welfare as opposed to the individual, in which the general welfare is only helped if employees stay healthy.

To conclude, this study has provided insight on the context-dependency of the relationship between PSM and work outcomes by showing how institutional logic and societal impact potential matter.

Appendix 1: Items

Public service motivation

1. I think it is important to be part of activities aimed at solving social problems.
2. It is important to me to contribute to the common good.
3. I think equal opportunities for citizens are very important.
4. It is important that citizens can rely on the provision of accessible public services.
5. Considering the welfare of others is very important to me.
6. I empathize with other people who face difficulties.
7. I would agree to a good plan to make life better for the poor, even if it costs me money.

Societal impact potential

1. Someone with a job like this contributes to solving societal problems.
2. Someone with a job like mine provides an important contribution to society.
3. Someone with a job like this contributes to creating more equal opportunities for all citizens.
4. In this job it is *not* possible to actually help people. (reversed).

Job satisfaction

1. In general, I am very satisfied with my job.

Burn-out risk

1. When I wake up in the morning and there is another day of work ahead of me, I feel tired.
2. I feel empty at the end of a working day.
3. I feel mentally exhausted because of my work.
4. I think I put too much effort in my work.

Appendix 2: Correlation tables

Table A6.1: Correlations between constructs for people-changing organizations.

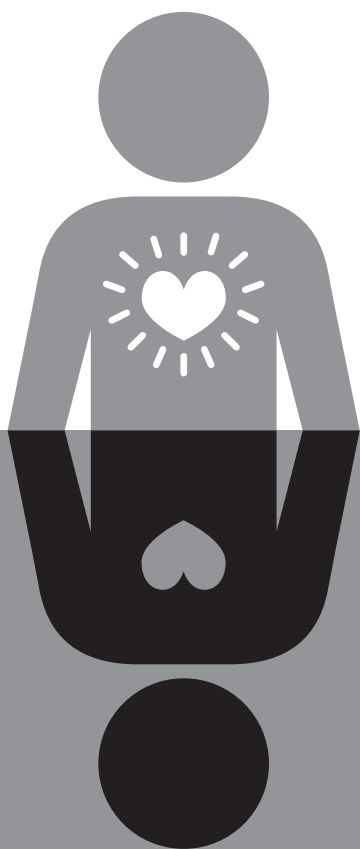
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PSM	-							
2. Burn-out	-.031	-						
3. Job satisfaction	.152**	-.332***	-					
4. SIP	.332***	.046	.164**	-				
5. Gender (1=female)	.064	-.086	.104*	-.169***	-			
6. Age	.036	-.108*	.059	-.023	-.131**	-		
7. Supervisory (1=yes)	.070	-.084*	.055	.135**	-.137**	-.164***	-	
8. Education	.030	.010	-.075	.230***	-.054	.019	.167**	-

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

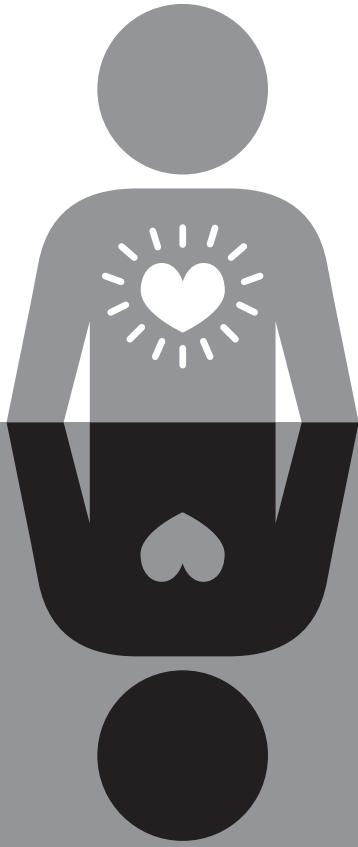
Table A6.2: Correlations between constructs for people-processing organizations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PSM	-							
2. Burn-out	.091	-						
3. Job satisfaction	.186**	-.239***	-					
4. SIP	.218***	.021	.161**	-				
5. Gender (1=female)	.099	.109*	-.075	-.121*	-			
6. Age	.161***	-.006	.155***	-.052	-.036	-		
7. Supervisory (1=yes)	-.005	.018	.096*	-.074	-.186***	.109**	-	
8. Education	.098	.031	.018	.021	.127**	-.060	.063	-

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$



Part II: Addressing three issues



Chapter 7.

Is public service motivation
related to overall and dimensional
work-unit performance as
indicated by supervisors?

Summary

Due to the use of self-reported data and mixed findings, doubts have been raised about the positive relationships found between public service motivation (PSM) and performance. This study aims to provide a robust test of the PSM–performance relationship by using work-unit supervisor ratings, thereby decreasing the risk of common-source bias. Further, this study provides a robustness test by analysing the relationship between PSM and overall performance, as well as with various dimensions thereof (output, efficiency, service outcome, responsiveness and resilience). Survey data on employees in 55 work units of a healthcare organization were analysed using multiple regression. The results indicate that PSM is significantly related to overall performance but, when regressed on the separate dimensions, that PSM is not significantly related to efficiency and responsiveness. The results have implications for both theory and practice as they show that whether PSM relates to performance depends on how performance is conceptualized.

An article based on this chapter is forthcoming:

Van Loon, N.M. Is public service motivation related to overall and dimensional work-unit performance as indicated by supervisors? *International Public Management Journal*

7.1 Introduction

Public service motivation (PSM), motivation to make a meaningful contribution to society, is seen as a valuable resource that public organizations can use to enhance performance (Perry & Wise 1990; Brewer 2008). Individuals with high levels of public service motivation are expected to do well in public jobs because they identify with the values and purpose of the work and, therefore, work harder, put in more effort and provide better quality (Brewer 2008; Vandenabeele 2009). Several empirical studies have found evidence that employees with high PSM score higher in terms of job and organizational performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Brewer & Selden 2000; Bright 2007; Kim 2005; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Naff & Crum 1999; Vandenabeele 2009).

Although this evidence might appear robust, others argue that it is too soon to conclude that PSM is related to performance (Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Wright & Grant 2010). First, because some studies have failed to find a relationship between PSM and performance (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Ritz 2009). Second, many of the studies that did find a relationship may be influenced by common-source bias (Podsakoff et al. 2003; Podsakoff et al. 2012) which might be the cause of the positive relationship (Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Wright & Grant 2010). Most studies on PSM and performance have used self-reporting measures of PSM and performance (with the notable exceptions of Andersen et al. 2014, Andersen & Serritzlew 2012 and Bellé 2013). Common-source bias arises from using the same source (here employees) for gathering information about PSM and about performance. A concern with this is that highly public service motivated employees may think they perform better - or downplay their performance (Podsakoff et al. 2012). Such biases threaten the validity of findings and the conclusions drawn from much PSM research.

It is therefore important to exclude common-source bias as a possible explanation for the PSM–performance relationship. This study aims to contribute to knowledge on this issue by analysing the relationship between employee public service motivation and supervisors' ratings of work-unit performance. Supervisor ratings are an 'other-rated' performance measure, thereby separating the PSM (employees) and performance (supervisors) sources, reducing potential bias significantly (Podsakoff et al. 2012). Knowledge on whether public service motivation is related to work-unit performance is crucial since it is not individual performance but that of the public service which matters. It is therefore important to know whether work units that deliver public services actually benefit from having employees with high PSM for their performance.

However, apart from the potential biases, the mixed findings could also be due to studies measuring either overall or various aspects of performance. Most studies on PSM have used self-reporting on overall performance, and it is unclear what the respondents were considering when rating their performance. Within PSM research a few authors have distinguished different performance dimensions, but have nevertheless gone on to analyse them as a single overall score (Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005). Whether the relationship between PSM and performance depends on the dimension(s) being studied is therefore unclear. Given the specific nature of public service, with multiple goals and stakeholders, the performance of public service providers can be seen as inherently multidimensional (Boyne 2002; Brewer 2006; Walker et al. 2011). Public service providers not only have to

work efficiently, they also have to deliver output, be responsive and treat individuals fairly (Boyne 2002). It could be that work units with employees with high PSM produce high output but are not responsive because they focus on the common interest as opposed to individual client requests. This study therefore analyses the relationship between PSM and both overall and dimensional performance.

Data were collected through an e-mail survey at a healthcare organization in the Netherlands. In total, 1,723 employees and 134 supervisors completed the survey. After aggregation this resulted in 55 work units with sufficient respondents and a supervisor rating to analyse the PSM-performance relationship. Multiple regression analyses were performed for overall and dimensional (output, efficiency, service outcomes, responsiveness and resilience) performance. Next, this article discusses the literature on PSM and its relationship with performance, followed by the model and hypotheses. Then, the adopted methods are discussed and the findings presented. In the discussion and the conclusions sections, the contribution and implications of this study will be highlighted, together with its limitations.

7.2 Public service motivation

Public service motivation is seen as an individual's predisposition to contribute to society (Perry & Wise 1990). Although Rainey (1982) already made note of a desire to engage in meaningful public service, Perry and Wise (1990) provided the first formal definition of PSM by describing it as *'a predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public organizations'* (p.368). All following definitions have a common focus on a motivational drive to contribute to society and to help others. Vandenabeele (2007) integrated several descriptions and defined public service motivation as *'the belief, the values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate'* (p. 549). This definition is used here as it refers to acting according to a logic of appropriateness, indicating that PSM interacts with its institutional environment in determining behaviour.

In terms of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan 2000), PSM is an extrinsic motivation in that it does not necessarily stem from the pleasure of performing the work tasks. Rather, PSM is primarily related to an extrinsic but autonomous drive, originating from a feeling of duty, commitment, or identification with the importance of public service (Vandenabeele 2013). PSM can be seen as an autonomous, external, 'obligation-based' motivation as it is influenced by institutions (Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013).

In an empirical analysis of PSM, Perry (1996) identified four dimensions. First, 'attraction to public policy' refers to a desire to participate in, and work on improving, public services. Second, 'commitment to the public interest' represents a sense of duty and commitment that an individual can feel towards society. Third, 'compassion' refers to an emotional response and identification with others that acts as a driver and, finally, 'self-sacrifice' reflects a general motivation to place societal interests above one's self-interests (Perry 1996). These dimensions are sometimes studied separately but, since individuals have a complex web of motivations which overlap and can change in importance (Brewer et al. 2000; Perry & Wise 1990), PSM is mostly studied as a global concept in which all the

dimensions are taken together or even addressed using a single global scale (Wright et al. 2013).

Studies on the antecedents of and differences in PSM have shown that employees in public organizations usually report higher levels of public service motivation than those employed elsewhere (Houston 2011). Although PSM attracts individuals to public service providers, organizations do not necessarily select staff based on their PSM (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012; Christensen & Wright 2011). Studies have also found that PSM can change over time (Jacobsen et al. 2013; Kjeldsen 2013; Oberfield 2014) and varies between types of public service providers and degrees of professionalism (Kjeldsen 2012). Studies on the effects of PSM have found positive relationships with attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Bright 2008; Kjeldsen & Andersen 2012; Taylor 2008; Vandenabeele 2009), behaviours such as extra-role behaviour, and performance (Bellé 2013; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2006; Naff & Crum 1999) – the subject of this study.

7.3 The relationship between PSM and performance

Perry and Wise (1990) expected a relationship between PSM and performance because those individuals who feel a strong drive to contribute to society would put more effort in their work, consequently performing better. Public service motivated employees would perform better because they are highly committed to their job and the goals of the organization and will therefore be more likely to take an extra step and exert themselves to reach the public mission of the organization (Brewer 2008). Those with high levels of PSM would be more willing to sacrifice their self-interest – in the form of safety, salary and time – to reach the goals of their job (Perry & Wise 1990).

Several studies have found a positive relationship between PSM and job performance (Camilleri & van der Heijden 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009). Others have found that PSM is related to extra-role behaviours such as taking on voluntary tasks (Bellé 2013) and helping colleagues (Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2006). Studies have also found a relationship between PSM and self-reported organizational performance. Brewer and Selden (2000), Kim (2006) and Ritz (2009) for instance found that PSM was positively related to self-reported organizational performance. All found a positive relationship between PSM and organizational performance, but did not take account of the organizational level nor controlled for common source bias. Petrovsky and Ritz (2014), in an attempt to replicate these findings, found that there was no significant relationship between PSM and self-reported performance when controlling for common-source bias.

The Petrovsky and Ritz (2014) findings highlight a prominent issue in studies on the relationship between PSM and performance. The authors argue that common source bias may be the cause of the positive PSM–performance relationship found in many of the studies that use self-reported performance (Petrovsky & Ritz 2014). Common-source bias results in a relationship that can be attributed to the measurement method rather than to the constructs the measures represent (Meier & O’Toole 2013; Podsakoff et al. 2003; Podsakoff et al. 2012). When both motivation and performance information are provided by the same (common) source, the relationship found may be biased for several reasons. For instance,

individuals reporting high levels of motivation may think they are doing well, or indicate a high score because they think it will help further their career (Meier & O'Toole 2013; Podsakoff et al. 2003; Wright & Grant 2010). Similarly, they may think their organization is doing well without being able to accurately estimate how well their organization is functioning.

Some steps have been taken to address this issue concerning the relationship between PSM and *individual* performance. Bellé (2013) used external register data to link PSM to the extra-role behaviour of nurses. However, such behaviours are voluntary and are therefore not able to accurately test whether PSM relates to performance that enhances the provision of public services. Andersen et al. (2014) were the first to use external outcome data, and linked the PSM of teachers with student grades that were provided by an external source. This provided some evidence of a relationship between PSM and outcomes, but more is necessary to safely conclude that public service motivation is related to higher performance.

A common distinction made in assessing performance is between objective and subjective data, where objective data are seen as the gold standard. Objective performance measures are established impartially and the assessment is made without the subject being rated able to influence the outcome (Andrews et al. 2006; Meier & O'Toole 2013; Podsakoff et al. 2003). Others argue that all measures are to some extent biased because all data are registered by someone and there is always someone indicating what good performance is (Brewer 2006). Studies have found that comparable subjective and objective performance measures are related (Andrews et al. 2006; Bommer et al. 1995).

As opposed to seeing measures as purely subjective or objective, they can more accurately be seen as ranging from more-subjective (self-reporting) to more-objective (register data), with many forms between the two extremes, such as ratings from supervisors or clients, and external audits. All measurement types can have a value depending on the purpose of measuring performance (Behn 2003). Not all aspects of performance can be measured objectively, and different sources may hold different, but equally legitimate, opinions of what constitutes good performance. PSM research has mainly used self-reported job performance or self-reported supervisor ratings of individuals, and this raises questions regarding the reliability of the perceived PSM–performance relationship as evidence of such a relationship based on other types of performance data is scarce (Petrovsky & Ritz 2014).

This study aims to provide a more robust test of the relationship between PSM and performance by using supervisor ratings of work-unit performance (Podsakoff et al. 2012). Supervisors are a useful source on work-unit performance because they have to keep a sight on their work unit's performance, receive information on complaints from clients and see financial reports and audits. It is difficult to relate organizational performance to individual characteristics such as PSM due to the external forces present. However, work units are limited in size, organized around a specific task and usually have a supervisor who is positioned close to the employees (Chan 1998). As such, supervisors are well positioned to provide an informed view of their work unit's performance.

Using supervisor ratings greatly reduces the risk of bias since the PSM and performance ratings are provided by different actors. Supervisor ratings are, nevertheless, still subjective in that they amount to a single stakeholder's perspective on performance (Andrews et al. 2011; Bommer et al. 1995; Conway & Huffcutt 1997). Other views, such as

those of the clients, could provide different results because they might emphasize other aspects of performance (such as responsiveness) (Andrews et al. 2011). Studies show that supervisors mostly look at professional knowledge, obedience, motivation and efficacy when rating employees (Bommer et al. 1995; Fox & Bizman 1988). Wright and Grant (2010) argue that supervisors in public organizations may 'have a predilection toward employees with high PSM' (p.695) because such employees express compassion and volunteer for extra work tasks. Christensen et al. (2013) showed empirically that appraisal scores given by supervisors were influenced by the supervisor's own PSM. Our study addresses the potential bias in supervisor ratings in two ways.

First, by studying work-unit performance, the supervisor is not being asked to rate individuals (with high or low levels of PSM) but the collective performance of a group of employees. It is less likely that a bias towards public service motivated employees will play a role in such a rating. Second, as Wright and Grant (2010) indicate, it is important to control for those characteristics of a supervisor that might influence how they rate their work unit. We therefore also assess the public service motivation of supervisors and investigate whether this plays a role. As Christensen et al. (2013) observed, supervisors with high PSM may be more compassionate and therefore provide higher ratings. However, it could equally be that supervisors with high PSM may, like employees, put in more effort and work harder and thus are in charge of work units that perform above average. In both scenarios, high PSM of the supervisor can be expected to be positively related to the performance scores they provide.

Apart from common-source bias, the use of an overall as against dimensional performance measures may also explain differences in the relationships found between PSM and performance. The concern is that overall performance measures may obscure differences in the roles that different dimensions of performance play (Andrews et al. 2011), discussed below.

7.4 Performance as a contextual multidimensional concept

PSM research has mostly used overall performance measures when studying its relationship with performance aspects such as job performance or supervisor ratings (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Naff & Crum 1999; Vandenabeele 2009). Brewer and Selden (2000) did distinguish between efficiency, effectiveness and fairness - but went on to analyse one overall score. When respondents are asked to provide an overall score, it is possible that each thinks of a different aspect of performance: one may emphasize efficiency, another thinks about responsiveness. Overall scores are particularly problematic in a public context because they reduce the various public values that public performance covers to a single overall score.

Performance in a public service provider can be seen as inherently multidimensional due to the different stakeholders and multiplicity of goals that have to be served (Andrews et al. 2006; Boyne 2002; Walker et al. 2011). Sometimes these goals may result in trade-offs with each other (Walker et al. 2011). Public values such as equity, probity and accountability are as important a part of public performance as efficiency and output. Boyne (2002) therefore distinguished outputs (quality and quantity), efficiency, service outcomes (equity,

value-for-money, impact on society), responsiveness (staff, client and citizen satisfaction) and democratic outcomes (fairness, transparency, accountability) to reflect the areas where public organizations are expected to perform. In later research, Andrews et al. (2011) found that management had different influences on these dimensions, suggesting that there may be different antecedents for each dimension.

If performance is indeed multidimensional, it could be that PSM is related differently to each dimension of performance. Moreover, different public contexts may emphasize different dimensions of performance. Municipalities may, for instance, place a high emphasis on equity, probity and fairness, whereas schools may place greater emphasis on responsiveness towards students and parents. It is important to recognize the multidimensional and context-driven nature of performance (Boyne 2002; Vandenabeele et al. 2013) to be able to say whether PSM relates to what type of performance.

The performance of a work unit in a public organization can be defined as that work unit's contribution to achieving the organization's public mission. Using Boyne's (2002) framework to address the multifaceted nature of public performance, work units in a healthcare organization will not only have to produce 'output' (for instance seeing a number of patients) but also to do this efficiently while treating clients equally, providing value for money, being responsive and working transparently. This study was conducted in a healthcare setting that included many types of care and supportive tasks (youth, elderly, homecare, transport etc.) and Boyne's (2002) framework was adjusted to reflect this context. This organization can be typified as human service organizations but unlike hospitals where the purpose is to 'change' clients (i.e. cure them) most of the services in this organization are aimed at 'people-sustaining' (Hasenfeld 1983). Many of the services, such as providing homecare or nursing facilities, are aimed at taking care of the elderly without any expectation of making them better. In such an organization it may be seen as important to divide services equally since the wellbeing of the clients is unlikely to improve whatever the resources. One of Boyne's (2002) dimensions - democratic outcomes - was considered difficult to apply in this context while resilience, achieved by following guidelines, providing safety and working transparently was identified as important by the organization. This aspect is only partly represented in Boyne's (2002) democratic outcomes, and more closely represents Hood's (1991) 'Lambda' value family. The organization studied has safety as one of its core values and it is regularly checked to ensure that it adheres to safety regulations. By renaming the democratic dimension as 'resilience' more emphasis is placed on the importance of safety.

7.5 Aggregation to work unit

To assess the relationship between PSM and work-unit performance, PSM needs to be aggregated to the work-unit level (Bell 2007; George & James 1993; Glew 2009; Meyer & Schermuly 2012). The question then becomes how a work unit's public service motivation is formed from the individuals' PSM scores. The most common approach for determining how to form a higher level variable is to look at the nature of the group and the characteristics of the trait in question (Bell 2007). It is argued that, for higher-level concepts (such as

group cohesion or HR perceptions), considerable agreement within the work unit is necessary because the aim is to tap into a higher-level construct through individual perceptions (Chan 1998; Den Hartog et al. 2011; George & James 1993; James et al. 1984). However, Perry and Wise (1990) describe PSM as an individual predisposition nested in the identity of an individual, not in that of a team or group. Although the public context will influence public service motivation, the latter is carried within individuals. Our aim is not to test whether similarities in PSM influence work-unit performance but whether having employees with high PSM within a work unit is related to higher performance of that work unit (Chan 1998; Glew 2009). As such, consistency within a work unit regarding PSM is irrelevant (Bell 2007; Glew 2009; Meyer & Schermuly 2012).

Further, as opposed to *teams*, in which individuals are dependent on each other in executing their tasks, this study focuses on work units composed of individuals who have a similar supervisor and/or task, but are not necessarily interdependent in performing their tasks (Bell 2007; Chan 1998). The work units consist of care givers, care assistants, nurses, paramedics, or nursing students, and only some of supportive tasks units. All these employees are independent in doing their job, although they do work together on specific tasks. Here, each work-unit member’s PSM contributes to the performance of the work unit without a dependency on the others, and therefore we can speak of an ‘additive model’ (Chan 1998). In such a model within-group agreement is neither relevant nor necessary, and group means are an appropriate measure (Bell 2007; Chan 1998; Glew 2009; Meyer & Schermuly 2012).

7.6 Theoretical model and expectations

Figure 7.1 shows the theoretical model used in this study. Two levels are distinguished; the individual and the work-unit. We expect a positive relationship between PSM and performance based on previous findings regarding public service motivation and performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005; Vandenabeele 2009).

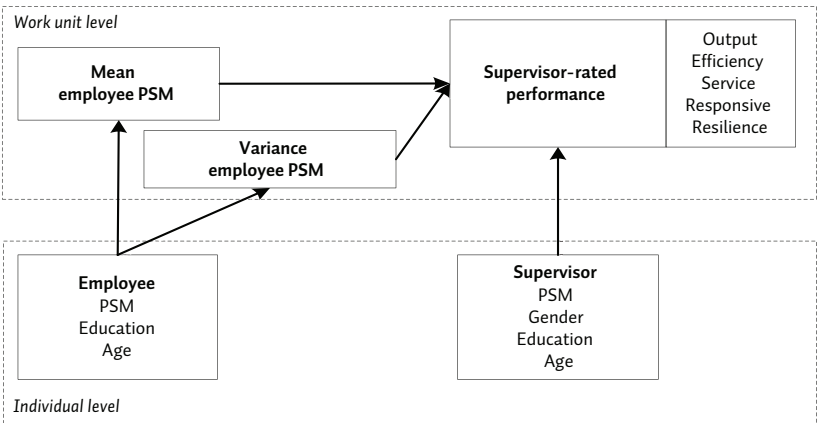


Figure 7.1: Theoretical model of the relationship between PSM and work unit performance.

A work unit which has employees with a high PSM is expected to perform well for two reasons. First, highly public service motivated employees put in more effort and perform better in environments where they can contribute to society (Naff & Crum 1999; Vandennabeele 2009). Further, to deliver good public services and thus uphold public values, it is necessary for employees to identify with this purpose: so, the more public service motivated that employees are, the more likely it is that they will adhere to the public values (Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009). Second, employees with a high PSM have been found to report higher extra-role behaviour and helping their colleagues (Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Pandey et al. 2008). In work units with employees with high levels of PSM it is thus more likely that in a situation where employees are behind in their work, or have been ill, that they will be helped by their colleagues, thus maintaining work-unit performance. In this sense, groups that are diverse in terms of public service motivation can still perform well as a whole because those members with a high PSM can inspire their less public service motivated colleagues to work hard, are likely to offer support and help their colleagues and also put in a lot of effort themselves.

As in other studies, we control for PSM variation within the work unit because having one highly public service motivated employee in a work unit where most employees have a low PSM may skew the mean PSM score (Chan 1998; Meyer & Schermuly 2012). Figure 7.1 shows that the mean score and variance in the PSM of individuals is aggregated to the work-unit level. These two constructs (PSM mean and variance) are regressed on work-unit performance as rated by the supervisor. Based on the above arguments the first hypothesis states:

H1: Mean employee public service motivation in a work unit is positively related to work-unit performance as rated by the supervisor.

Since other individual factors may also influence performance, we control for the average age and education-level of a work unit as proxies for how knowledgeable and capable the employees in the work unit are. Moreover, when using supervisor ratings, it is important to control for supervisor characteristics that may influence how they rate performance since their individual beliefs and orientations may matter (Bommer et al. 1995; Fox & Bizman 1988). We therefore control for the gender, age, education and public service motivation of the supervisor. We specifically address the role of the supervisor's PSM as previous studies have found that having a high PSM may result in supervisors giving higher performance scores (Christensen et al. 2013; Wright & Grant 2010). However, one should not forget that highly public service motivated supervisors may put in more effort and perform better, and therefore their work units may have *earned* better scores. Either way, we would expect that:

H2: A supervisor's PSM is positively related to their work unit's performance score.

Finally, performance is conceptualized as the overall work-unit performance, but various dimensions are also distinguished within overall performance: output, efficiency, service, responsiveness and resilience. We do not develop specific hypotheses regarding these five dimensions since no previous studies have distinguished these dimensions when studying

PSM in this context. Nevertheless, PSM is a motivation aimed at certain goals – those with a societal relevance. It may therefore be that public service motivated employees focus more on some aspects of performance than others. For instance, employees with high PSM may be focused on having a societal impact, and less on whether the client is satisfied. Preliminary evidence exists that general practitioners with high PSM were more likely to guard societal interests in prescribing antibiotics, paying attention to risk of bacterial immunity, and less focused on satisfying patients (Jensen & Andersen 2014). Therefore we would expect PSM to be related differently to the various dimensions, leading to our third, general, hypothesis:

H3: There will be differences in the relationship between a work unit's mean PSM and various dimensions of performance.

7.7 Methods

In this section the setting of this study, data collection, measures and analyses are discussed.

Setting of this study

This study was conducted in a healthcare organization in the Netherlands. The organization is a 'chain-healthcare organization' that provides multiple types of care, from baby-care to elderly care. The organization is constituted as a foundation (private legal position, but no profit motive) and has over 6,000 employees spread over a large part of the Netherlands. Their income is formed by state subsidies, healthcare insurances and citizens paying directly for their services. The organization provides hospital care, living facilities, homecare, elderly care, youth healthcare, birth care and psychological care. In this study, the hospital component was not included as this was seen as a separate part of the organization, but employees in all the other fields were. The population mostly consisted of 'helping' or 'nursing' employees working on elderly care or homecare, with others working in youth care, as health coordinators, hosting employees, or as transport, facilities and supportive staff.

Data collection

The data were collected through an e-mail survey. The organization provided a list of all supervisors and their work-unit names. At the start of the survey among the employees, each respondent was asked to identify their organizational position through their supervisor's name and, as a control, their work unit. Employees and supervisors received the same survey, but supervisors received an additional part in which they had to rate their work unit's performance. Only supervisors could enter this part of the survey. A total of 1,723 employees completed the survey, equivalent to 34% of those who received an e-mail (Not all e-mail addresses were valid). Of the supervisors, 134 completed the questionnaire but only 99 filled in the full survey. Of these unfortunately not all provided information necessary to link them to the responses of their own work unit employees and several of these responses (29) were of supervisors of the same work unit. After correcting for this a total of 55 work units could be analysed.

The vast majority of respondents were female (93.2%). Of the work units analysed 41 consisted fully of women. The average age of the respondents was 43 and their average tenure 9 years. The most common educational level was MBO (vocational education). Most respondents described themselves as either a 'nursing assistant' or as a 'care assistant', two common functions in homecare facilities. The sample was a good representation of the entire employee population as, organization-wide, 92% of staff were women, the most common educational level was vocational and the average tenure 9 years. The average age differed slightly, with the organization-wide average being 41 years. The work units included in the analyses were mostly concerned with homecare or elderly care, although a few supporting work units, such as transport, were involved. Among the work units most, 48.3% (28 teams) consisted of nursing assistants, care assistants (19.0%, 11 work units), paramedical employees (8.6%, 5 work units) and nurses (5.3%, 3 work units).

Measures

Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) using Mplus v7.11 were carried out to test whether the items used for measuring public service motivation and performance adequately represented their respective constructs. We used MLR estimation since this estimator is robust when data are not normally distributed (Muthén & Muthén 2010-2014)²³. The main findings regarding the measures are discussed below. All items, loadings and reliabilities can be found in Appendix 1.

To measure *public service motivation*, the survey included items from Kim et al.'s (2013) scale, as well as some other items from scales that better suited our context (Andersen et al. 2011; Kjeldsen 2013; Perry 1996). After deleting items with low factor loadings, a four-dimensional model, including attraction to public service, commitment to public values, compassion and self-sacrifice, fitted the data well (CFI=.967, TLI=.953, RMSEA=.038, df=38, $n=1,694$). This model included two items for attraction to public service, three for commitment to public values, three for compassion and three for self-sacrifice. As in other studies on PSM, some item loadings were low, but all were significant. The mean of the factor scores on the dimensions formed the overall PSM score used in the subsequent analysis. It was decided to use an overall score as this gives equal weight to each of the dimensions, equating employees who for instance score high on compassion with those who score high on commitment to public values, as has been done in multiple other studies (Wright et al. 2013). The reliability of the PSM scale was good ($\rho=.882$, $\alpha=.768$). *Work-unit performance* was measured by asking the supervisors how well they thought their work unit was doing on 14 elements using a scale from 1 (bad) to 7 (excellent). The elements

23 In assessing the fit of constructs, multiple fit indices should be simultaneously considered (Kline 2010). Here, three fit indices, CFI, TLI and RMSEA, were evaluated. CFI and TLI values above 0.90 indicate acceptable fit, and above .95 an excellent fit. RMSEA values below .10 indicate acceptable fit, and below .08 an excellent fit (Byrne 2012; Hu & Bentler 1999; Kline 2010). Cronbach's alpha is often used to assess reliability and therefore also reported here. However, when using factor scores, Raykov's rho is a more suitable reliability measure (Bacon et al. 1995; Raykov 2009). We report both indices and, in both cases, values above 0.70 reflect acceptable reliability.

included efficiency, responsiveness, quality, development, transparency, safety and providing value for money. The selection of these elements was based on Boyne’s (2002) dimensions of public performance and the organization’s own ideas of what constituted performance. The scores for the different elements were combined into one overall score by computing the mean score per work unit as a measure of overall performance. The 14 items together had a reliability of $\alpha=.911$ and are displayed in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: *Items for overall performance.*

Overall work-unit performance ($\alpha=.911$) <i>How would you rate your work unit on the following aspects?</i>
1. Safety in the work
2. Quality of the work
3. Efficiency
4. Responsiveness towards clients
5. Equal treatment
6. Contribution to wellbeing clients
7. Developing skills and work processes
8. Giving clients and society value for money
9. Being prepared for unexpected calamities
10. Compliance of safety regulations
11. Transparency in work processes
12. Timeliness in finishing the tasks
13. Doing something ‘extra’ for the organization out of free will
14. Keeping an eye on the impact of the work on society as a whole

Although theoretically it would be best if a work unit scores highly on all elements, Boyne’s (2002) framework suggests that there might be trade-offs between different aspects of performance (such as efficiency vs quality). Moreover, it may be that the dimensions have different causes (Andrews et al. 2011). To analyse whether this is the case, items were grouped into those describing output, efficiency, service outcomes, responsiveness or resilience. Since not all items (such as development) could be placed within the framework, some items were excluded. Two items reflected output by assessing quality (item 2) and timeliness (12). Only one item reflected efficiency (3). Two items referred to service outcomes as they concerned equal treatment (5) and impact on society (14). Being responsive to clients (4) and contributing to client wellbeing (6) referred to responsiveness. Finally, safety (1), compliance of safety regulations (10) and transparency (11) were grouped under resilience. Excluding efficiency, because it consisted of only one item and can therefore not be estimated, a CFA on the supervisor data ($n=134$) showed that the five-dimensional model had a good fit (CFI=.957, TLI=.926, RMSEA=.089, $df=21$). Factor loadings for all the dimensions were good and significant. Reliability was good, and only output had a low Cronbach’s alpha ($\alpha=.590$), but a good Raykov’s rho ($\rho=.700$).

We controlled for the age and education of employees, as well as the age, education and gender of supervisors.²⁴

Data analyses

The work-unit size varied from 4 to 20 employees. Work units in which less than two employees responded were excluded from the analysis to retain as many work units as possible for the analysis, while making sure each work unit analysed had more than one respondent. To aggregate the individual employee characteristics to the work-unit level, SPSS v16 aggregation was used. As such, individual PSM, age and education scores were aggregated for all the respondents from a work unit to compute the work-unit average. These averages were then used in the regression analysis. The variance of the work unit respondents' PSM was also saved.

Having created an aggregated work-unit level file for employees, supervisor data were added. Unfortunately not all supervisors provided the necessary information to link them with their work unit. Moreover, several work units (29) had more than one supervisor (due to having multiple shifts and large numbers of part-time workers). In such cases, the average score of the supervisors was taken. To control for the possibility that personal characteristics determine how supervisors evaluate their own work unit, their PSM, age, educational level and gender were included in the analysis. Linking the work units with more than one respondent with the supervisor responses resulted in 55 work units that had scores for both PSM and performance. Since this is a rather small N, the power of the analysis is somewhat low²⁵. Consequently, the significance of relationships will be judged at the $p < .10$, $p < .05$ and $p < .01$ levels.

The analyses were carried out using the multiple regression routines in SPSS, entering the variables in four steps. In the first model, only the supervisor's individual characteristics are included and these are regressed on the performance score. In the second model, the supervisors PSM score is also included. The third model includes the aggregated mean PSM scores and their variances to test if, after controlling for the supervisor's characteristics, PSM influences performance. In the final model, the aggregated work-unit characteristics are added as control variables.

24 Since almost no work units had one or more male respondents, and most employees were female, gender was not included as a control variable on the employee level. Analyses including a dummy for gender, distinguishing work units without male respondents ($n=41$) and those with, showed no significant differences in findings.

25 For this study, power is .75 when expecting an effect size of .30, 8 predictors and an $\alpha < .05$. With an effect size of .10, the power drops to .28. With $\alpha < .10$ and an expected effect size of .10, the power is .41 (Soper 2014). As PSM's effect size has been found to range between small and medium, the power of this study is low.

7.8 Results

Table 7.2 shows the mean scores for both overall performance and its dimensions. An analysis of the descriptives indicated that the average overall performance (as evaluated by the work-unit supervisors) was between 'satisfactory' and 'good'. On average, the work units scored highest on responsiveness and lowest on efficiency. The correlations show that the mean work-unit PSM is significantly related to overall performance at the $p < .10$ level. In terms of the performance dimensions, PSM is significantly related to output and resilience. All the work-unit performance dimensions are significantly and strongly correlated with overall work-unit performance, as well as with each other. Further, there was also a (negative) correlation between supervisor age and work-unit performance, indicating that older supervisors rate their work unit performance lower.

The relationship between work-unit employee PSM and overall performance

Table 7.3 shows the results of the regression of PSM on to overall work-unit performance. Model 1 includes the characteristics of the supervisor and it appears that older supervisors tend to give lower performance scores. Model 2 showed that the supervisor's PSM was not significantly related to the overall rating. Together, supervisor characteristics explain 5% of the performance rating.

Model 3 adds the mean score and the variance in PSM. The analysis shows that the mean PSM score is positively related to overall performance. If the variance in PSM is positively/negatively correlated with performance, this would suggest that work units with higher/lower variation in individual PSM scores perform better/worse than those where employees have similar levels of PSM. However, the analysis suggests that the variance in PSM scores does not influence performance. In this model, unlike in Model 2, the supervisor's PSM is also positively related to performance: supervisors with high PSM tend to give higher scores. The explained variance of this model is 11.3%. In the fourth and final model, age and education are added as control variables. Although this decreased the model's fit, the relationship between PSM and performance remains positive and significant.

Table 7.2: Means, standard deviations (SD) and correlations between variables. \diamond =factor score.

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 Mean PSM in unit \diamond	0.00	0.11	1													
2 Variance PSM in unit	0.38	0.11	-0.16	1												
3 Overall performance	4.73	0.56	0.233 [^]	.006	1											
4 Output	4.70	0.60	.301 [*]	-.035	.867 ^{**}	1										
5 Efficiency	4.38	0.66	.158	.136	.573 ^{**}	.557 ^{**}	1									
6 Service	4.57	0.66	-.015	-.018	.753 ^{**}	.582 ^{**}	.269 [*]	1								
7 Responsiveness	5.03	0.75	.192	-.030	.861 ^{**}	.690 ^{**}	.440 ^{**}	.669 ^{**}	1							
8 Resilience	4.72	0.63	0.237 [^]	-.013	.873 ^{**}	.735 ^{**}	.436 ^{**}	.607 ^{**}	.709 ^{**}	1						
9 Mean age in unit	42.18	4.94	.287 [*]	.137	-.122	-.027	.103	-.217	-.034	-.143	1					
10 Mean education in unit	4.19	0.69	-.043	-.159	-.054	-.077	-.096	.155	-.036	-.091	-.014	1				
11 Supervisor age	47.74	8.42	.099	.031	-.293 [*]	-.149	-.068	-.458 ^{**}	-.221	-.311 [*]	.312 [*]	-.037	1			
12 Supervisor education	4.57	1.26	-.057	-.164	-.005	.101	-.100	0.254 [^]	-.072	-.072	.070	0.255 [^]	-.077	1		
13 Supervisor gender	-	-	-.172	-.185	-.009	.034	.087	.160	-.028	-.086	.174	.342 [*]	.077	.422 ^{**}	1	
14 Supervisor PSM \diamond	0.16	0.26	-.147	.069	.149	.054	.207	.157	.085	.005	-.034	-.087	.196	0.246 [^]	.105	1

[^] $p < .1$; ^{*} $p < .05$, ^{**} $p < .01$

Table 7.3: Regression analysis for overall work-unit performance: standardized (unstd.) estimates.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	(5.689)	.554	(5.885)	.563	(6.163)	.609	(6.512)	.944
SV age	-.286 (-.019)*	.009	-.335 (-.022)*	.009	-.389 (-.026)	.009	-.360 (-.024)*	.010
SV education	-.024 (-.011)	.067	-.079 (-.036)	.068	-.108 (-.049)	.066	-.105 (-.047)	.069
SV gender	.008 (.012)	.217	.015 (.021)	.215	.072 (.105)	.215	.097 (.141)	.231
SV PSM			.210 (.457)	.306	.275 (.598) [^]	.302	.264 (.576) [^]	.311
WU mean PSM					.310 (1.560)*	.678	.339 (1.709)*	.724
WU var. PSM					-.042 (-.221)	.694	-.021 (-.112)	.726
WU mean age							-.101 (-.012)	.017
WU mean educ.							-.001 (.000)	.117
F	1.495		1.708		2.151		1.618	
R²	.081		.120		.212		.220	
Adjusted R²	.027		.050		.113		.084	
N (work units)	55		55		55		55	

SV=supervisor, WU=work unit, [^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The relationship between work-unit PSM and dimensions of performance

As a second step, the overall performance score was broken down into five separate scores for output, efficiency, service, responsiveness and resilience, as described earlier, and the regression models repeated for all five dimensions separately. Table 7.4 shows the results for the output dimension of performance. Whereas the supervisor characteristics do not seem to influence output scores (Models 1 and 2), it appears that the mean work-unit PSM is positively and significantly related to work-unit output, and this relationship remains significant when adding the control variables in Model 4. The models explain up to 3.3 % of the variance between work units in output.

Table 7.4: Regression analysis for **output**: standardized (unstd.) estimates.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	(4.973)	.613	(5.009)	.637	(5.312)	.684	(5.970)	1.06
SV age	-.129 (-.009)	.010	-.138 (-.010)	.010	-.199 (-.014)	.010	-.172 (-.012)	.011
SV education	.088 (.042)	.074	.078 (.038)	.077	.047 (.023)	.075	.066 (.032)	.077
SV gender	-.002 (-.004)	.240	-.001 (-.002)	.243	.066 (.103)	.241	.111 (.174)	.259
SV PSM			.037 (.086)		.108 (.252)	.339	.087 (.205)	.349
WU mean PSM					.347(1.881)*	.762	.374 (2.024)*	.811
WU var. PSM					-.033 (-.185)	.780	-.020 (-.110)	.814
WU mean age							-.100 (-.012)	.019
WU mean educ							-.083 (-.073)	.131
F	.453		.348		1.305		1.037	
R²	.026		.027		.140		.153	
Adjusted R²	-.031		-.051		.033		.005	
N Work units	55		55		55		55	

SV=supervisor, WU=work unit, [^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 7.5 shows the results for the efficiency dimension. Supervisors with a high PSM tend to give higher efficiency scores, but mean work-unit PSM is not significantly related to efficiency. The overall model explains 4% of the variance in efficiency between the work units.

Table 7.5: Regression analysis for **efficiency**: standardized (unstd.) estimates.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	5.091	.634	5.341	.641	5.296	.711	4.984	1.11
SV age	-.070 (-.005)	.010	-.126 (-.009)	.011	-.172 (-.013)	.011	-.191 (-.014)	.011
SV education	-.210 (-.106)	.077	-.273 (-.137) [^]	.078	-.283 (-.143) [^]	.077	-.288 (-.145) [^]	.080
SV gender	.167 (.272)	.249	.175 (.284)	.244	.240 (.390)	.251	.220 (.358)	.271
SV PSM			.239 (.585) [^]	.348	.277 (.676) [^]	.352	.285 (.697) [^]	.364
WU mean PSM					.230 (1.299)	.792	.210 (1.185)	.848
WU var. PSM					.090 (.527)	.811	.076 (.447)	.851
WU mean age							.071 (.009)	.020
WU mean educ.							.011 (.010)	.137
F	.763		1.296		1.371		1.015	
R²	.043		.094		.146		.150	
Adjusted R²	-.013		.021		.040		.002	
N Work units	55		55		55		55	

SV=supervisor, WU=work unit, [^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

In Table 7.6, the regression analysis for the service outcome dimension is shown. Models 1 and 2 show that only supervisor age is (negatively) related to service outcome scores. In Model 3, which includes the mean and the variance of the employees' PSM scores, the supervisor's PSM becomes significantly related to service. On adding the control variables in model 4, the mean employee PSM becomes positively related to the supervisor work unit service outcome score at the $p < .10$ level. The model explains 4.1% in variance on service outcome.

Table 7.6: Regression analysis for service outcome: standardized (unstd.) estimates.

	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	5.720	.668	5.945	.681	6.226	.755	6.062	1.15
SV age	-.233 (-.019) [^]	.011	-.281 (-.022) [^]	.011	-.321 (-.026) [*]	.011	-.284 (-.023) [^]	.012
SV education	-.035 (-.019)	.081	-.088 (-.047)	.083	-.111 (-.059)	.082	-.141 (-.076)	.084
SV gender	.002 (.004)	.262	.008 (.015)	.260	.050 (.086)	.266	.037 (.064)	.282
SV PSM			.202 (.524)	.370	.252 (.654) [^]	.374	.261 (.676) [^]	.379
WU mean PSM					.234 (1.405)	.840	.276 (1.654) [^]	.881
WU var. PSM					-.045 (-.281)	.861	-.004 (-.027)	.884
WU mean age							-.122 (-.017)	.021
WU mean educ.							.173 (.168)	.142
F	.978		1.249		1.355		1.288	
R²	.054		.091		.145		.183	
Adjusted R²	-.001		.018		.038		.041	
N Work units	55		55		55		55	

SV=supervisor, WU=work unit, [^] $p < .1$, ^{*} $p < .05$, ^{**} $p < .01$, ^{***} $p < .001$.

Table 7.7 shows the results for the responsiveness dimension of performance and these suggest that there is no significant relationship between work-unit PSM and responsiveness. The models are not significant, indicating that the variables are not successful in explaining responsiveness scores.

Table 7.7: Regression analysis for *responsiveness*: standardized (unstd.) estimates.

	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	6.260	.750	6.392	.771	6.811	.841	6.426	1.35
SV age	-.220 (-.019)	.012	-.246 (-.021) [^]	.013	-.276 (-.024) [^]	.013	-.281 (-.024) [^]	.013
SV education	-.105 (-.062)	.089	-.134 (-.079)	.092	-.156 (-.092)	.091	-.169 (-.100)	.095
SV gender	-.003 (-.005)	.288	.002 (.004)	.290	.034 (.065)	.297	.012 (.023)	.323
SV PSM			.116 (.323)	.407	.170 .473	.410	.181 (.504)	.425
WU mean PSM					.227 (1.448)	.925	.221 (1.414)	1.00
WU var. PSM					-.106 (-.704)	.943	-.104 (-.692)	.991
WU mean age							.021 (.003)	.024
WU mean educ.							.069 (.074)	.164
F	.924		.846		1.119		.832	
R²	.054		.066		.127		.131	
Adjusted R²	-.004		-.012		.013		-.027	
N Work units	55		55		55		55	

SV=supervisor, WU=work unit, [^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Finally, the regression analysis for the resilience dimension is shown in Table 7.8. Models 1 and 2 indicate that supervisor age is negatively related to resilience. Model 3 suggests that mean work-unit PSM is positively and significantly related to resilience. This relationship remains significant after adding the control variables in Model 4. The model explains up to 8.3% of variance in resilience.

Table 7.8: Regression analysis for *resilience*: standardized (unstd.) estimates.

	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	6.064	.618	6.143	.640	6.435	.700	7.108	1.081
SV age	-.306 (-.023)*	.010	-.323 (-.025)*	.011	-.372 (-.028)**	.010	-.335 (-.025)*	.011
SV education	-.094 (-.048)	.075	-.114 (-.058)	.078	-.141 (-.071)	.076	-.129 (-.065)	.079
SV gender	-.031 (-.051)	.242	-.029 (-.048)	.244	.023 (.038)	.247	.066 (.109)	.265
SV PSM			.075 (.185)	.348	.134 (.331)	.347	.116 (.284)	.356
WU mean PSM					.282 (1.605)*	.779	.319 (1.818)*	.828
WU var. PSM					-.042 (-.245)	.798	-.018 (-.105)	.831
WU mean age							-.133 (-.017)	.020
WU mean educ.							-.043 (-.040)	.134
F	1.95		1.519		1.813		1.429	
R²	.103		.108		.185		.199	
Adjusted R²	.051		.037		.083		.060	
N Work units	55		55		55		55	

Significance: [^] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 7.9 provides an overview of the results regarding the relationship between supervisor PSM, mean employee PSM and supervisor rated performance. Mean employee PSM is significantly related to overall work-unit performance, supporting Hypothesis 1. The results also provide support for Hypothesis 2: supervisors with high levels of PSM provide higher work-unit performance scores. However, when disaggregated into five dimensions, the supervisor's PSM is only related to the efficiency and the service outcome dimensions. Employee PSM within the work unit is related to output, service outcomes and democratic outcomes, but not to efficiency and responsiveness. These findings support Hypothesis 3: that the individual dimensions of performance can have different relationships with PSM. These results and their implications are discussed in the next section.

Table 7.9: Summary of the significance of the relationships between PSM and performance.

Performance measure	Mean employee PSM	Supervisor PSM
Overall performance	$p < .05$	$p < .1$
Output	$p < .05$	Not significant
Efficiency	Not significant	$p < .1$
Service outcomes	$p < .1$	$p < .1$
Responsiveness	Not significant	Not significant
Resilience	$p < .05$	Not significant

7.9 Discussion

What do these results tell us about the relationship between PSM and performance? First, it appears that work-unit performance, when analysed as overall score, is higher for those work units that having employees with high PSM. Petrovsky and Ritz (2014) questioned whether the positive relationship generally found between PSM and performance is due to common-source bias. This study shows that even when using performance measures from a different source, a positive relationship between PSM and performance is found. Although this is an important contribution, this study also shows that when refining overall performance and testing individual dimensions, that mean work-unit PSM is not significantly related to all the dimensions. This suggests that, rather than common-source bias, it may be measuring different aspects of performance that leads to differences in results.

The analyses show that mean work-unit PSM is positively related to output, societal outcome and resilience in this study. This corroborates findings of previous studies that found a relationship between PSM and perceptions of effort, compliance and probity (Choi 2004; Frank and Lewis 2004; Kim 2006; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009). Nevertheless, the variance in performance explained by PSM of the work unit employees was low and thus other aspects such as resources, abilities, working together, and opportunities will likely also play a role for work unit performance.

No significant relationship was found between mean work-unit PSM and either efficiency or responsiveness, although the coefficients were positive. Within this particular

setting of healthcare, efficiency may not be the most obvious way to contribute to society in the eyes of the employees. Ritz (2009) and Petrovsky and Ritz (2014) also failed to find a relationship between PSM and self-perceived organizational efficiency. It is difficult to define efficiency, generally seen as some sort of input–output ratio, in a healthcare setting because output is hard to pin down. In a sense, efficiency is a questionable performance dimension because defining efficiency involves relating it to one of the other dimensions, such as when comparing financial input to quality or responsiveness. Another explanation could be that, in the Dutch healthcare system, recent downsizing and personnel cuts have had a major impact on employees. This study suggests that work units with highly public service motivated employees do not prioritize efficiency. It may also be that other aspects such as training, experience, teamwork and workload determine the efficiency of work units.

The results regarding responsiveness can be explained in several ways. Most of the employees sampled provided services to the elderly or delivered home care, situations in which an equal division of services may be more important than responsiveness (Hasenfeld 1983). A different explanation is that responsiveness is better explained by other types of motivation such as user orientation (Andersen & Kjeldsen 2012). For instance, Jensen and Andersen (2013) found that doctors with high user-orientated motivation were more focused on client satisfaction than those with high PSM who instead focused on societal outcomes. In terms of measurement, it might be difficult for supervisors to accurately estimate the responsiveness of their work units as this is an individual element that is perhaps better rated directly by clients (Andrews et al. 2011). A further possibility is that there could be trade-offs between the various dimensions in this particular setting (Boyne 2002).

Despite their non-significance, these results are an important contribution to the PSM literature because they point towards a potential cause for the different findings on the relationship between PSM and performance. This study shows that PSM can have a stronger relationship with some dimensions of performance than with others. It is therefore important for researchers to be clear about which dimensions of performance they are interested in, and measuring, for which Boyne's (2002) framework can be useful. When employees or supervisors are asked to rate overall performance, it remains unclear what they are taking into account when judging – is it output, responsiveness or service outcomes? Although overall performance measures can be useful, especially when wanting to compare different domains or jobs, it is important to look at the specificity of the context and how dominant public values might influence performance ratings. Alternatively, one could develop context-specific measurement scales that are sensitive to the tasks set for the specific public service provider.

This study has been able to provide a first step in disentangling the relationship between PSM and various dimensions of performance in a healthcare setting. It may be that PSM relates to certain dimensions of performance in a healthcare context, but to other dimensions in, for instance, a municipality or a school. We believe it is important for future research to include the context to unravel how, when and where public service motivation is related to performance.

With regard to supervisor ratings, it appears that supervisors with a high PSM do indeed give higher work-unit ratings. It could be that these supervisors have higher levels of compassion and are therefore 'softer' in their judgment on their work unit (Christensen

et al. 2013; Wright & Grant 2010) or that they are more transformational and better at inspiring their employees to perform well (Paarlberg & Lavigna 2010). Unfortunately, seeking the cause for this finding was beyond the scope of this study. Our final finding was that older supervisors gave lower scores, and it may be that their greater experience makes them more critical of their work unit's performance.

The results of this study need to be viewed in the light of its limitations. First, only a limited number of work units could be analysed ($n=55$). Despite the consequent low power of this study, we were still able to identify a significant relationship between PSM and performance. Second, we analysed the PSM–performance relationship in only one context, a healthcare organization, which is far from representative of all public organizations. However, by studying a single organization we could ensure that the supervisors had a common frame on which they rated their work units. Moreover, by studying just one organization, differences between work units were not due to different rules or guidelines between organizations.

The data were collected at one point in time, limiting us to being able to say that a relationship exists between mean work-unit PSM and performance but not being able to indicate causality. Theory suggests that the expected direction is that motivation leads to performance (Perry & Wise 1990), and therefore this study followed that line. In reality insight in high performance and with that the impact on society can also lead to higher motivation (Grant 2008).

The dimensions distinguished here followed Boyne's (2002) framework as closely as was possible. A drawback was that there was only one item referring to efficiency. Further, supervisor ratings amount to a single opinion on the performance of a work unit. Other stakeholders, such as clients, may have different and equally valid views on the performance of a work unit (Andrews et al. 2010) but, unfortunately, we did not have access to such data. Nevertheless, supervisor ratings are an other-rated performance measure, one that provides insight in one piece of the performance puzzle.

This study makes three major contributions to the literature on public service motivation. First, it has shown that the relationship between the PSM of employees in a work unit and the overall performance is positive and significant when using supervisor ratings to evaluate overall performance. Second, it has shown that it is important to distinguish between the different dimensions of performance when analysing its relationship with PSM. We studied five dimensions and only three (output, service and resilience) had a significant relationship with work-unit PSM, indicating that future studies should pay attention to which aspects of performance they are measuring. Third, it shows that it is important to view performance as a context-sensitive construct and that in a public context it includes several public values. When studying performance as such, it appears that public service motivation has a bearing on performance aspects such as the impact on society, safety, transparency and quality.

Future studies could further unravel the mechanisms through which PSM leads to higher work-unit performance. This study was limited in terms of the variables it could assess due to the small sample, and larger studies could investigate the role of person–environment fit (Bright 2007; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005; Leisink & Steijn 2009). For instance, a fit with the supervisor due to their transformational leadership style (Paarlberg & Lavigna

2010) might lead to higher synergy in the work unit, resulting in higher performance. Moreover, this study was carried out in a sector with high societal impact, healthcare, and in other contexts the impact on society may be less clear, reducing the impact of PSM on performance (Leisink & Steijn 2009). Future studies could also attempt to triangulate a range of sources of performance ratings, such as inspection and client satisfaction survey data, to provide a more encompassing view on performance (Andrews et al. 2011).

The results of this study have implications for public organizations. Creating a culture in which the importance of public service and contributing to society has a central role can be beneficial for work-unit performance. PSM within organizations can be influenced through socialization and management incentives (Jacobsen et al. 2013; Oberfield 2014). Bellé (2013) and Grant (2008) for instance showed that contact with beneficiaries can lead to higher public service motivation, and Bellé (2013) further showed that this contact interacted with PSM and led to higher individual performance when it came to voluntary tasks. It is however important to identify the dimensions of performance that a work unit should aim for as, in this study, PSM was only significantly related to certain dimensions of performance. For public service motivated employees to perform well, the ‘why’ questions needs to be clearly answered: why do we need to work efficiently, and why is responsiveness important for society?

7.10 Conclusion

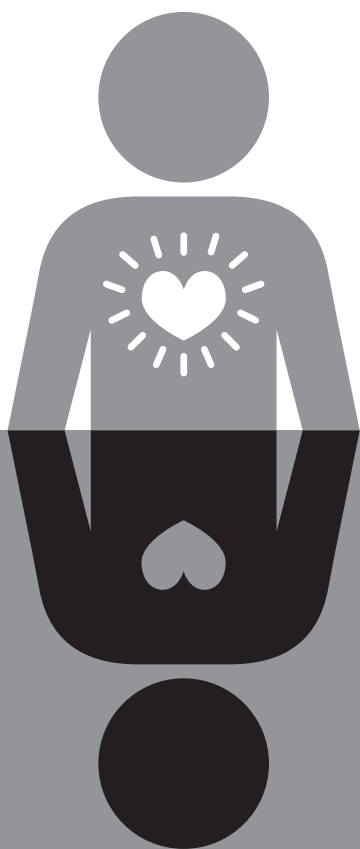
Current understanding of the relationship between PSM and performance is hampered by the suspicions of common-source bias due to the widespread reliance on self-reported performance data. This study used supervisor ratings of work-unit performance and, as such, provides a robust test for the relationship between PSM and performance. Moreover, the relationships between PSM and both overall performance and dimensions thereof were analysed to investigate whether using overall performance hides differing relationships between PSM and dimensions of performance. This study analysed whether PSM was related to five dimensions of performance: output, efficiency, service outcomes, responsiveness and resilience. The results showed that mean work-unit PSM (aggregated for the employee PSM scores within a work unit) is, even after controlling for supervisor characteristics such as their PSM, positively and significantly related to overall performance. Analysing the PSM-performance relationship on a dimensional level revealed that PSM is not significantly related to efficiency or responsiveness. This study therefore concludes that PSM research needs to be clear as to the type(s) of performance being measured as this may have implications for the relationship found. The value for practice is that these results show that PSM may be related to some dimensions of performance but not necessarily all.

Appendix 1: Items, factor loadings and reliability

Table A7.1: Results of confirmatory factor analyses PSM and performance dimensions.

Construct	Fl.	se	p
Public Service Motivation ($\rho=.882$; $\alpha=.768$)			
Attraction to Public Policy			
I get energy from thinking about how I can improve public service delivery.	.763	.036	.000
I enjoy discussing politics and policy issues with others.	.554	.031	.000
Commitment to the Public Interest			
It is important for me to contribute to the common good.	.637	.028	.000
I think it is important to take part in activities aimed at solving societal problems.	.632	.027	.000
I see it as my responsibility to contribute to society as a whole.	.617	.027	.000
Compassion			
I empathize with others that are in a difficult situation.	.590	.030	.000
I am often reminded by daily events of how dependent we are on each other.	.486	.031	.000
I hardly think of the wellbeing of others I do not know (R).	.356	.043	.000
Self-sacrifice			
I am prepared to sacrifice a lot to make society a more just place.	.755	.019	.000
I would agree to a good plan to give those with few opportunities a better life, even if it costs me money.	.590	.025	.000
I am personally prepared to sacrifice a lot if it is necessary for the sake of society.	.680	.021	.000
Dimensional performance			
Output ($\rho=.700$, $\alpha=.580$)			
Quality of the work.	.738	.049	.000
Timeliness in finishing the tasks.	.730	.057	.000
Efficiency			
Efficiency	-	-	-
Service outcomes ($\rho=.729$, $\alpha=.716$)			
Equal treatment.	.798	.041	.000
Keeping an eye on the impact of the work on society as a whole.	.695	.057	.000
Responsiveness ($\rho=.812$; $\alpha=.772$)			
Responsiveness towards clients.	.828	.041	.000
Contribution to wellbeing of clients.	.825	.039	.000
Resilience ($\rho=.826$; $\alpha=.766$)			
Safety in the work.	.754	.059	.000
Compliance with safety regulations.	.785	.048	.000
Transparency in work processes.	.804	.041	.000

fl =factor loading, se =standard error, p =significance, ρ = Raykov's rho α = Cronbach's alpha



Chapter 8.

How does publicness matter for the relationship between PSM and performance?

*Studying sector and a job's societal impact
potential as elements of publicness*

Summary

Empirical studies have established a positive relationship between public service motivation (PSM) and individual performance. However, not much is known about under which *specific* circumstances PSM is related to performance. This study aims to provide insight into how the publicness of the institutional context, expressed through sector (legal position) and the perception of the job's societal impact potential (whether the job provides opportunities to contribute to society) matter for the relationship between PSM and self-reported performance. Using POMO 2012, a representative sample of public employees and a matched sample of private employees ($n=22,446$ public and $n=2,560$ privately employed respondents), the moderating effect of a job's societal impact potential on the relationship between PSM and performance was tested in a public and private sector sample. The results show that the PSM–performance relationship mostly dependent on the job's societal impact potential, but also on sector.

8.1 Introduction

Public service motivation (PSM) theory aims to provide insight into the motivation and behaviour of public employees by questioning the assumption that they are solely driven by self-interest. Rather, the PSM perspective assumes that employees working on public services are also driven by a concern for society and those within it (Perry & Wise 1990). In a desire to find ways to improve public services, attention has been raised to the potential of PSM to influence performance. It is argued that the more that employees feel a drive to contribute to society, the more effort they will put into their work because they identify with and are committed to reaching the public mission (Brewer 2008). Consequently, a high PSM is expected to be related to high performance (Perry & Wise 1990). In line with this expectation, empirical studies using self-reported survey data, register data and experiments have shown that PSM is positively related to effort, in-role and extra-role behaviours, individual performance and organizational performance (Andersen 2009; Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009).

The increased attention given to the PSM–performance relationship heightens the need to explore the boundaries of this proposition. Is PSM positively related to performance under all circumstances, or only when the environment provides opportunities and support for meaningful public service provision? The institutional context could play an important role in determining the relationship between PSM and performance. Using person–environment fit theory (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005), studies have found that the relationship between PSM and performance can be mediated by whether the individual experiences a fit with the environment (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Wright & Pandey 2008). With their focus on direct perceptions of person–job and person–organization fits, these studies have been able to gain knowledge on *whether* the job or organization matters, but they have been less informative about in *which* job or organization employees with high PSM perform well, and in which they do not. Since public service motivation is a drive to serve *public* goals, it is likely that employees with high PSM will perform best when the institutional context in which they do their work has a high degree of publicness.

This study aims to contribute to knowledge on how the publicness of the institutional context matters for the relationship between PSM and performance. However, what publicness entails is hard to define. Some have wondered whether PSM’s positive relationship to outcomes is sector-specific, i.e. only exists in the public sector, because studies have found that PSM is higher in the public sector (Crewson 1997; Frank & Lewis 2004; Houston 2011; Rainey & Bozeman 2000; Wright & Grant 2010). However, what is meant with public, and distinguishing the public from the private sector is complicated: whether an organization is focused on contributing to society is determined by elements that reach beyond mere ownership or funding (Bozeman 1987). For instance, the line between private and public regarding ownership has become less evident due to public–private partnerships and privatization, and regarding distinguishing on public purpose similar issues arise as several non-profit and private companies aim to contribute to society (Christensen & Wright 2011; Moynihan et al. 2011; Rainey & Bozeman 2000; Steen 2008).

This study argues that publicness is not only determined by ownership or authority (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003), but consists of multiple institutional elements on various

levels (Scott 2001). Here two elements of publicness are studied. First, we explore whether the PSM–performance relationship holds in the public and private sector based on the organization’s legal position. This legal position as public or not is seen as proxy of the organization’s mission being aimed at public or private goals, and as such a carrier of the publicness of the organization. Second, we explore whether the PSM – performance relationship holds for jobs with various levels of perceived societal impact potential (SIP). Regarding whether PSM is positively related to performance, it may be quite important that employees with high PSM perceive their job to have a high societal impact potential. In studying whether a job’s societal impact potential moderates the relationship between PSM and self-reported performance, we move from studying *perceived* person–job fit to studying specific (but subjective) job circumstances (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Moreover, by investigating the PSM–performance relationship in *both* public and private sector samples (based on legal status), we can show whether multiple institutional levels act in tandem.

The hypotheses are tested on a representative sample (named POMO 2012) of public employees ($n=25,006$) in the Netherlands and a matching sample of private employees ($n=2,506$). Each performance measure fulfils certain purposes (Andrews et al. 2006; Behn 2003) and self-reported performance reflects employees’ perceptions. Self-reported performance can be compared across domains and jobs, and it is therefore a useful measure for the study at hand. Through a moderated multiple regression analysis (Aiken & West 1991) the dependency of the relationship between PSM and performance on the circumstances in which employees work is explored.

The next section begins with the theoretical framework explaining PSM, performance and the relationship between PSM and performance, followed by a discussion on how this relationship might be influenced by the institutional context, in particular by sectorial – legal status – differences and the societal impact potential of the job, to develop a theoretical model for later testing. We then continue by explaining the methods, followed by a presentation of the results. These results are then discussed in the final section.

8.2 Public service motivation and performance

In the literature, several definitions of public service motivation (PSM) are found. Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as ‘*an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations*’ (p. 368) while Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) defined PSM as ‘*a general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humankind*’ (p.23). In general, PSM is seen as a specific type of pro-social motivation: a drive to contribute to society at large. Although it is often seen as an intrinsic motivation, it would be more appropriate to describe it as an autonomous obligation-based type of motivation (Deci & Ryan 2000; Vandenabeele 2013). Public service motivation is different to public sector motivation which refers to the motivation to work in the public sector and includes other aspects such as job security (Wright 2001). Public service motivation, on the other hand, relates to the delivery of public service, which is not limited to the public sector since several non-profit and private organizations provide public services or have public goals (Christensen & Wright 2011; Steen 2008).

Many studies have focused on the relationship between PSM and performance, following Perry and Wise's (1990) proposition of a positive relationship between PSM and individual performance. Individual performance in public organizations can be defined as the individual's contribution to the public mission of the organization. What this mission is differs between public organizations, and one public organization can have multiple – sometimes conflicting – goals. In a public context, no single measure can fully capture performance because public services have multiple goals and focus on hard-to-measure outcomes (Andrews et al. 2006). Moreover, they have multiple stakeholders that each has their own opinion of what aspect of performance (efficiency, responsiveness, quality) is important (Walker et al. 2011). As such, each piece of performance information serves different purposes (Behn 2003) and global self-reported employee ratings, used here, examine one aspect of performance – how employees see their own performance.

Multiple dimensions or views on performance would be preferable, as they can show the complexity of performance in a public context. For instance, Brewer and Selden (2000) distinguish between efficiency, effectiveness and fairness, and Boyne (2002) distinguished between output, efficiency, service outcome, responsiveness and democratic outcomes. Global measures are, on the other hand, better comparable across jobs and organizations. This study is limited in that it provides one, global, view on job performance as reported by the employee.

Perry and Wise (1990) expected a positive relationship between PSM and performance because those employees with high PSM would find working on public service delivery more meaningful and fulfilling, putting in more effort and hence performing better than those who do not identify with public service. Moreover, highly public service motivated employees are expected to be more committed to the organization and these employees would therefore be more likely to do their best at work (Brewer 2008). Empirical research has found positive relationships between PSM and performance in core government agencies, such as municipalities or central government (Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Ritz 2009; Vandenabeele 2009), and in organizations such as hospitals that can be either public or private depending on the definition of publicness used (Andersen 2009; Andersen & Serritzlew 2012; Bellé 2013; Bozeman 1987). These studies have mostly been based on surveys (Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009; Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005) although some have used experimental designs or register data (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013).

All but three studies (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014; Ritz 2009) found a positive relationship between PSM and performance. Still, some found no or only an indirect relationship (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013). It may thus be that the PSM-performance relationship depends on a fit with the context in which the work is done. Scholars have therefore wondered if PSM is a public sector phenomenon which is only relevant in the public sector (Prebble 2014). It is likely that publicness of the context is important for public service motivated employees, but, as will be discussed in the next section, defining what public is, and what not, is not easily achieved.

8.3 Publicness as defining characteristic

Public service motivation theory argues that institutions play an important role in developing, maintaining and incentivizing public service motivation (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008; Perry 2000; Vandenabeele 2007). PSM is seen as a need of some individuals to seek opportunities to contribute to society through their job (Stritch & Christensen 2013). As such, PSM theory assumes an interaction between an individual's motives and the environment in which the work is done. Institutional theory focuses on how institutional structures, logics and symbols on various levels, from the state to the job, influence behaviour (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). Institutions exist on multiple levels and can consist of structural, normative and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott 2001). Current strands of research, such as the institutional logic approach (Thornton & Ocasio 1999), aim to establish a link between institutional structures and individual agency. According to this line of research, logics shape behaviour by setting boundaries and creating structures and expectations but, at the same time, individuals bring their own motives, give meaning to their environment and are able to act independently (Greenwood et al. 2010; March & Olsen 1989; Thornton & Ocasio 2008). This interaction between an individual and the environment is often studied using person-environment fit theory in which a good fit between the person and environment is seen as leading to positive outcomes such as performance.

The *publicness* of the institutional context can be argued to be central for those with high public service motivation. PSM is a motivation with a specific purpose or goal; to contribute to society. To do so, these employees need to work in a context that emphasizes public value(s). Defining publicness is however complex. From an institutional perspective publicness can be seen as an institutional feature that consists of structural, normative and cultural-cognitive elements, and which are present on multiple levels through so called 'carriers' (Scott 2001). Whether the work is aiming to contribute to society, and how, is determined by multiple aspects. Many scholars focus on structural elements of institutions that determine the degree of publicness, such as ownership, funding or authority (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003). Others refer to what managers see as determining the collective character of the services, such as the clients, mission and oversight (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997).

From an institutional perspective on publicness distinguishing between 'pure' public and 'pure' private can be seen as merely impossible (Bozeman 1987) since publicness is shaped by multiple elements – not only structural ones but also normative elements such as goals, values and expectations (Scott 2001). Even when looking at one aspect of publicness, for instance ownership, authority or values, distinguishing public from private has become more difficult due to outsourcing and privatizing public services and the introduction of market-like principles in public service providers. This may have shifted the mission, goals and values within those organizations (Moynihan et al. 2011; Rainey & Bozeman 2000). Moreover, major differences exist between organizations that are publicly owned or financed and, as such, constitute a 'public' organization from a structural perspective. For instance, public organizations differ in their aim to regulate or produce services (Kjeldsen 2013), their contact with citizens, and degree to which the jobs have a societal impact potential.

8.4 The role of institutional context for the PSM – performance relationship

Person–environment fit theory offers an illustration of how institutional context can matter for the relationship between PSM and performance. In this approach performance is seen as the product of a fit between individual characteristics and environmental factors (Edwards & Shipp 2007; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005; Lauver & Kristof 2001). The institutional context can block or stimulate an individual, and a public service motivated employee's perceptions of the publicness of the environment can influence how they will act (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008).

It has been argued that PSM will be most strongly related to performance in a public context because such a context allows employees to work on tasks that they identify with and are committed to, leading then to exert effort and perform well (Brewer 2008). If the need to contribute to society is incentivized by offering opportunities to have a societal impact, then a high PSM will be related to higher performance. If such opportunities are not offered, a positive relationship between high PSM and performance cannot be assumed because employees may feel frustrated due to the disconnection between their internalized values and the tasks they have to perform (Giauque et al. 2013; Perry 2000; Perry & Vandenabeele 2008).

Studies have distinguished between objective, subjective and perceived fit, referring to various ways to study the interaction between individual and environment, as well as between a *supplementary fit*, where the person and the environment share similar values or goals, and a *complementary fit* in which the person and the environment provide each other with what the other needs (Muchinsky & Monahan 1987). The latter can be broken down into the fit between the abilities of the person and the demands of the work environment, and the fit between the needs of the individual and what the environment supplies. Further, several different levels of the environment such as job and organization have been distinguished (Edwards & Shipp 2007). Most studies have focused on job or organizational fit, but person–team, person–supervisor and person–vocation fit have also been found relevant (Lauver & Kristof 2001).

Studies have shown that the relationship between PSM and work outcomes is mediated by the perceived fit with the *job* (Bright 2008; Taylor 2008) and with the *organization's values* (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Moynihan & Pandey 2007; 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008). These studies have answered questions on *how* the environment matters, but provide less insight under *which* specific conditions of that environment PSM is positively related to performance, and when not. Direct perceptions of person–job and person–organization fit show only whether in general the job or the organization matters, but fail to reveal what types of jobs or which organizational characteristics matter. A few studies have focused on specific institutional circumstances (Bellé 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Taylor 2013). In this chapter the importance of two elements of the publicness of the institutional context for the relationship between PSM and performance are investigated, being the legal status as proxy of the publicness of the mission and goals of the organization, and the societal impact potential of the job.

Public legal status or a job's societal impact potential?

Publicness is defined by structural, normative and cultural cognitive elements of institutions. One aspect on which the public and private sector can be distinguished is the legal status of the organization. The legal status of an organization is a structural element of publicness and can be seen as a proxy of the mission and values of the organization: organizations with a public legal status are *primarily* aimed at public value, those with a private status do not have to have such a public focus. Legal status is seen as a way to distinguish the public from the private sector. Although private organizations according to legal status can have a public mission, in general we will find more organizations with a primarily public goal that have a public legal status. If a public service motivated employee works in an organization with a public legal status, the person-organization fit may thus be high.

However, the complexity of distinguishing private from public using legal status is illustrated by the case of hospitals in the Netherlands. Hospitals can have a public or private legal status. The Minister of Health, Welfare and Sport (2013) described hospitals as mainly having a private legal status, but serving a public goal. This exemplifies that publicness is determined by more than structural characteristics. It is thus questionable whether legal status forms a boundary for the role of PSM for performance, or other elements of the institutional context do.

Therefore we also include a normative institutional characteristic, on a lower level than the organization. The perceived societal impact potential of a job represents the expectations of employees about being able to contribute to society, and can be seen as a normative element of the institutional context. The societal impact potential (SIP) of a job reflects the perceptions of employees on whether there are opportunities in their job to have an impact on society (Leisink & Steijn 2009). This is distinct from a prosocial impact which refers to whether an employee is aware of an actual impact on others (Grant 2008; Bellé 2013). SIP reflects the perceived potential of a job to have an impact on society, regardless of whether the employee concerned actually has an impact. As such, this study focusses on a specific type of person-job fit between PSM, as the 'person' element, and the subjective societal impact potential of the job, as the job characteristic (Edwards & Shipp 2007). The interaction between these two can be seen as PSM fit (Leisink & Steijn 2009).

Empirical findings on the importance of institutional context for the PSM – performance relationship is growing. In an experimental setting, Brewer and Brewer (2011) found that those who conducted tasks for a public agency performed better than those in a private setting. This provides evidence for the expectations advanced by Perry and Wise (1990) that the incentives provided in the public sector are better suited to those with high levels of PSM and that PSM is more strongly related to performance in a public setting. However, Christensen and Wright (2011) found that sector, determined by describing the organization as private or government, was a poor proxy for values: PSM only affected the likelihood of accepting a job which emphasized being able to work on public service, not the choice of sector. Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012) found similar results. They argue that instead of sector, it matters whether the job provides opportunities to contribute to society. The key institutional incentive for employees with PSM may therefore be that the job is perceived as providing opportunities to have a meaningful impact on society:

H1: The societal impact potential of the job moderates the relationship between PSM and self-reported performance: the relationship between PSM and performance will be stronger for those with a high societal impact potential in the job.

However, it may also be that each element, legal status and the societal impact potential of the job, represents a different part of publicness and simultaneously interacts with the attitudes of individuals (Scott 2001). It therefore does not have to be a case of ‘either - or’, it can also be that both SIP and legal status influence the relationship between PSM and performance. An empirical example is provided by Houston (2011) who found that both the locus of the job, in government or in the private sector, and the focus of the job on public service activity mattered for PSM. For instance, those who enter the public sector may bring with them different expectations regarding the opportunities to have a meaningful impact on society because of the image they have of the public sector (Kjeldsen 2013). Levels of PSM are different in private organizations (Frank & Lewis 2004), which may imply that the importance of PSM for employees is lower *in general* in private organizations, making a misfit due to high PSM and low societal impact potential in the job have a *different* meaning than in the public sector. The interaction between PSM and SIP may thus differ between the public and private sector:

H2: The relationships between PSM, SIP and self-reported performance will be moderated by the sector, distinguishing organizations with a public and private legal status.

The theoretical model is displayed in Figure 8.1. This shows PSM and the societal impact potential of the job interacting. It is this interaction between PSM and SIP that is expected to primarily determine the direction of the relationship with performance. These relationships may differ between the public and private sectors, determined by legal status, and we thus show the model twice and argue that these models will differ (indicated by \neq). In the next section, we explain how this model was investigated empirically.

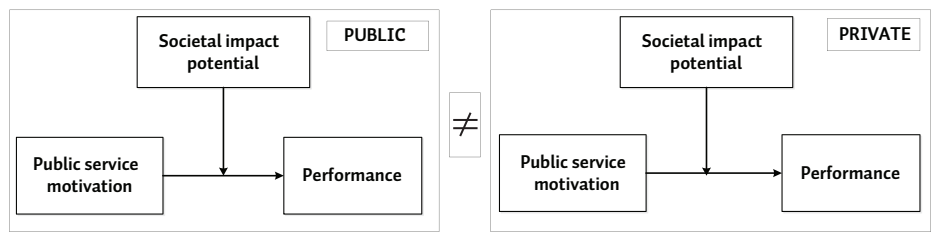


Figure 8.1: Theoretical model for PSM-performance relationship in the public and private sector.

8.5 Methods

First, the setting of this study is discussed. Following this, the method of data collection, the measures and the analysis are explained.

Setting

The Netherlands is, in international terms, an elaborate welfare state in which the government provides multiple public services. Although many services have, in recent years, been privatized or put at a distance, the government still plays a major role in the provision of public services. However, there is no clear-cut distinction between public and private providers of public services (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997; Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003). For this study, we used the national government's own approach to distinguishing public from private employees when collecting data, which is based on the legal status of the organizations. Those organizations defined in legal terms as public, falling within one of the 14 government sectors, are seen as part of the 'public' sector²⁶, all others as 'private'. Since, using this approach, some public activities such as healthcare can be found in both the public and private sectors, it is a distinction between sectors and not between public or private services.

Data collection

Every other year, the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations²⁷ carries out a personnel monitor (POMO) involving a representative sample of all employees on the government payroll (www.arbeidenoverheid.nl). In addition, the Ministry draws a smaller comparative sample (based on demographic variables) of private sector employees. For this study, we used the most recent available data, from 2012. In total 22.446 public employees answered to the survey. The private sector sample also included 'public service organizations' such as hospitals. This means that some jobs in the private sector sample can also be found in the public sector, such as those in hospitals. In total 2.560 privately employed respondents are included in the comparison. In the private sector sample, 54.4% of the respondents were male, in the public sample 54.5%. In both sectors, most respondents had a higher vocational level, although the percentage of respondents with a university degree was much higher in the public sector (22.1% versus 6.5%). The average tenure in the public sector was 16 years, in the private sector 11. The average wage category for the public sector was 2.501 – 3.000 euro per month, for the private sector 2.001 – 2.500 euro.

Measures

All items are displayed in Table 8.1. The questionnaire contained several items on *public service motivation* derived from Perry's (1996) original scale: two for attraction to public policies

26 This includes central government, provinces, municipalities, judicial system, water management, education within the public system, research institutes, academic hospitals, the military and the police.

27 The authors would like to thank the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations for allowing them to use the dataset of the BZK Personeels- en Mobiliteitsonderzoek 2012.

(APP), four items relating to commitment to the public interest or self-sacrifice (CPI) and three on compassion (COM). One question, 'if we do not show more solidarity our society is doomed to fail', was not taken in as it was unclear which dimension it should represent. A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was carried out with Mplus v7.11 to check whether the items and dimensions represent the construct well (Muthén & Muthén 2010–2014). Since PSM is skewed, robust maximum likelihood, an estimator that corrects for the skewness of the parameters and non-normality of the items, was calculated (Byrne 2012; Kline 2010). The CFA²⁸ showed that a second order model, as proposed by Coursey et al. (2008), with the expected three dimensions loading onto PSM, fitted the data well (CFI=.952, TLI=.928, RMSEA=.055, df=24, n=25,006).

Several items were included to measure the perceived *societal impact potential* of the job for the public sector employees, but only two of them were also asked to the private sector employees and, consequently, only those two are used in this study. Respondents were asked to what degree statements were applicable to their job. The scale ranged from 'completely inapplicable' to 'fully applicable'. The items were also used by Leisink and Steijn (2009), describing them as a measure of opportunities, which we follow here by referring to 'potential'. With only two items a CFA was not possible.

Using secondary data means that less than optimal items had to be used for the measurement of performance. Two items were used that can together be seen as a proxy of performance. The items do not refer to a specific dimension of performance but refer to evaluations of the employees' work in general. The items refer to self-perceived evaluations of on the one hand colleagues (asking for advice) and the supervisor (getting the more difficult jobs). The items are self-reported (on a scale from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree') and thus constitute a subjective measure of performance. Although objective measures are sometimes seen as the gold standard (Andrews et al. 2006; Meier & O'Toole 2013), several studies have shown that subjective and objective measures produce consistent findings and are similarly influenced when comparing *similar* aspects of performance (Andrews et al. 2010; Andrews et al. 2011; Bommer et al. 1995). Each type of measure has its weaknesses and strengths. For instance self-reported measures are thought to have a higher risk of social desirability or common method bias, and objective measures are seen as narrow and difficult to compare. Some have questioned whether one should ever see one type of measure as inherently better or whether they represent different parts of performance with each its own value (Andrews et al. 2006; Conway & Lance 2010). The employee view provides information on how employees see their own performance and, as such, exposes one element of the 'performance puzzle' (Andrews et al. 2006). The advantage of self-reported measures is that they can be compared across jobs and sectors. With only two items a confirmatory factor analysis was not possible.

28 All fit indicators have strengths but also downsides, and therefore the recommendation is to use several. As *chi square* is known to be inflated when *n* exceeds 200, three others were used. CFI and TLI values above .90 indicate acceptable fit and values above .95 an excellent fit. An RMSEA value below .10 indicates acceptable fit and below .08 an excellent one (Hu & Bentler 1999; Kline 2010).

Table 8.1: Items, standardized factor loadings (FL), standard errors (st.e.) and significance of factor loading of full model CFA using MLR estimation in Mplus.

	FL.	St.e.	Sign.
Public service motivation			
Attraction to public policy	.290	.012	.000
Politics is a dirty word. (R)	.595	.014	.000
I have little interests in politics. (R)	.916	.019	.000
Commitment to the public interest	.848	.011	.000
I contribute to society without regard for my self-interests.	.539	.007	.000
Providing meaningful public service is very important to me.	.722	.006	.000
I find it more important to contribute to the public good than having personal success.	.622	.006	.000
The general interest is a key driver in my daily life.	.754	.005	.000
Compassion	.718	.010	.000
It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.	.704	.007	.000
I seldom think about the welfare of people whom I don't know personally. (R)	.570	.009	.000
I think the welfare of fellow citizens is very important.	.716	.007	.000
Societal impact potential			
My work contributes to solving other people's problems.	.779	.013	.000
With my work, I contribute to creating greater solidarity in our society.	.647	.012	.000
Performance			
In my work, colleagues ask me for advice if things get complicated.	.865	.014	.000
In my work, I am given the more difficult jobs.	.667	.012	.000

To assess the fit of all the constructs together, a full measurement model was tested in a confirmatory factor analysis. The model fitted the data (CFI=.948, TLI=.932, RMSEA=.046, df=59, $n=25,006$). The factor loadings of this measurement model can be found in Table 8.1. It shows that the loadings of SIP and performance were significant and good. It appears that the items used to measure performance refer, although measuring two different evaluations, to a common underlying factor.

In Table 8.2 the reliabilities are shown, split out to sector. The reliabilities were good except for SIP, which fell just below the .70 threshold, which may be due to the low number of items. As these items have been previously tested and used (Leisink & Steijn 2009) and their loadings are adequate, both were retained. Further, the constructs demonstrated convergent and discriminant validity. The constructs were created by establishing a summative scale of all the items and recoding them to span a range from 0 to 100.

Table 8.2: Reliabilities (Cronbach's alphas) for PSM, SIP and performance by sector (legal status).

	Public	Private
PSM	.728	.719
SIP	.685	.668
Performance	.720	.778

The regression analyses are conducted controlling for gender, tenure, education and wage as these can be related to individual performance (Bright 2007; Ritz 2009).

Data analysis

The hypotheses were tested using moderated multiple regression analysis in SPSS v20. First, the responses from the public and private respondents were analysed separately, initially comparing the mean scores of the two sectors. In a second step, we analysed the correlations, which was followed by the main analysis: a moderated multiple regression (Aiken & West 1991). In such a regression, after controlling for other factors that may influence performance, one tests for a main effect relationship, here between PSM and performance. Then, the moderator, here SIP, is added to produce the interaction term PSMxSIP. Including a moderator means that the main effect of PSM is no longer interpretable without reference to SIP, the moderator (Dawson 2014b). A three-way interaction between PSM, SIP and sector was also tested, using the full dataset, as a robustness check (Dawson & Richter 2006). A plot of a regression model where there is a significant interaction can add to the interpretation because it shows how the relationship varies for different levels of the moderator (Aiken & West 1991; Dawson 2014a; Dawson 2014b).

For the regression and interaction analyses, PSM and SIP were standardized (Dawson 2014b). In other words, the 0-100 scales were rescaled to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. This is recommended to reduce the multicollinearity arising from including variables twice (as a main effect and as part of the interaction) and to ease interpretation (Dawson 2014b). Using standardized variables, the interaction term will indicate whether the relationship between PSM and performance is significantly moderated by the societal impact potential of the job for those with average scores and those with a standard deviation above or below the average. The control variables were also standardized to enable a correct interpretation of the dependent variable values (Dawson 2014a). A simple slopes test was carried out which indicates whether the relationship (slope) between PSM and performance is statistically significant at different levels of societal impact potential of the job (sometimes referred to as marginal means; Dawson 2014b).

8.6 Results

The results from the first analysis, comparing the average scores of the employees working for an organization with a public or private legal status, are displayed in Table 8.3. This shows that the public sector employees in this sample have a significantly higher average public service motivation than the private sector employees. Although the SIP scores are

relatively similar in both sectors, the difference is significant with the job's societal impact potential being higher in the public sector. Finally, respondents from the public sector on average rated their performance significantly higher than those in the private sector.

Table 8.3: Mean scores for public service motivation, a job's societal impact potential and performance in the public and private sectors and significance of differences.

	Public		Private		Difference
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Δ
PSM	67.01	11.54	56.69	11.72	***
SIP	55.48	23.56	52.28	22.76	***
Performance	65.83	17.69	61.14	18.74	***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Next, Tables 8.4a (public) and 8.4b (private) show the results from the correlation analysis between the main constructs. These show that, for both sectors, PSM and the societal impact potential of the job are both positively correlated with performance, and SIP more strongly so than PSM. Further, all the control variables are correlated with performance.

Table 8.4a: Correlations for public sector sample.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. PSM	-						
2. SIP	.274***	-					
3. Performance	.143***	.173***	-				
4. Gender(f=1)	.010	-.023***	-.121***	-			
5. Education	.136***	.072***	.121***	.025***	-		
6. Tenure	.019***	-.029***	.039***	-.211***	-.222***	-	
7. Wage	.126***	.082***	.257***	-.361***	.417***	.180***	-

$n = 21,165 - 22,446$ (due to missing values on control variables), * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 8.4b: Correlations for private sector sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. PSM	-						
2. SIP	.240***	-					
3. Performance	.160***	.277***	-				
4. Gender(f=1)	.085***	-.040***	-.094***	-			
5. Education	.113***	.142***	.088***	.016	-		
6. Tenure	.007	.001	.054***	-.142***	-.097***	-	
7. Wage	-.013	.139***	.193***	-.360***	.353***	.191***	-

$n = 2,050 - 2,560$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The relationship between PSM and performance in the public and private sector
Tables 8.5a and 8.5b present the results of the regression analyses. First we consider the findings from the *public* sample shown in Table 8.5a. Model 1 shows that, in the public sector, being female is negatively related to self-evaluated performance, whereas wages and education are positively related to performance. Model 2 shows that public service motivation is positively related to performance. Model 3 shows that the societal impact potential of the job also matters: those with high SIP have higher performance scores. In the final model, the interaction term is added. The interaction term and the model are both significant, supporting Hypothesis 1, although the interaction term only marginally increases the explained variance. The final model explains 9.7% of the variance.

Table 8.5a: Regression table for public sample, standardized (unstandardized in brackets).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	(65.834)	.118	(65.834)	.117	(65.834)	.116	(65.834)	.119
Gender (f=1)	-.038 (-.679)***	.130	-.044 (-.778)***	.129	-.042(-.735)***	.128	-.041 (-.725)***	.128
Education	.023 (.403)**	.139	.011 (.194)	.139	.010(.178)	.138	.010 (.182)	.138
Tenure	-.006 (-.110)	.128	-.010 (-.182)	.127	-.004(-.077)	.126	-.004 (-.074)	.126
Wage	.235 (4.160)***	.147	.224 (3.971)***	.146	.218(3.862)***	.145	.217 (3.844)***	.145
PSM			.114 (2.019)***	.119	.079 (1.395)***	.122	.079 (1.401)***	.122
SIP					.132 (2.329)***	.121	.132 (2.331)***	.121
PSMxSIP							.038(.613)***	.106
F	381.874		367.641		373.666		325.553	
ΔF	381.874***		289.839***		371.416***		33.420***	
R²	.068		.080		.096		.098	
Adjusted R²	.068		.080		.096		.097	
N	21165		21165		21165		21165	

se=standard error, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 8.5b shows the regression results for the sample of employees working for an organization with a *private* legal status. The first model found that, for private respondents, only their wages are significantly related to performance. In Model 2, PSM is positively and significantly related to performance, indicating that the PSM–performance relationship also holds in the private sector. Model 3 shows that SIP is also significantly related to performance. However, unlike in the public sector, the interaction between PSM and the job’s societal impact potential is *not* significant in the private sample (Model 4), and the interaction term does not add to the explained variance. In this sample, the explained variance of the final model is 11.1%.

Table 8.5b: Regression table private sample, standardized (unstandardized in brackets).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Constant	(61.138)	.407	(61.138)	.401	(61.138)	.391	(61.138)	.399
Gender (f=1)	-.032 (-.594)	.443	-.044 (-.822)	.438	-.038 (-.717)	.426	-.038 (-.714)	.427
Education	.032 (.606)	.447	.011 (.210)	.444	-.006 (-.113)	.434	-.006 (-.108)	.434
Tenure	.021 (.399)	.422	.015 (.284)	.416	.019 (.362)	.405	.019 (.362)	.406
Wage	.166 (3.113)***	.482	.172 (3.232)***	.476	.147 (2.758)***	.466	.147 (2.758)***	.466
PSM			.164 (3.080)***	.406	.110 (2.067)***	.406	.110 (2.064)***	.407
SIP					.230 (4.303)***	.408	.230 (4.312)***	.410
PSMxSIP							-.005 (-.079)	.344
F	20.744		28.592		43.640		37.396	
ΔF	20.744***		57.683***		111.158***		.053	
R²	.039		.065		.114		.114	
Adjusted R²	.037		.063		.111		.111	
N	2050		2050		2050		2050	

se=standard error, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The finding that the interaction between PSM and SIP is significant in the public sector but not in the private sector supports Hypothesis 2 that the relationship would differ between the two sectors. However, this finding does not show the *substantive* influence of the interaction because the main effects cannot be interpreted without the interaction term. Consequently, the relationship between PSM, SIP and performance was plotted. Moreover, a simple slopes test was carried out since this indicates whether the relationship (slope) between PSM and performance is statistically significant at different levels of societal impact potential (sometimes referred to as marginal means; Dawson 2014b).

Figure 8.2 plots the final model calculations of performance for the private (a) and public (b) sectors at one standard deviation below and one above the mean scores of PSM and SIP (Dawson 2014a). It is clear that, in the public sector, the positive relationship between PSM and performance is stronger for those who perceive an above average societal impact potential in their job (reflected in the steeper gradient of the upper line). Further, those who have a high public service motivation coupled with a high societal impact potential report the highest performance scores. Figure 8.2a, of the private sector shows that there is *no* interaction between PSM and SIP: they independently contribute to performance of employees.

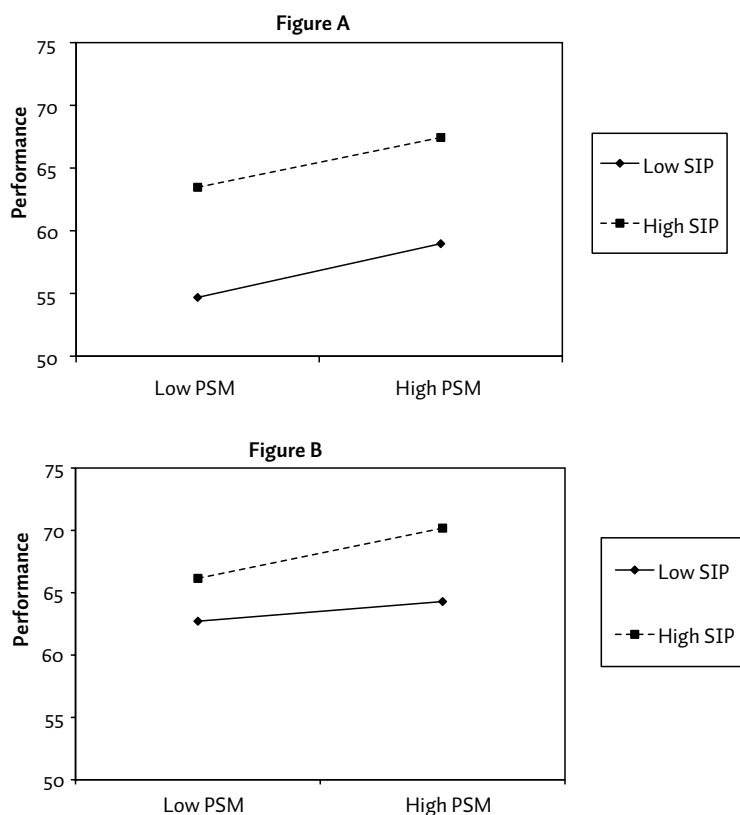


Figure 8.2: Plot of final model results for private (a) and public (b) sectors. Performance values plotted at PSM and SIP scores one standard deviation from their mean scores.

A simple slope test indicated that, in the public sector, the relationship between PSM and performance is significant at SIP values above 1.6 standard deviations below the mean SIP value. Converting this back to substantive scores, the relationship between PSM and performance is significant and positive provided the societal impact potential of the job scored above 17.78. In the public sample, 669 (3.2%) respondents reported scores below this point.

Finally, as a robustness test, a three-way interaction model was tested with an additional interaction term linking PSM, SIP and sector (Dawson & Richter 2006). This interaction was significant ($\beta_{\text{PSM} \times \text{SIP} \times \text{Sector}} = .042, p < .05, F = 247.008^{***}, df = 11, \text{adjusted } R^2 = .105$) implying that both the sector and the job's societal impact potential influence the relationship between PSM and performance.

Sorting out publicness: distinguishing work domains

A possible criticism of these analyses is that the two datasets used include different domains and are therefore not strictly comparable. Moreover, one can ask whether legal status can correctly distinguish public from private organizations and is a good proxy for the organizations mission being primarily public or not. For instance, academic hospitals

in the Netherlands have a public legal status, whereas other hospitals have a private legal status but a regulated public mission and have no profit motive as they are obliged to fully invest their profits in their care facilities. The public and private sectors according to legal status are, in real life as in these analyses, composed of different and similar tasks, but it could be that the different findings for the two sectors are due to not holding the type of work constant (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012). Although the data did not include information on the type of job, information on the work domain (13 categories) was included. Example categories include ‘agriculture, environmental’, ‘economic, administrative, commercial’, ‘safety and public order’, ‘education’ and ‘medical, paramedical, healthcare’.

To explore the robustness of our findings and the value of legal status as distinction, we have therefore tested the model in two subsamples. We chose the two subsamples with the highest number of respondents in the private sector sample because substantive power is recommended for an interaction analysis (Aiken & West 1991; Dawson 2014b). The two categories selected were the economic, administrative and commercial (EAC) domain ($n=630$ in private, $n=2,000$ in public sample) and the medical, paramedical and healthcare (MPH) domain ($n=321$ in private, $n=933$ in public sample). Of the two, one would intuitively expect jobs in the medical domain to perceive a higher societal impact potential, and this was indeed the case (see Table 8.6). In both domains, those in the public sector reported higher levels of PSM. Remarkably, in both domains, the average self-assessed societal impact potential of the job was highest in the private sector whereas in the full sample (see Table 8.3) the average SIP score was higher in the public sector.

Table 8.6: Mean scores by sector and functional domain for PSM, SIP and performance.

	EAC			MPH		
	Public	Private	Δ	Public	Private	Δ
PSM	64.96	56.85	***	65.46	59.78	***
SIP	44.05	48.10	***	56.35	61.10	***
Performance	64.36	62.28	*	65.17	60.55	***

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

As in the full sample analysis, a regression analysis was conducted for each sector within these two domains. Here, we limit ourselves to presenting the final results in Figure 8.3. In the *private* sector, the changes in F were not significant, indicating the models do not explain the dependent variable well (EAC: $\beta_{\text{PSM}\times\text{SIP}}=.054$, $F\Delta=1.552$, $p=.213$ / MPH: $\beta_{\text{PSM}\times\text{SIP}}=.033$, $F\Delta=.205$, $p=.651$). As such, the results cannot be interpreted and are inconclusive as to any interaction between PSM and SIP for the private sector domains. We therefore do not report the explained variance, but, to show the general pattern, do show the figure of the interaction. In the *public* sector, the final model explained 11.9% of the variance for those working in the EAC domain and 9.0% for those in the MPH domain. In both, the interaction model was statistically significant (EAC: $\beta_{\text{PSM}\times\text{SIP}}=.065$, $F\Delta=7.413$, $p<.01$) / MPH: $\beta_{\text{PSM}\times\text{SIP}}=.101$, $F\Delta=9.633$, $p<.01$).

The plotted results (Figures 8.3 a-d) are quite similar to the main analysis, but the differences are more pronounced. It shows that for both public sector domains (8.3b and

8.3d) the relationship between PSM and performance is positive if the job has a high SIP. Simple slope tests indicate that, for the EAC domain in the public sector, the relationship between PSM and performance is only significant when SIP is above 0.6 standard deviations below the mean, and for the MPH domain when SIP is above 0.05 standard deviations below the mean. In the private sector the models were not significant, which is also visible in Figure 8.3a and 8.3c. Explanations of these results are offered in the next section.

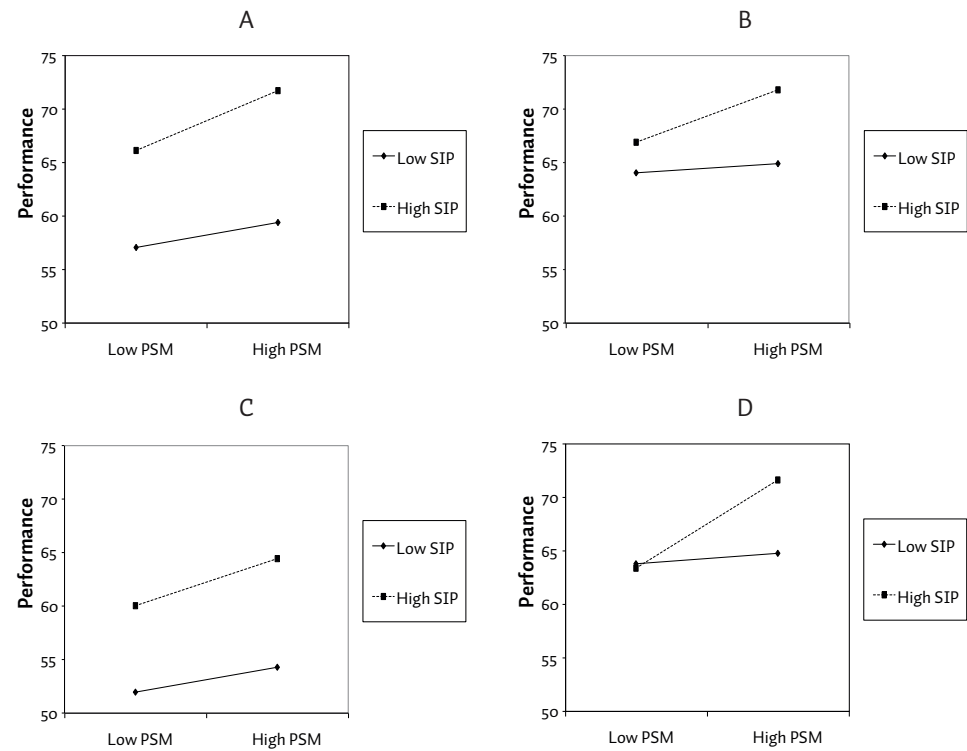


Figure 8.3: Plot of final model results for the economic/administrative/commercial domain in the (a) private and (b) public sectors, and for medical/paramedical/healthcare domain in the (c) private and (d) public sectors.

8.7 Discussion

The main purpose of this chapter has been to explore whether the PSM–performance relationship depends on the publicness of the institutional context. The findings show that the relevance of PSM for performance reaches beyond the public sector, defined by legal status, as we also found a positive relationship between the two in organizations with a private legal status. It thus seems that other – normative as opposed to structural – elements of the institutional context are more important for the relationship between PSM

and performance. A limiting boundary seems to exist within the group of organizations with a public *legal* status since there was no relationship there between PSM and performance for those who were highly public service motivated but had a job with a low societal impact potential. These results are consistent with Christensen and Wright (2011) and with Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2013) who showed that person–job fit was more important than sector when it came to the relationship between PSM and job choice.

Nevertheless, the highest performance scores were found for highly public service motivated employees in the public sector in a job with a high societal impact potential. These employees are likely to experience a ‘double fit’: their internalized motives fit with the context on multiple levels of the environment. Not only do these employees experience a person–job fit, they also experience a person–sector fit as those organizations with a public legal status are more likely to be aimed at public goals. This study shows that the context on multiple levels matters for the relationship between PSM and performance.

The overall dataset showed that PSM was positively related to performance in organizations with a private legal status regardless of the societal impact potential of the job, although when we limited ourselves to subdomains the results proved to be inconclusive. It could be that even if respondents did not experience a person–job fit, they did experience a person–organization fit because their organization contributed to society, and therefore PSM was still related to performance (Bright 2007). Part of the private sector respondents in this sample worked on public goals, such as in healthcare, and it is therefore perhaps not surprising that, in such circumstances, PSM matters for performance. Public service motives do not have to be confined to the public sector and may well be a factor in all jobs that have a societal aspect.

The interaction between SIP and PSM was significant in the public sector, indicating that the relationship between PSM and performance is not significant for those with a job with low societal impact potential. Legal status may thus not be a good proxy for the organization’s focus on contributing to society (Christensen & Wright 2011). Kjeldsen (2013) found that those who started work in the public sector experienced a significant drop in PSM, an effect she related to a reality shock (Blau 1960; Kjeldsen 2013). In this study, those who worked in the public sector reported higher levels of PSM than their private sector equivalents, and may thus also have higher expectations – normatively – of their work being able to contribute to society. Those who indeed found that their job had a societal impact potential perform well, but if they were confronted with a low SIP of the job, their expectations of how much they could contribute to society may not have been met. It could be that their expectations that organizations with a public legal status will provide similar levels of opportunities to contribute to society through the job was not upheld. This could explain why there was no relationship between PSM and performance for those with a low SIP: employees see no point in putting more effort or energy into their work.

The SIP score was higher in the public sector than in the private sector when analysing the entire dataset but, when breaking the dataset down, the SIP scores were higher in the private sector than the public sector for the medical and administrative domains. Also from this it shows that distinguishing public from private focusing on structural elements does not always provide a meaningful distinction. Since hospitals are restricted by the same rules regardless of their legal status, differences in levels of red tape cannot explain these

findings. The tasks of the hospitals with a public legal function in this study differ from the private hospitals as the public hospitals are *academic* hospitals that have a research and care function. They may perceive a higher impact on society because they also work on improving healthcare and medicine. This is however speculative and demands more research.

The average PSM score was lower in the private sector than the public sector, suggesting that PSM may play less of a role and thus have less influence on the performance of private sector employees than other motives such as intrinsic pleasure or extrinsic rewards (Frank & Lewis 2004; Houston 2011). Still, these findings also emphasize the complexity of distinguishing public from private, and moreover, the many differences that can be found between organizations with a public legal status. Further exploration of the normative differences *between* organizations within the public sector can advance insight in the boundaries of the PSM – performance relationship.

The findings in this chapter should be interpreted within its context (Giauque et al. 2011). At the time of the survey, practices often placed under the flag of *new public management*, such as increased attention to output management and financial performance as opposed to societal impact, were applied in some public organizations. For instance, in healthcare market-like incentives have been enhanced since 2006 as a means to reduce public spending. Further, in 2012, the government was implementing major cutbacks in the public sector, resulting not only in no wage increases for employees in central government, education and the police, but also in programmes being cut, particularly many of the financial arrangements for citizens in need of support. All these contextual factors may explain why we failed to find a relationship between PSM and performance in the public sector when SIP was low, and why the average SIP was higher in the private sector when looking at specific domains. Only replications of this study in other contexts can show whether the boundaries found to the relationship between PSM and performance also apply in other countries.

We recognize that this study has several limitations. First, ‘sector’ was defined based on the legal status of the organization. Using other categorizations, such as political authority over the work (Bozeman 1987), may well have given different results. However, using this distinction we were able to test whether legal status plays a role in employee attitudes and performance. The measure of societal impact potential (SIP) captured opportunities to help others and create greater solidarity in society. Public service motivation does not have to relate specifically to helping others, and other aspects of societal impact potential that would fit with public service motives, such as policy implementation or defending the rights of others, were not included. In measuring performance, we relied on the self-reporting of employees, an approach which is seen as prone to social desirability and common method bias if employees present themselves as better than they are (Wright & Grant 2010). However, others argue that the effects of such bias may be overestimated (Conway & Lance 2010). Admittedly, the self-reporting used here reflects only one piece of the performance puzzle (Andrews et al. 2006), and we could not distinguish different dimensions or include other perspectives, but it has been valuable in that it enabled us to test the model across jobs and sectors.

Given the cross-sectional design of the study, the analysis has concentrated on relationships rather than causation and does not provide an answer to the question as

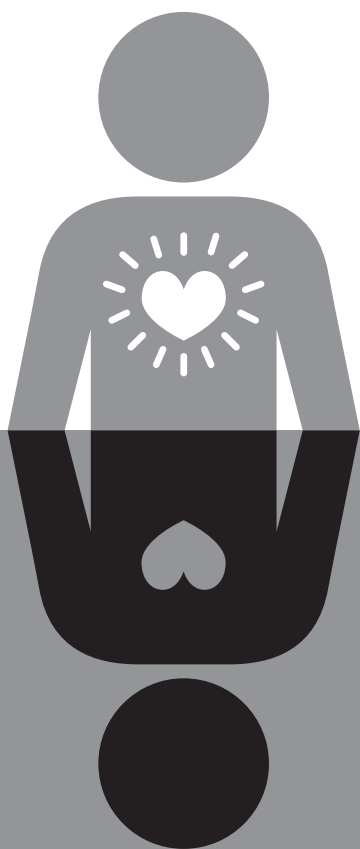
to whether PSM leads to performance. However, theoretically PSM is seen as influencing performance. Andersen et al. (2014) and Bellé (2013) show causal links from PSM to performance. It seems most likely that PSM increases performance but also vice versa in that actually realizing a public service of high quality can lead to increased public service motivation. Finally, the variance explained by the interaction term was low. This is not unusual with such interactions since the substantive terms, PSM and SIP, have already been included in the model. The effect sizes of moderators are typically low in survey research (Aguinis et al. 2005) whereas experimental designs often reveal higher impacts.

The question then is how managers or organizations can use these insights. First, it appears that in the private sector both PSM and PSM and SIP can separately contribute substantially to performance. Second, for both sectors increasing societal impact potential is an important way forward. One way to potentially enhance perceptions of SIP is through adjusting the job characteristics, for instance by building in contact with clients. Studies have shown that positive contacts with recipients can be beneficiary (Grant 2008; Taylor 2013). To increase the perceived SIP of the job communication and leadership may be important, addressing the value of the work for society (Paarlberg et al. 2008). Activities on a higher level, for instance reducing red tape, could be another way to increase SIP (Moynihan & Pandey 2007). In environments where it is difficult to increase the actual societal impact potential, for instance in a prison under an austerity regime, an effective strategy could be to address the (perhaps unrealistic) expectations of employees. Some may have sought this work expecting to be able to save each individual, but in reality will only be able to help a few of them (Kjeldsen 2013). Creating an awareness of the limits of public service could reduce such reality shocks. Finally, it appears that SIP and PSM also relate to performance in private organizations. As opposed to current trends of implementing private sector practices in the public domain, private companies can thus learn from public organizations in how emphasis of meaningful societal impact through the job can foster performance.

8.8 Conclusion

The objective of this study was to explore whether PSM is positively related to performance under a range of circumstances. Using the POMO dataset, a representative sample of public employees and a smaller matched sample of private employees we tested whether the relationship between PSM and performance was moderated by the societal impact potential (SIP) of a job and the sector (public or private legal status). The results showed that those who feel driven to contribute to society and hold a job with a high societal impact potential in the public sector reported the highest performance. Employment sector mattered in that the interaction between SIP and PSM was only significant in the public sector. However, an analysis based on subsamples of employees from two specific domains (economic/ administrative/ commercial and medical/ paramedical/ healthcare) showed that it is difficult to determine the publicness of an organization based on legal status, as various organizations with a private legal status have a public mission. PSM plays a role in both public and private organizations based on legal status, but appears to be most strongly related to performance if employees perceive their job to have a high

societal impact potential – regardless of sector. PSM was unrelated to performance for those public sector employees whose job had a low societal impact potential. As such, this study shows that the PSM – performance propositions may have boundaries and that PSM is in itself not always enough, but that this boundary is not primarily formed by structural elements of the publicness of the organization, but rather by the expectations and opportunities regarding being able to contribute to society through the job.



Chapter 9.

Only when the job's societal impact potential is high?

*A panel study of the relationship between
PSM and performance*

Summary

Many studies have demonstrated a positive association between public service motivation and performance, and how this relationship is likely to be contingent upon the employees' experience of a fit with the working environment. However, much of the aforementioned research is based on cross-sectional data which is prone to endogeneity and common method bias. Moreover, our knowledge of which specific environmental characteristics adds positively to the PSM-performance relationship is also sparse. In this study we test the moderating role of a public job's societal impact potential (SIP) – that is, the degree to which the job is perceived to actually provide opportunities to contribute to society – on the PSM-performance relationship using panel data from 2010 to 2012 with almost 14,000 public sector employees in 42 different organizations. We provide robust findings on a positive relationship between PSM and individual performance, even over time, but only when the societal impact potential of the job is high. PSM is only weakly (organizational level) or not at all (individual level) related to performance when SIP is low. This is an important insight for organizations that aim to enhance performance through PSM as this can only be done when the societal impact potential is perceived as high.

An article based on this chapter is under review with Anne Mette Kjeldsen, Lotte Bøgh Andersen, Wouter Vandenabeele and Peter Leisink.

9.1 Introduction

How can we explain why some public organizations perform better than others? The public administration literature indicates that public service motivation (PSM) can be an important element in explaining high performance, because it can make employees go ‘above and beyond the call of duty’ (DiIulio 1994; Perry & Wise 1990). PSM represents an autonomous, yet extrinsic type of motivation, stemming from a sense of duty and identification with public service provision (Houston 2011; Vandenabeele 2013). Individuals with PSM therefore feel an internal drive to work hard and do well, if they work on a public task (Vandenabeele 2007). Several studies have documented a positive association between PSM and individual performance (e.g. Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Vandenabeele 2009) and some have also found a relationship with organizational performance (Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005). These studies argue that public organizations with a higher average public service motivation amongst employees perform better, because their employees work harder, are more focused on contributing to society, and are more committed to attain the organization’s public goals. Thus, having high PSM employees may constitute an organizational resource alongside with more material resources.

However, firstly, many of the previous studies have analysed the relationship between PSM and individual performance using cross-sectional data. Such data is potentially affected by endogeneity, stemming for instance from omitted variable bias, and does not account for the organization in which employees work (Wooldridge 2013). Utilizing a large dataset with almost 14,000 Dutch public sector employees in 42 organizations collected as two independent representative samples in 2010 and 2012, we (1) provide a very conservative test of the PSM-performance relationship over time at the organizational level where our data can be organized as a fixed-effects panel regression analysis, and (2) test the impact of a specific work environment characteristic – the societal impact potential (SIP) of a job – on this hypothesised positive association.

Brewer and Selden (2000) among others have argued that a likely characteristic of high PSM employees is that they reach beyond their own work tasks and through their ‘extra-role’ behaviours (Williams & Anderson 1991; Smith et al. 1983) help colleagues and the organization in general which can be viewed as an underexploited organizational resource. Moreover, with an analysis over time the role of PSM for performance can be isolated and the potential effect of other variables and time-invariant biases can partly be eliminated. There are limited longitudinal studies on employee attitudes and performance in public administration and HRM studies whereas they can contribute to more robust findings (Wright & Grant 2010; Knies 2012; Van de Voorde et al. 2010).

Moreover, many studies on the PSM – performance relationship assume that it is possible for all employees in public organizations to contribute to society without always testing whether this is so. Several studies have shown that direct perceptions of person-environment fit (Edwards & Shipp 2007; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005) matter for the relationship between PSM and work outcomes (Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Taylor 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008), whereas our knowledge of how specific characteristics of the environment matter for the PSM – performance relationship is sparse. It may be essential to look at whether employees perceive their jobs to have a high societal impact potential

(i.e., they perceive their jobs as providing opportunities to make a meaningful contribution to society). This study aims to fill this gap by including the societal impact potential (SIP) of a job. As opposed to perceived fit, we thus focus on *subjective* (PSM-) fit – a specific type of person-job fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005), which stems from the interaction between PSM and the perceived societal impact potential of a job. We expect that the PSM-performance relationship will be strongest when SIP is high.

The analysis is based on a secondary dataset called ‘POMO’, which is a representative sample of more than 20,000 public employees in the Netherlands. If we also find a relationship between PSM and performance over time this would provide more robustness to this hypothesized relationship. Moreover, if SIP moderates the PSM-performance relationship, this is an important contribution to the public administration literature as it demonstrates how the PSM-performance relationship may be context-dependent.

9.2 The relationship between public service motivation and performance

According to Perry and Wise (1990), public service motivation (PSM) can be seen as an individual drive towards providing public services stemming from various motives such as rational – wanting to participate in and enhance public services, normative – out of a commitment to the public interest and a feeling of duty, and affective motives – out of compassion and identification with others. Vandenabeele (2007, p. 549) defined PSM as *‘the belief, the 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’*. Public service motivation is not a stable trait, but is shaped and formed throughout life by the institutions with which the individual interacts (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008).

Perry and Wise (1990) proposed a positive relationship between PSM and individual performance, which spurred empirical research on such a relationship. However, to study how well public organizations, or those within public organizations, are doing their job is complex: A single measure can hardly ever accurately and fully capture performance of public organizations (Andrews et al. 2006; Boyne 2002; Brewer & Selden 2000). For public organizations, it is difficult to measure their performance through financial targets because they have multiple (oftentimes conflicting) goals (Behn 2003; Boyne 2002; Brewer 2006). Moreover, their multiple stakeholders have different views on what the organization should do and how well it is done, making performance to some an inherently subjective concept (Brewer 2006). Finally, different performance measures serve different goals, from monitoring by politicians to motivating employees (Behn 2003).

Although distinguishing between different aspects of performance can show potential differences in how these aspects are influenced, this study focuses on general individual performance, or rather, self-reports of how colleagues and supervisors evaluate the employees’ performance. Individual performance in public organizations can be defined as the individual’s contribution to achieving the organization’s public mission. Given that this study compares many different organizations, self-reported performance is a very useful measure as it can be compared across organizations and jobs. By focusing on employee self-perceived perfor-

mance, we thus show one piece of the puzzle. On the other hand, self-reported performance measures may be flawed by social desirability or other types of common source bias – as is the case with much PSM studies (Podsakoff et al. 2003; Wright & Grant 2010). How we deal with this will be discussed and explained further in the section on methods and data.

A positive relationship between PSM and individual performance is theoretically assumed based on identification and commitment mechanisms (Brewer 2008). Those who feel a strong drive to contribute to society identify strongly with the work they are doing. The stronger the identification with the work, the more the importance will be internalized (Deci & Ryan 2000). A higher degree of internalization of the work means the individual will exert more effort and is consequently expected to perform better than those who do not have a high public service motivation (Brewer 2008; Vandenabeele 2009). Moreover, a high commitment to public service may drive employees to place their work above their own interests and do more than they are asked to do (DiIulio 1994; Brewer 2008). Empirical studies on PSM have mainly focused on the individual level since PSM is an individual construct, and the most likely effect of PSM is on individual performance (Bellé 2013; Bright 2007; Perry & Wise 1990; Vandenabeele 2009). Almost all studies found a significant positive relationship between PSM and performance. Our first expectation is therefore formulated as:

H1: Individual PSM is positively related to self-perceived individual performance in public organizations.

However, testing this hypothesis with a cross-sectional data and self-perceived performance at the individual level, our analysis is likely to suffer from endogeneity problems and/or common method bias leading to an overestimation of the hypothesized association or even worse – a false positive. To avoid such bias, we take our analysis one step further and analyse it with panel data at the public sector organizational level using aggregated scores of individual PSM and performance perceptions (Verbeek 2008, p. 407; Wooldridge 2013). The theoretical contributions and implications of doing so are discussed in the following section. To do so, however, we need to aggregate the individual scores to the organizational level. This is discussed in the next section.

The relationship between PSM and performance at the organizational level

To conceptualize what aggregation means to our theoretical expectation of a positive relationship between PSM and performance and which way or aggregation is appropriate, the nature of the group and the concepts of interest are leading (Bell 2007). First, the level on which the relationship is analysed – organizations – is in this study heterogeneous and does not bear the characteristics of an interdependent team. On a lower level the employees may be part of a team – for instance a surgical team in which the members depend on each other to succeed – but the organization as a whole is not interdependent on each and every individual. This can be described as an additive model, in which each member contributes to the organization's performance, in which case aggregating data by taking the group mean is recommended (Bell 2007; Chan 1998). Moreover, PSM is an individual attribute (Perry & Wise 1990) and the aim is not to test for the effect of *similarities* in PSM on performance, but rather whether an organization with a high level of public service

motivated employees also has a higher average performance. Consistency or within-group agreement is irrelevant in such a situation (Bell 2007; Glew 2009; Meyer & Schermuly 2012). Due to these two characteristics of the analysis, aggregating to group means is the recommended procedure (Bell 2007; Chan 1998; Glew 2009; Meyer & Schermuly 2012).

However, we do not imply that organizational performance is just the sum of the individual performance on the task (Brewer & Selden 2000). Instead, individuals can reach beyond their own tasks through their 'extra-role' behaviours to help colleagues and the organization in general (Williams & Anderson 1991; Smith et al. 1983). Focusing on the average individual performance in the organization, we are in line with Perry and Wise's (1990) assertion that PSM contributes to organizational performance *through* higher individual performance. It is a conservative test since the performance measure used here only includes an evaluation of the individual's performance on their tasks, not of their extra-role performance, on which PSM has been found to have a substantial effect and which also increases organizational performance (Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2006; Podsakoff et al. 1997). An aggregation of individual performance does therefore not equate with organizational performance as the latter would also ask for coordination and helping colleagues. Moreover, individuals can perform well while the organization does not. Still, individual performance on the organizational level provides – limited, but valuable – information on how on average the individuals in the organization are doing their work.

When studying the PSM – performance relationship over time, a central question is whether PSM can theoretically be expected to change over time. Wright and Grant (2010, 693) asked whether PSM is a dynamic state or a static trait, and recent research (Brænder & Andersen 2013; Kjeldsen & Jacobsen 2012) indicates that it is dynamic and can change under the influence of for instance dramatic circumstances (war), education and starting a job. Systematic changes over time in aggregated PSM in an organization can therefore be a result of selection as well as changed motivation among the individuals remaining in the organization (e.g. through changed situations or socialization) and attrition. Organizations that are able to attract, socialize and retain employees with higher levels of PSM may be expected to have higher levels of average individual performance, since their employees perform better, work harder and help each other (Bellé 2013; Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009). Finally, several studies have found a relationship between PSM and self-reported organizational performance (Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2006). This leads to our second hypothesis:

H2: The average individual PSM in an organization is related to the average individual performance in the organization over time.

Although most empirical studies of employees have shown that PSM is positively related to performance (e.g. Andersen et al. 2014; Bright 2007; Ritz 2009; Vandenabeele 2009) some studies did not find a significant relationship (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Ritz 2009). This may be due to differences in the institutional context, related to whether the employee feels able to contribute to society, in which the PSM-performance relationship has been studied. Several studies have therefore included a measure of the fit between PSM and the environment (Bellé 2013; Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009).

9.3 The context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship

The institutional context is important for the PSM-performance relationship, because highly public service motivated employees are expected to perform better due to their internal, autonomous drive to contribute to society, but only if they perceive they can do exactly that (Deci & Ryan 2000; Vandenabeele 2013). It is thus important that the work context provides opportunities to actually contribute to society (Brewer 2008; Leisink & Steijn 2009). The institutional context influences employees by creating formal and informal rules and defining the dominant logic (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). Structural, normative and cultural cognitive elements are carried by organizational missions, rules, tasks, job design, symbols and everyday practices (Scott 2001). These elements can differ between public organizations and may influence the relationship between PSM and performance.

Following PSM theory, a positive association between PSM and outcomes can be expected if – and only if – the work context (through the job, organization, team, etc.) provides opportunities to contribute to society or aims to fulfil a public mission (Bright 2008; Kjeldsen & Andersen 2012; Leisink & Steijn 2009). Contributing to society can be seen as part of *publicness*. Although publicness has mostly been defined according to authority or ownership (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003), using an institutional approach to publicness means that not only structural elements of the environment but also normative and cultural-cognitive elements determine publicness and can thus play a role for the relationship between PSM and performance. Structural elements such as sector and working conditions may matter (Bellé 2013; Brewer & Brewer 2011). Bellé (2013) for instance found that the effect of PSM on effort, persistence, quality and effectiveness was stronger under work conditions in which the prosocial impact of the job was clearer. But normative elements, such as values and expectations of individuals regarding their job can also matter. For instance, several studies have found that the congruence between PSM and the organization's values – a normative element – matters for performance (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013).

An institutional approach to publicness also shows that differences in publicness are not confined to public versus private ownership, but instead, that those organizations defined as public on ownership or authority grounds can differ from each other substantially on other characteristics. Prisons, police and municipalities are in many contexts defined as public on structural grounds, but differ immensely in their mission, tasks, values, and the job's opportunities to contribute to society. Contexts can thus differ in their emphasis on publicness, and it is plausible that the PSM-performance relationship depends on this.

Person-environment (P-E) fit theory (Edwards & Shipp 2007; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005) shows how the institutional context interacts with individual characteristics in determining performance. P-E fit theory distinguishes different forms of fit, such as needs-supply, demands-abilities and congruence fit, and types, such as person-job and person-organization fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Contributing to society can be seen as an individual 'need' that public service motivated employees strive to fulfil through their work, which searches for a 'supply' of opportunities to do so (Steijn 2008). This need – supply fit is mostly studied on the job level, studying person-job fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). According to P-E fit theory, institutional context can play a role for the relationship between

individual characteristics and performance in several ways. First, objective characteristics or settings of the institutional context interact with characteristics of individuals, and form a fit (or not). This is called objective fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Second, the individual's perception of the institutional context also interacts with the individual's needs, values or abilities – called subjective fit; and finally, characteristics of the individual influence the direct perception of fit by the individual – called perceived fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005).

Empirical evidence suggests that both actual work settings and perceived fit matters for the relationship between PSM and work outcomes (Bright 2007; Stritch & Christensen 2013; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Taylor 2013; Wright & Pandey 2008). Most PSM studies have, however, focused on perceived fit, studying direct perceptions of the fit with the job or organization (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Wright & Pandey 2008). Studies on perceived fit are useful for showing *whether* a fit with the job or organization matters, but are less able to show *in which specific* contexts PSM has a strong positive relationship with individual performance, and in which contexts this is not the case.

This study focuses on the societal impact potential (SIP) of a job, the perception of employees of a job characteristic which shows to what degree the job is perceived to provide opportunities to contribute to society. We focus on the job level because previous studies on the importance of a fit with the job and organization have found that a fit with the job was more important than that with the organization for employees with high public service motivation (Christensen & Wright 2011). The perceived societal impact potential can be seen as one of the normative elements of the publicness of the institutional context – which is also determined by organizational values, authority, ownership, type of users, job characteristics, etcetera (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997; Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003). The interaction between PSM and SIP can be seen as PSM-fit, a special type of job-fit measuring how well a public service motivated individual perceives to fit with the opportunities provided by the job (Leisink & Steijn 2009).

The key claim in the PSM-fit argument is that individual performance is the result of an interaction between PSM and the publicness of the institutional context. Here we focus on the perceptions of publicness by the employee – the degree of societal impact potential of the job. If employees feel a drive to contribute to society through their work, but are not in a position to do so, this may lead to frustration, resigned satisfaction or even burn-out (Giauque et al. 2013). Organizations with the ability to provide or create jobs in which the perceived societal impact is high, are better able to incentivize the PSM of their employees with high individual performance as a result (Perry 2000; Moynihan & Pandey 2007). If employees are highly public service motivated but do not perceive a high societal impact potential, their performance is expected to be less high. This results in the third hypothesis:

H3: The societal impact potential of the job moderates the relationship between PSM and individual performance in such a way that PSM is only positively related to individual performance if the job has a societal impact potential.

Regarding the analysis over time, the change in average societal impact potential (SIP) per organization is included as moderator. With this average organizational SIP we capture to what degree individuals in the organization on average see opportunities in their job to

contribute to society. Although the SIP may differ between jobs within the organization, and some (such as supportive staff) may see less potential for having a meaningful impact on society in their jobs (although this is speculative), the average SIP within the organization measures to what extent employees within the organization generally perceive that they can have an impact on society through their specific jobs. Management and leadership, but also the organizational rules and way of doing things may have an important influence on the perceived societal impact potential. If a supervisor highlights the problems in contributing to society, or protocols all processes, the perception of employees of opportunities to contribute may decrease. Importantly, we therefore argue that perceived societal impact potential can change over time, and we utilize both the variation over time and the variation at a given time between individuals to test whether the association between PSM and self-perceived performance depends on the job's societal impact potential (SIP).

9.4 Research model

Figure 9.1 shows the hypothesized models. First, the relationship between PSM and individual performance is analysed (cross-sectional) on the individual level while controlling for the organization in which the individual works. Next, a panel analysis is carried out. In this analysis the relationship between *the changes* in average individual PSM and SIP within the organization from 2010 to 2012, and the potentially corresponding changes in average individual performance in the organization from 2010 to 2012, is analysed. Through this aggregation to the organizational level a panel analysis can be done, which allows us to test whether the relationship between PSM, SIP and performance remains significant when controlling for potential omitted variables and bias that does not change over time (Knies & Leisink 2014; Wooldridge 2013). This design increases the robustness of the findings regarding the relationship between PSM and performance, but with this analysis inferences about causality are not possible. How the relationships are analysed will be explained in the next section.

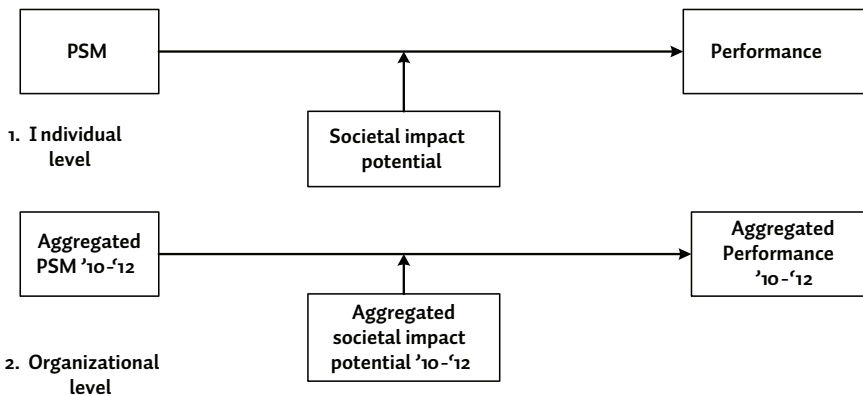


Figure 9.1: Theoretical model for relationship between PSM, SIP and performance on the individual and, over time, on the organizational level.

9.5 Methods

In this section first the data collection is discussed, followed by the measures used and the statistical analyses.

Data collection

Every two years, the Dutch Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations conducts a ‘personnel and mobility survey’ (POMO) amongst a representative sample of public employees. The definition used to define ‘public’ is the legal status of the organization. This paper utilizes the data collected in 2010 ($n=26,830$) and 2012 ($n=22,446$) as the government decided to include multiple items on PSM from 2010 onwards. Moreover, these years’ surveys allow identification of a large part of the sample respondents’ organizations which makes it possible to analyse the same organizations over time. Since the samples are representative, the organizational means on PSM, SIP and performance can be measured in both years.

Employees for whom we could not identify the specific organization (such as municipality employees) are excluded, and so are organizations with less than 20 respondents in one of the years (7 organizations) and organizations that have been merged or split up from 2010 to 2012 (3 organizations). The analysis includes respondents with all types of jobs since there is no reason why we should not expect PSM to also matter, for instance, for those in supportive functions. They may have a job with a lower societal impact potential, although even this is speculative as a financial controller can be of great importance to society. This left us with 13,967 employees in 42 organizations. The average age of the respondents was 46 years and the average tenure almost 8 years. 49% of the sample was male, 58% of employees followed training and 26% of the employees held a supervisory position. On average, the number of respondents per organization was 285.

Measures

The measurement model of PSM, SIP and individual performance is analysed with confirmatory factor analysis, which provides insight into how well the items represent the underlying construct (Kline 2010). Since chi square is known to be inflated when sample size exceeds 200, different indices such as CFI, TLI and RMSEA are used to assess whether the model fits the data (Kline 2010). The measures of CFI and TLI indicate fit with a threshold above .90, and excellent fit above .95. RMSEA indicates fit below .10, and excellent fit below .08 (Byrne 2012; Hu & Bentler 1999; Kline 2010). Reliability is assessed using Raykov’s rho, which bases its calculation on the factor loadings of each item (Bacon et al. 1995; Raykov 2009). A Raykov’s rho of $\rho \geq .70$ or higher indicates good reliability²⁹.

With respect to PSM, the survey contains several items measuring PSM on a scale from completely agree (5) to completely disagree (1) from Perry’s (1996) original list of items. This includes the dimensions of attraction to public policy (APP), compassion (COM), and commitment to the public interest (CPI). Although some items were difficult to place within one of the dimensions, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) testing a second order, three-dimen-

29 Cronbach’s alpha, although less applicable when using confirmatory factor analyses, is reported in the table as well.

sional model proved a good fit with the pooled dataset (CFI=.963, TLI=.946, RMSEA=.046) even though APP had a low loading on PSM. Still, a reliability test indicates the scale to be reliable as it is above the recommended threshold ($\rho=.783$). To create one score on PSM, we first calculated scores for each dimension, going from 0 to 100, adding the scores on the relevant items. Then we combined the three dimensions to a composite measure of PSM which was also rescaled to go from 0 to 100. Thus, all items have equal weight in the measures of the dimensions, and the three dimensions have equal weight in the PSM measure. This means that zero PSM is scoring low on all PSM items, while 100 oppositely is obtained by agreeing to all statements expressing high PSM (and disagreeing on statements expressing low PSM). Calculating the measure this way eases interpretation and relates our findings to defined minimum and maximum scores. The items are displayed in Table 9.1.

Societal impact potential is measured with three items, previously used by Leisink and Steijn (2009) measuring the opportunity to contribute to society. The overall question was to what degree the following statements are applicable to the employee's job; that is, not referring to their opinion on specific issues, but how they perceive their job to be characterized. The scale ranges from 'not applicable at all'(1) to 'completely applicable'(5). A CFA with these three items does not lead to fit indices due to low degrees of freedom. However, factor loadings ranged from .53 to .86 and the reliability was high ($\rho=.798$). Therefore, we continue with the measure. The appendix contains a table with the mean scores on PSM and SIP per organization in 2010 and 2012 (Table A9.1). It shows that most agencies improved their average SIP score from 2010 to 2012, but PSM decreased or increased depending on the organization. The lowest score on PSM was recorded in the navy (at the time facing major budget cuts).

Finally, the survey contained several items which ask for a self-report of the evaluation the employee receives from colleagues and their supervisor. In this study, we use three items that refer to how the employee is appreciated in the organization as a proxy of their performance. Often a distinction is made between objective and subjective measures. Performance measures that are established impartially and without influence of the object being rated are sometimes seen as the golden standard (Andrews et al. 2006). For instance, Meier and O'Toole (2013) show how subjective data can lead to biased results. However, in their comparison of subjective and objective data, they analyse different aspects of performance, whereas other studies with more comparable subjective and objective measures find higher correlations between the two types of measures (Andrews et al. 2006; Andrews et al. 2011; Bommer et al. 1995; Hoffman et al. 1991).

We argue that both objective and subjective performance measures have benefits. While self-perceived (subjective) measures are more comparable between different types of organizations and tend to capture a broader part of employees' multiple goals (Lazear & Gibbs 2009, 257), these measures are more prone to common source and social desirability bias than more objective measures (Meier & O' Toole 2013; Podsakoff et al. 2003). Different types of performance measures (subjective, objective, external, internal) can thus be seen as different pieces of the public performance puzzle. Each piece provides important – but limited – information about performance; and different pieces serve different purposes (Andrews et al. 2006; Andrews et al. 2011; Behn 2003; Brewer 2006), indicating that both relatively subjective and relatively objective measures are useful for gaining insight into

Table 9.1: Descriptive statistics of measures in the pooled cross-sectional dataset (indiv. level).

Measures	Fl.	Min	Max	SD	Mean
Public service motivation ($\rho=.783$; $\alpha=.690$)		0	100	11.60	66.38
Public policy making		0	100	20.53	68.62
PSM0 Politics is a dirty word. (R)	.585				
PSM1 I have little interest in politics. (R)	.901				
Public interest/Civic duty		0	100	15.36	60.09
PSM2 I unselfishly contribute to my community.	.507				
PSM3 Providing meaningful public service is very important to me.	.693				
PSM4 I find it more important to contribute to the public good than having personal success.	.592				
PSM5 The general interest is a key driver in my daily life.	.732				
Compassion		0	100	13.51	70.44
PSM6 It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.	.615				
PSM7 <i>I seldom think about the welfare of people whom I don't know personally. (R)</i>	-				
PSM8 I think the welfare of fellow citizens is very important.	.740				
PSM9 If we don't show more solidarity, our society will fall apart.	.516				
SIP ($\rho=.798$, $\alpha=.753$)		0	100	21.29	54.39
SIP0 I contribute to the development or execution of public policy in my job.	.692				
SIP1 I contribute to the public interest through my job.	.851				
SIP2 <i>I contribute to solving other people's problems in my job.</i>	-				
SIP3 I contribute to achieving a greater degree of solidarity in our society through my job.	.537				
Performance ($\rho=.730$, $\alpha=.550$)		0	100	11.85	70.10
E3 Compared to people who do the same work as I do, I am highly appreciated by my organization.	.245				
E4 In my work colleagues ask me for advice if things get complicated.	.768				
E5 In my work I am given the more difficult jobs.	.738				

Deleted items are in italic, both Raykov's rho (ρ) and Cronbach's alpha (α) are displayed, fl.=factor loading

how organizations function. Our measure thus provides a limited view on performance – that view reported by the employee.

When evaluating the validity of our self-perceived performance measure, one of the three items had a low loading; yet, the performance scale's reliability was good ($\rho=.730$)³⁰. To test the fit of all constructs together, we ran a CFA including PSM, SIP and performance. This model fitted well (CFI=.944; TLI=.930; RMSEA=.042). The calculation of SIP and individual performance was done similarly to the PSM measure, ensuring that it goes from zero (answers indicating low SIP or performance in all three questions) to 100 (answers indicating high SIP or performance in all three questions). Table 9.1 shows the items, factor loadings, mean scores, and reliabilities.

Next to these measures, we control for several other factors. On the individual level, gender, age, tenure, salary, whether employees received training, and whether they held a supervisory position can all matter for their performance. On the organizational level, it is only relevant to control for factors that can change over time as the organizational level fixed effects rule out influence by time-invariant factors. Given that the composition of employees varies a bit over time, we therefore control for the percentage of women and supervisors, the average age and the number of employees.

Statistical models

To examine the association between individual PSM and performance depending on the experienced SIP of the respondents' jobs, we use a pooled, cross-sectional POMO dataset including all respondents ($n=13,967$) who answered the surveys in 2010 and 2012. We estimate a GLS random effects regression which accounts for the organization in which the respondent works by including an organization-specific random intercept in the prediction of performance, i.e. a multi-level regression that deals with the dependence among groups of individuals belonging to the same organization (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal 2008; Cameron & Trivedi 2010). In this way, the multilevel model allows us to estimate both how much variation in performance is explained by PSM and SIP between different individuals *within* organizations and *across* organizations (R^2 within and between organizations, respectively). More specifically, the model is hierarchically organized where first, the direct associations between PSM, SIP and individual performance are analysed. Next, the possible moderation effect of SIP is tested by including the interaction term, PSM*SIP, created by multiplying the summative individual scores on PSM and SIP. Finally, the control variables are added to the analysis to see if the relationship is robust across different employees and organizations.

Moving on to test the proposed associations at the organizational level, we perform an organizational fixed effects panel regression allowing us to test how the changes in PSM and PSM*SIP from 2010–2012 affect employee performance within the organizations. To do this, the average public service motivation and societal impact potential scores as well as average performance scores are calculated for both survey years in each organization. Thus,

30 The Cronbach's alpha of our measure is, however, rather low (cf. Table 1) which is probably due to the low number of items. We have performed some robustness tests of our main results of the hypotheses testing using different compositions of the self-reported performance measure. No matter if we run the models with only item E3 or a combination of item E4 and E5, we still get the same substantive and significant results with respect to the moderating role of SIP in the PSM-performance relationship.

the data is aggregated to the organizational level by means of saving the average PSM, SIP and performance per organization. This reduces the *n* to 42 organizations. Using a fixed effects panel regression on aggregated data at the organizational level reduces endogeneity issues and common method bias, which includes at least parts of omitted variable and social desirability bias (Verbeek 2008, 359–362, 407). Because the data is analysed over time, this time variation can be used to control for factors that do not change over time, leaving only the variation that does change left to be explained by the included variables³¹.

Panel analysis has thus been suggested as a very effective means to limit the common method bias typically associated with cross-sectional studies using self-perceived performance measures since such bias related to social desirability is assumed to be stable across time (Favero & Bullock 2014; Jakobsen & Jensen 2015). In this respect, our approach with aggregating data at the organizational level resembles Brewer's split sample method (2006) widely recognized as a means to deal with common method bias – here uniquely combined with a panel analysis (which is also the reason why we do not employ the split sample method in its original form). Moreover, common method bias is also generally considered a very limited risk for producing false positives when dealing with interaction models since studies have found that when a true interaction effect exist, common method bias attenuate the interaction effect rather than boosting it (Jakobsen & Jensen 2015, 16). Thus, in our case an aggregated panel analysis at the organizational level provides a very conservative test of the PSM-performance relationship and the moderating role of SIP.

9.6 Results

First the results on the individual level are shown, followed by the organizational level panel analysis.

The relationship between PSM, SIP, and performance – individual level

In the first analysis, a GLS regression on the pooled cross-sectional data was conducted on whether PSM and SIP are significantly related to individual performance. Table 9.2 shows the results of the analysis. In Model 1, we see that PSM and SIP are both significantly and positively related to performance, which supports Hypothesis 1. In Model 2, the interaction between PSM and SIP is added. This interaction, PSMxSIP, is significant and positive. The negative main effects for PSM and SIP show that for employees who see no potential for a societal impact in their jobs, the association between PSM and performance is negative, and for employees without PSM, the association between the job's SIP and performance is also negative. In Models 3 to 6, various control variables are added. These do not change the relationship between PSM, SIP, and performance. In the final model, gender is significantly negatively related to performance (males score lower) and a supervisory position, higher salary, and received training relate to higher performance.

³¹ If the same individuals had answered the surveys in 2010 and 2012, and if we had been able to link these answers, we could have done the same at the individual level.

Table 9.2: Individual level cross-sectional analysis.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constant	54.87*** (0.590)	65.75*** (1.404)	59.01*** (2.056)	63.74*** (2.074)	64.97*** (2.243)	64.18*** (2.298)
PSM	0.148*** (0.00867)	-0.0187 (0.0213)	-0.0149 (0.0213)	-0.00530 (0.0215)	-0.00902 (0.0227)	-0.00976 (0.0227)
SIP	0.104*** (0.00480)	-0.100*** (0.0244)	-0.103*** (0.0243)	-0.0919*** (0.0246)	-0.0936*** (0.0259)	-0.0927*** (0.0259)
PSMxSIP		0.00307*** (0.000359)	0.00307*** (0.000359)	0.00261*** (0.000363)	0.00255*** (0.000382)	0.00256*** (0.000382)
Gender (male=1)			0.922*** (0.212)	-0.353 (0.219)	-0.437+ (0.230)	-0.446+ (0.234)
Age			0.365*** (0.0720)	0.0604 (0.0736)	-0.0153 (0.0804)	0.00466 (0.0808)
Age²			-.00469*** (0.000807)	-0.00195* (0.000821)	-0.00104 (0.000894)	-0.00122 (0.000897)
Year (2012=1)			-0.484* (0.195)	-0.414* (0.197)	-0.219 (0.213)	-0.124 (0.223)
Salary				0.822*** (0.0394)	0.727*** (0.0438)	0.730*** (0.0441)
Tenure					0.00705 (0.0146)	0.00711 (0.0146)
Supervisory (y=1)					1.943*** (0.271)	1.809*** (0.279)
Training (y=1)					1.261*** (0.212)	1.278 *** (0.212)
No. of empl.						-0.0000208 (0.0000147)
%Supervisor						1.746 (1.266)
N (respondents)	13,967	13,967	13,967	13,264	11,925	11,925
r² within	0.0707	0.0756	0.0810	0.110	0.115	0.115
r² overall	0.0643	0.0691	0.0745	0.105	0.112	0.114
r² between	0.0474	0.0438	0.0332	0.000110	0.0128	0.0298
sigma_u	0.792	0.811	0.654	0.443	0.481	0.547
sigma_e	11.40	11.37	11.34	11.16	11.20	11.20
rho	0.00480	0.00506	0.00332	0.00157	0.00184	0.00238
N(organizations)	42	42	42	42	40	40

+ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The final model explains 11.5 percent of the within-organizational variance in performance whereas it explains around 3 percent of the individual performance variance across organizations. Figure 9.2 illustrates the estimated associations: PSM and performance are more strongly associated for higher levels of SIP, and if PSM is very low, performance is estimated to be higher for lower levels of SIP. If employees do not perceive a societal impact potential in their job, PSM is negatively related to performance.

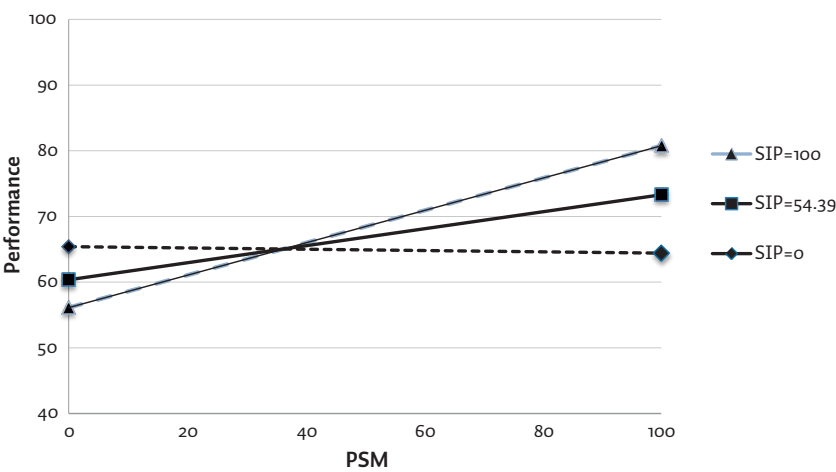


Figure 9.2: Illustration of estimated individual level associations between PSM and performance for minimum, average and maximum levels of SIP (illustrating Model 6 in Table 9.2).

The relationship between PSM, SIP, and individual performance – over time

Table 9.3 shows the results of the organizational level analysis. All scores from employees are now aggregated to the organizational level, meaning that the average scores on PSM, SIP and individual performance per organization are used. The sample is reduced to $n=42$ on the group level as this is the number of investigated organizations.

Model 1 shows that, also at the organizational level, average PSM is positively related to the average performance over time. This is in line with hypothesis 2. Note, however, that the association is only significant at the 0.1 level (at least partly due to the low n). The effect size is however larger, perhaps as a result of controlling for omitted variables. In Model 2, the interaction between PSM and SIP over time, is also significant whereas the main effects become negative, which means that the average PSM is estimated to be negatively related to performance if the average job’s SIP had been zero, and vice versa.

Given that no organization had an average PSM or SIP of zero, these coefficients are not relevant in themselves (and cannot, of course, be interpreted separately from each other, in that it is an interaction model). The interpretation of Model 2 is therefore that the combination of high PSM and high SIP over time is positively related to individual performance in an organization over time. These results do not change substantially when we control for gender, average age, percentage of supervisors, and number of employees. However, in the final model, the percentage of supervisors is highly significant, indicating that the more supervisors in the organization, the higher the average performance score.

Table 9.3: Organizational level (panel regression, fixed effects) analysis

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	46.08** (12.36)	83.00** (23.89)	81.27** (24.91)	62.11* (25.53)
PSM	0.307^ (0.166)	-0.276 (0.364)	-0.274 (0.371)	-0.219 (0.358)
SIP	0.0694 (0.0763)	-0.755 (0.467)	-0.809 (0.484)	-0.519 (0.478)
PSMxSIP		0.0127^ (0.00709)	0.0136^ (0.00733)	0.0121^ (0.00698)
% Men			-3.022 (4.203)	-5.024 (4.013)
Av. age			0.0624 (0.174)	0.133 (0.163)
% Supervisor				7.836** (2.631)
No. of employees				0.000200 (0.000213)
N (observations)	84	84	84	80
r² within	0.0869	0.156	0.170	0.364
r² overall	0.00868	0.00317	0.00535	0.00165
r² between	0.0542	0.0424	0.0422	0.00298
sigma_u	1.513	1.700	1.927	3.007
sigma_e	1.344	1.308	1.332	1.208
rho	0.559	0.628	0.677	0.861
N(organizations)	42	42	42	40

^p<.1, *p<.05, **p<.01, *** p<.001

Figure 9.3 illustrates the findings of the panel regression (calculated for Model 4): The association between PSM and performance is stronger for higher levels of SIP. It also shows that (within the observed range of aggregated PSM) aggregated performance over time is higher for higher values of aggregated SIP. The final model explains 36.4% of the change in performance from 2010 to 2012 within the organizations. In sum, we find support for hypothesis 3 that the societal impact potential moderates the relationship between PSM and performance over time.

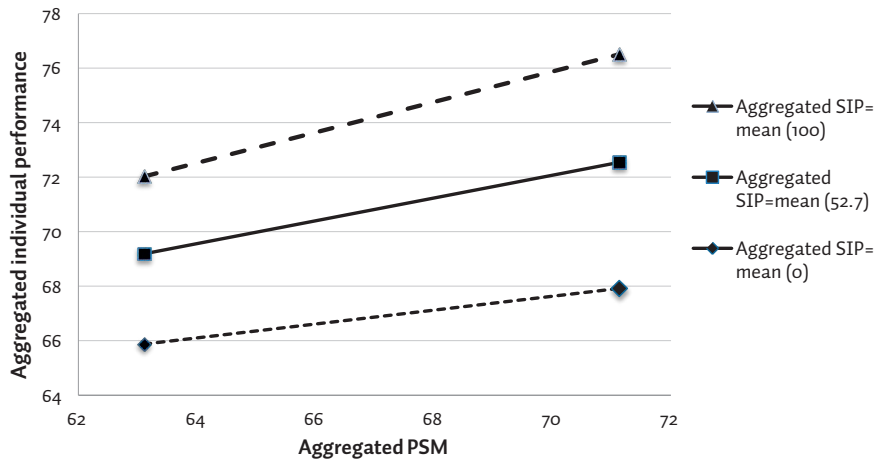


Figure 9.3: Illustration of estimated aggregated PSM–performance associations for minimum, average and maximum levels of SIP (illustrating Model 4 in Table 9.3).

9.7 Discussion

What do these findings on both the individual level and the organizational level tell us? First, the panel data analysis on the organizational level provided a robust test of the PSM – performance relationship and the moderating effect of the job’s societal impact potential. We found that SIP moderated the relationship between the average PSM and average individual performance in organizations over time. By using fixed effects panel regression risks regarding endogeneity issues such as omitted variable or social desirability bias, that potentially affected other studies on PSM, were reduced. The relationship between PSM and performance was even with such a robust test – controlling for parts of the bias – positive and significant. The positive relationship between PSM and performance was however moderated by the perceived societal impact potential of the job.

This moderation of the job’s societal impact potential is our second major finding. The association between PSM and performance is dependent on the context in which the work is done. Our estimates indicate that for individuals who perceive their jobs as lacking a societal impact potential, PSM is not related to performance. This is highly understandable, given that it must be hard to feel able to work hard or strive to do well without perceiving a societal impact for those with high PSM: It is impossible to feel successful according to the individual’s internal standards in terms of making a societal difference. Our findings relate to previous findings showing that employees with high PSM are more committed to the organization, put in more effort, and perform better (Bellé 2013; Brewer 2008; Brewer & Selden 2000; Bright 2007; Kim 2005; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2009).

However, it also shows that it is important to study the role of the publicness of the institutional context in determining the relationship between PSM and performance. Jacobsen et al. (2013) and Moynihan and Pandey (2007) showed how institutional settings

and the perceptions of them (such as red tape and command systems) can influence PSM. We add to this knowledge that the job's societal impact potential matters for the relationship between PSM and performance. Whereas Bright (2007), Gould-Williams et al. (2013) and Kim (2012) found person-organization fit was relevant for the PSM-performance relationship, we found a specific type of subjective person-job fit to be relevant. It could be that those who did not perceive a high SIP still perceived a high person-organization fit. Whether person-job fit or person-organization fit is more important can, however, not be concluded from this study. The findings on the role of PSM and perceived SIP for performance are important because it shows organizations benefit more from high levels of PSM if they are able to offer jobs with a high societal impact potential. PSM is thus not a quick-fix instrument to increase performance as it may even be negatively related to performance when there is no societal impact potential of the job. This is both good news and bad news for managers, as it shows that PSM can contribute to higher performance, but at the same time can be an impediment if the organization cannot meet their employees' needs.

There are some limitations to this study. First, on the individual level, we used a cross-sectional design. Still, we find the same patterns when using the mean PSM, SIP, and performance on the organizational level over time while controlling for time-invariant factors. Although these organizational level analyses provide a step forward, individual panel data would have been preferable. The fact that the relationship was only significant at the $p < .1$ level is most likely due to the very small sample size ($n=42$). Also, although other studies have used similar strategies (Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005) there may be more variation within an organization than between them. On the other hand, this study provides a step forward by using more enhanced techniques such as fixed-effects regression which captures (and controls for) organizational levels of social desirability bias unless this changes over time (Cameron & Trivedi 2009; Jakobsen & Jensen 2015). Furthermore, individual level panels typically suffer from other methodological problems such as attrition and nonresponse bias and are substantively smaller samples than repeated cross-sectional analyses. Each method thus has both drawbacks and advantages and here we have chosen for a large- n study with conservative test of the moderating role of SIP.

Second, the explained variance of PSM was limited, but comparable to other studies. It is likely that PSM explains some, but not all, variation in performance as other motives and other factors such as abilities are also likely to play a role. In the panel regression, which partly controls for this, the explained variance of performance by PSM was much higher. Moreover, we have analysed the relationship in one context. The use of a large representative dataset provides robustness to the findings. Still, it would be useful if future studies could replicate this in different countries to see how specific country characteristics are of influence (Kjeldsen & Andersen 2012). Finally, causal effects could not be derived from this analysis, but we have followed the theoretical argument that PSM can lead to higher performance (Perry & Wise 1990).

The findings have several implications for practice. First, the results indicate that if one is to utilize PSM in terms of performance improvements, good job design and communication are essential. Public organizations rely on the public service motivation of employees due to fixed, often below-market-standard salaries. It is, however, too simple

to say that employees will perform well if they are public service motivated. Organizations can still benefit from the selection, socialization and retention of employees with public service motivation, but they also need to pay attention to job design in terms of making the employees see that they can have an impact on society through their jobs. None of the organizations did, however, have an average societal impact potential of zero. The lowest score on SIP was 39 on a scale from 0–100 and was recorded in a research institute for ‘Fundamental Research of Matter’, a score well below the middle point. Ministries and security agencies such as police and army divisions, which can be seen as classic government tasks, had the highest scores on SIP.

The publicness of the institutional context seems to carry through in employee perceptions of the job. Some aspects of the institutional context which define the societal impact potential may be hard to change such as the organization’s mission, changes in wider society, and political support (budget and personnel). Others can be influenced by the organization. Internal factors such as leadership capacity (communication, structure, culture) and job design can be important. Through for instance transformational leadership styles (Bellé 2014) and communicating the prosocial impact (Grant 2008), perceptions of SIP can be enhanced. Most importantly, through good job design, providing interesting, meaningful jobs, agencies can create optimal circumstances for their public service motivated employees (Hackman & Oldham 1976; Perry et al. 2006).

9.8 Conclusion

An important drawback of previous studies on the relationship between PSM and performance was that they were based on cross-sectional data, potentially influenced by endogeneity. This study provides a more robust test by studying the PSM – performance relationship *over time*. To do so, data was aggregated to the organizational level. We found that even when studying the relationship between PSM and performance over time, a significant and positive relationship was found. However, this study also addressed the question whether we can always expect a positive relationship between PSM and individual performance. This study has investigated the dependence of this relationship on the institutional context by focusing on the job’s societal impact potential. From a person-environment fit perspective, it is expected to be important for employees with high PSM to have a high societal impact potential in their job. Thus, this study tests whether societal impact potential moderates the relationship between PSM and performance. Using a large representative survey dataset among 14,000 employees in 42 agencies from 2010 and 2012, we found that the job’s societal impact potential moderated the relationship between PSM and individual performance, and that this relationship remained significant when we analysed it on the organizational level over time providing evidence that PSM can be an organizational resource.

This study contributes to the current literature in several ways. It is the first panel study on the relationship between PSM and performance and as such provides a more robust test of this relationship. Second, we use a large, representative dataset of public employees in the Netherlands as opposed to many studies that have used convenience

samples. Third, we present new findings on how the proposed positive relationship between PSM and performance is dependent on perceptions of employees of their job: the perceived societal impact potential of the job co-determines whether PSM is positively related to performance. This means that although PSM can contribute to higher performance, managers should be aware that this only counts when employees feel their work can have a positive impact on society. Thus, it is the interaction between attracting and selecting public service motivated individuals, proper job design, management and communication, that determines how well employees function.

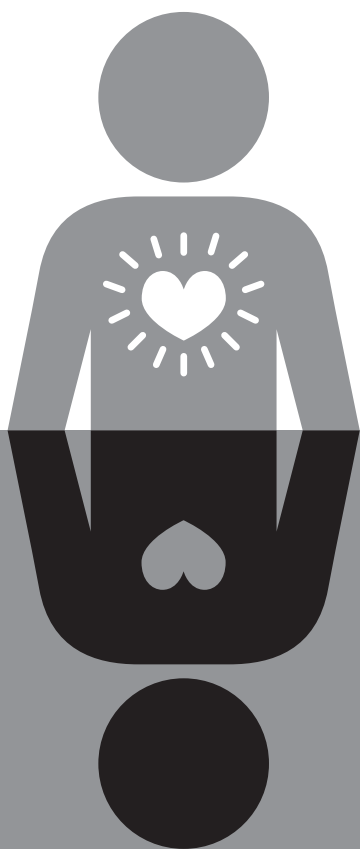
Appendix: Mean scores per organization in 2010 and 2012

Table A9.1: Mean public service motivation (PSM) and societal impact potential (SIP) per organization in 2010-2012.

Organization	2010			2012		
	N	PSM	SIP	N	PSM	SIP
R General affairs	18	69.10	53.13	31	70.91	57.26
R Internal affairs	155	69.58	56.45	248	67.29	56.17
R External affairs	76	71.13	58.47	40	64.63	64.22
Taxing agency (Belastingdienst)	935	66.03	57.53	751	65.62	60.74
R Finance	94	65.91	54.85	79	67.74	58.54
Agency Judicial Facilities (DJI)	402	67.36	59.93	307	66.41	62.95
Agency Immigration and Naturalization	84	66.69	57.07	29	66.59	63.58
R Justice	534	67.54	57.26	485	67.26	60.13
R Education, Culture and Science (OCW)	210	69.64	53.30	228	67.42	54.50
R Social affairs and Employment (SZW)	73	69.29	58.65	77	69.81	60.06
Rijkswaterstaat (highway/ waterway)	316	68.53	58.47	319	66.73	61.07
R Health, Welfare and Sport (VWS)	139	67.33	53.64	135	67.55	58.84
U EUR	70	68.24	48.93	58	65.98	60.54
U ULeiden	126	67.16	44.99	68	65.32	50.46
U RUN	138	67.96	41.39	94	65.60	45.21
U Delft	180	64.34	44.48	126	64.77	51.79
U TU Eindhoven	86	64.61	44.40	70	67.20	51.70
U UniMaas	107	66.34	47.72	56	66.74	46.65
U UTwente	92	64.50	47.76	79	65.03	50.40
U Utrecht University	215	68.44	47.99	141	66.50	52.48
U UvA	152	69.93	48.07	113	68.46	53.48
U UvTilburg	56	66.70	47.43	35	68.21	49.29
U VU	119	68.75	50.05	86	68.85	50.73
U Wageningen Un	89	70.39	47.61	59	68.57	50.00
U Open University	31	65.32	50.40	22	65.81	54.26
SFOM (research institute)	118	64.34	39.19	72	65.39	41.75
Royal Library	71	66.11	46.21	48	66.02	45.57
Dutch Association for Scientific Research	151	66.97	42.88	107	64.47	41.82

H AMC	135	65.63	49.54	96	65.86	52.99
H LUMC	171	65.07	47.48	107	64.56	49.77
H VUMC	124	65.03	50.25	122	64.82	51.08
H AZM	119	66.11	47.49	72	64.55	51.13
H EMC	243	66.45	49.43	194	65.66	55.00
H UMCU	213	66.90	50.15	194	64.83	50.77
H UMC Groningen	217	67.29	47.84	158	65.68	50.00
H Radboud	206	66.06	48.36	163	65.26	51.57
D Navy	202	63.35	54.95	256	63.11	58.79
D Land	433	64.55	53.74	519	63.85	58.56
D Air	223	66.38	53.62	270	63.99	58.15
D Marechaussee	107	66.45	63.96	175	66.56	63.68
P KLPD (police service for severe crimes)	152	67.49	59.05	154	65.91	60.11
P Police Academy (education)	74	66.08	54.98	68	69.33	64.34

Note: R= Ministry/U=University/H=Hospital/D=Defense/P=Police.



Chapter 10.

Public service motivation: potential and pitfalls

In the previous chapters various parts of the theoretical framework were empirically evaluated. This final chapter aims firstly to bring these findings together and, secondly, to relate them to theory and to practice. To reflect these multiple objectives, this chapter consists of two parts. In Part I, a synthesis and summary of the empirical findings is presented, leading to the answer to the main research question. Next, in part II, these results are discussed, showing the limitations and highlighting the main contributions of this research, potential future research paths are laid out, and the implications of this dissertation's findings for practice are discussed.

PART I: CONCLUSION

In this first part the results from the different empirical chapters are synthesized. First, the propositions as discussed in chapter 2 are discussed. Second, the findings regarding the role of institutional context in PSM, performance and the relationship between PSM and performance are brought together, followed by a discussion of the pitfalls of public service motivation. At the end of this part the main research question is answered.

10.1 Synthesizing the results

The central research question which this dissertation set out to answer was:

What is the role of public service motivation in performance and how does institutional context matter?

In Chapter 2, a theoretical argument for a relationship between institutional context, PSM and performance was developed. In the created framework the institutional context, with a specific focus on its publicness, plays a central role. Through discussing the *how*, *why*, *when* and *where* building blocks of PSM theory (Whetten 1989), potential boundaries on the proposition that public service motivation is related to performance were identified. According to this framework, and as envisioned by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), there is an interaction between an individual's motives to contribute to society and the institutional context in which they do their work. Performance is then the result of the interaction between individual PSM and the institutional context. Institutions can support and provide opportunities to contribute to society, but can also hinder or block such motivations (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001).

In this dissertation characteristics of the institutional context related to *publicness* have been studied as *public* is the distinguishing feature of public service motivation. As opposed to authors focusing on specific aspects of the context in determining publicness such as ownership, authority or the manager's perceptions of the services (Antonsen & Jørgensen 1997; Bozeman 1989; Rainey 2003), publicness is placed here within an institutional perspective. From this perspective, authority and ownership can be seen as structural elements of publicness, but other normative and cultural cognitive elements also shape the

publicness (Scott 2001). Various elements on different levels – from sector, organization, to job – determine publicness, such as the type of services, the mission and the users. These aspects make public a more complicated concept, since it means that there is no one public sector, but that even within the public sector major differences in publicness can be found. This dissertation focused on aspects of this publicness on different levels: sector (public versus private legal status), type of public service providers (the logic regarding users: people-processing, people-changing or people-maintaining (Hasenfeld 1983), and the service: either negative/unwanted or positive/wanted) and the societal impact potential within a job.

If employees who are motivated to contribute to society feel they can contribute to society through their work – i.e. there is a good fit with the publicness of the institutional context – it seems likely that they will perform well because putting in effort will bring them closer to their personal goal. If on the other hand the institutional context does not match their drive to contribute to society it is more likely that there will be no or even a negative relationship between their PSM and performance. By drawing on person-environment fit theory (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005), the framework indicates how, whether, when and where institutional context can be expected to influence the PSMperformance relationship.

Several propositions were formulated regarding the role of institutional context in the relationship between PSM and performance. In table 10.1 the propositions are shown with the answer that could be derived from the studies in this dissertation.

Table 10.1: Propositions and relevant results from this dissertation.

Propositions	Findings
P1: The relationship between PSM and performance differs between various dimensions of performance.	<i>In chapter 4 PSM was differently related to various dimensions of self-reported performance, and these relationships also varied between people-changing and people-processing organizations. In chapter 7 only one context was studies but also here PSM was related to some, but not all dimensions of supervisor-rated performance.</i>
P2: Objective or subjective characteristics of the publicness of the institutional context moderate the relationship between PSM and individual performance; and direct perceptions of fit mediate this relationship.	<i>Indeed in chapter 5 the direct perception of person-job fit mediated the PSM-performance relationship, whereas moderation effects were found for objective fit with sector and the subjective fit with societal impact potential of the job in chapters 6, 8 and 9.</i>
P3: The relationship between PSM and individual performance will be strongest when PSM is high and the institutional context has a high degree of publicness.	<i>The relationship between PSM and performance was strongest for those working for an organization with a public legal status and a high job societal impact potential in chapter 8. Publicness as a societal impact potential moderated the PSM-performance relationship in each study – see chapters 6, 8 and 9. Different types of publicness may also matter: the PSM-performance relationship differed between people-changing and people-processing service providers.</i>

P4: The relationship between PSM and wellbeing, as a component of public performance, will be negative when there is a misfit between the degree of publicness of the institutional context and the degree of PSM.	<i>Chapter 6 shows that a misfit between public service motivation and the opportunities to have a positive impact on society increased the risk of burn-out, but differently so for people-changing ‘production’ services and people-processing ‘regulating’ services as in the first too many opportunities to contribute through the job, and in the latter too few opportunities in combination with high PSM were related to higher risk of burn-out.</i>
P5: The relationship between PSM and individual performance will be non-significant or even negative when the institutional context’s degree of publicness is perceived as falling short of the level of PSM.	<i>Although in chapter 9 a slight negative relationship was found between PSM and performance when the job’s societal impact potential was zero, mostly the evidence indicates the relationship between PSM and performance is less strong when the degree of publicness is low (chapter 8). Since no jobs with very low societal impact potential were studied these conclusions are in need of further investigation.</i>
P6: The most important fit for the relationship between PSM and individual performance concern the publicness of the job.	<i>In chapter 5 person-job fit did mediate the relationship between PSM and in-role behavior, person-organization fit did not. In chapter 8 the societal impact potential of the job was a strong moderator, but sector also had an effect. The results indicate that a fit with the job is most important for employees with high levels of PSM.</i>

Proposition 1 was explorative as it stated that differences in relationship between PSM and performance could be expected when studying multiple dimensions of performance. In chapter 4 and 7 the results showed that PSM was related to service and democratic outcome or resilience, but not always to efficiency, output and responsiveness. Propositions 2, 4 and 6 could be confirmed. Proposition 3 appeared to be complex as the results depended on multiple ways of distinguishing between low and high publicness such as legal status and societal impact potential of the job. The findings regarding proposition 5 are inconclusive; although a slight negative relationship between PSM and performance was found when the job had no societal impact potential, in other studies the relationship was only less strong.

Figure 10.1 shows the full theoretical model including the interaction between PSM and institutional context, and performance as multidimensional and how the whole theoretical model was studied in the empirical chapters. In Block A, objective characteristics of the institutional context, i.e. ones determined external to the respondents, are grouped (sector and logics). In Block B, the subjectively studied, i.e. determined by the respondents, characteristic (societal impact potential) is shown. Block C represents the perceived direct fit, where the respondents’ perceptions of whether a fit exists are considered. At the right side of the framework a distinction is made between (performance-related) *behaviour* and *performance*.

The numbers on the linking lines indicate the chapters in which the relationships are discussed. A *solid* arrow represents a significant relationship. Most of the relationships found were not direct but influenced by aspects of the institutional context (service logic, sector, the job’s societal impact potential). Relationships between PSM and performance that are only positive under certain circumstances are represented by *dashed* arrows. Non-significant relationships are indicated by *dotted* arrows. This figure provides a full

view of the studied relationships, and is therefore difficult to grasp. Each part of the model is therefore shown independently in the figures 10.2 to 10.5, together with an explanation of the results regarding that part of the model. Below, the main conclusions are presented, followed by the answer to the main research question.

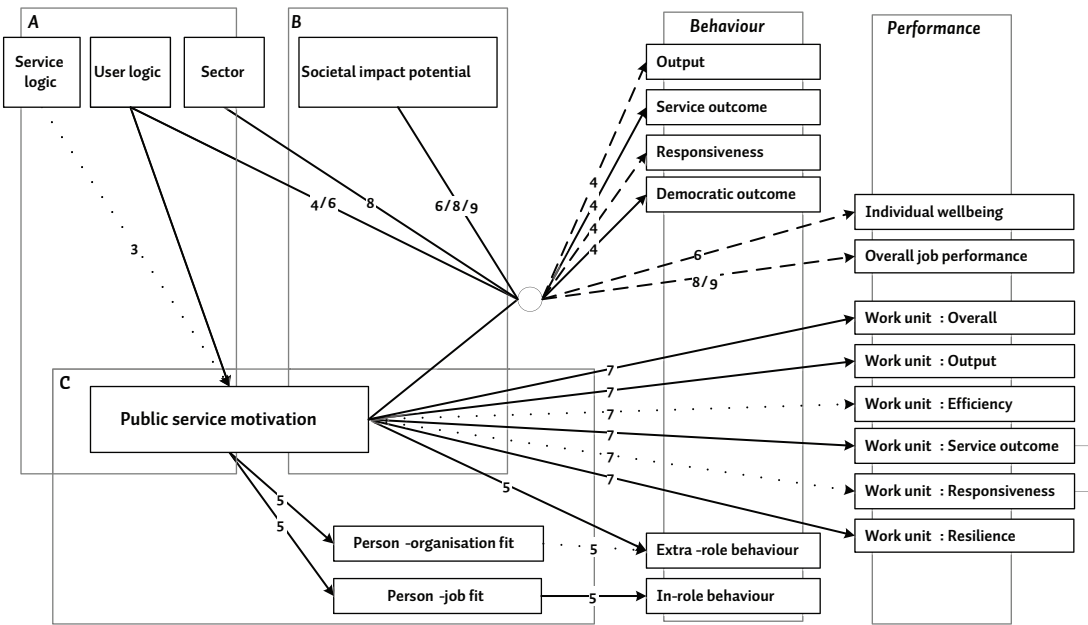


Figure 10.1: Overview of results from empirical studies. ○=interaction studied by a moderation model, number on arrow indicates the related chapter, solid line = significant relationship, dashed line = context-dependent relationship, dotted line = hypothesized relationship but no significant one found.

10.2 The role of the institutional context in public service motivation

In Figure 10.2 the interaction between PSM and institutional context is illustrated. PSM studies have mostly analysed the public sector as a homogeneous unit despite, in reality, it consisting of many different types of organizations (Vandenabeele 2008). In Chapter 3 the interaction between PSM and institutional context was analysed. To analyse whether differences in context matter for public service motivation employees in five different types of service provider – healthcare, education, police, prison and local government – were interviewed. Services were distinguished in terms of two dimensions. First, public services can aim to change citizens (schools, hospitals and prisons), and these have been labelled people-changing or production services (Hasenfeld 1983), or can aim to process the status of citizens (city hall administrators and police), labelled people-processing or regulative services. Second, some services are desired or ‘positive’, others unwanted or ‘negative’. When distin-

guishing between these groups differences became apparent in expressions of public service motives. In people-changing services employees tended to emphasize affective motives; in people-processing services normative motives. The wanted – unwanted distinction was less visible in expressions of public service motives. This indicates that PSM does interact with the institutional context: that different public service motives are more salient under certain conditions. The public service motives expressed varied between public service providers, but in all the organizations most of the interviewed employees expressed a personal drive to contribute to society, showing that PSM is a relevant concept to study in all these contexts.

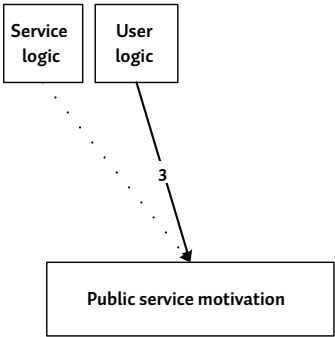


Figure 10.2: Overview of results on interaction between PSM and institutional context.

10.3 The role of institutional context in performance and the consequences for the PSM - performance relationship

Despite Perry and Porter (1982) calling for more contextualized approaches to performance, PSM studies still mostly use global or overall performance measures such as job performance or supervisor rating. The validity of using a single global dimension to represent performance in public organizations can be challenged due to the multiplicity of goals and stakeholders that public service providers have to serve. These goals can be conflicting, such as getting the most output for the least amount of money while being responsive to citizens, providing services in a fair manner and ensuring safety (Boyne 2002; Bozeman 2007; Vandenabeele et al. 2013). In a public context, performance is about norms that are politically determined and contested, and these norms can vary between contexts (Brewer 2006).

There is no single measure that can fairly capture all aspects of what public service providers are asked to do (Andrews et al. 2011). This research therefore adopted a multi-dimensional view on public performance (Andrews et al. 2006; Boyne 2002; Hood 1991; Walker et al. 2011) in studying the role of PSM. The results show that several dimensions of public performance could be distinguished both on the individual level (Chapter 4) and the work unit level (Chapter 7) as indicated in Figure 10.3. If various stakeholders have different ideas and performance standards are political, it is not a question of *whether* PSM is related to delivering the best public service, but how PSM relates to *various* performance dimensions or goals of public service providers.

This dissertation provides new insight into the relationship between PSM and dimensional performance. Figure 10.3 shows how the relationship between PSM and performance depends on the dimension studied. Importantly, it shows that the results of the relationship with PSM differ between studying performance as an overall concept and as a set of distinct dimensions. In Chapter 7 PSM was shown to be significantly related to overall performance but, when broken down into dimensions, PSM was *not* significantly related to either efficiency or responsiveness. This shows that using a context-dependent approach, accounting for the multidimensionality of performance in a public context, uncovers underlying differences in the relationship with PSM that are hidden when using overall measures. Taking context-dependency a step further, Chapters 4 and 7 show that PSM was significantly related to all the investigated dimensions in a people-changing service context, but unrelated to output and responsiveness in a people-processing service context, and unrelated to efficiency and responsiveness in a people-maintenance service context. Differences between public service providers regarding the type of service they provide can influence the *relative* importance of certain dimensions, and the relationship to PSM. This is further discussed in 10.4.

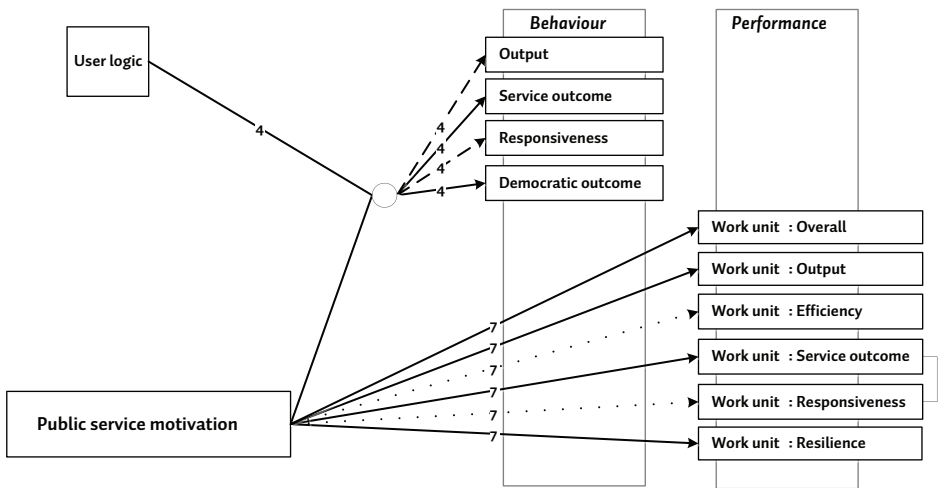


Figure 10.3: Overview of result on multidimensionality of performance and relationship to PSM.

10.4 The context-dependency of the relationship between PSM and performance

Several survey-based studies were conducted to analyse how aspects of the publicness of the institutional context such as sector, type of service and societal impact potential mattered in the relationship between PSM and performance. In several chapters advanced statistical methods were used such structural equation modelling, moderation models,

mediation with bootstrapping, and fixed effects, these advanced methods made it possible to study multiple outcomes simultaneously and provide more robust results. The results regarding the context-dependency of the PSM-performance relationship are shown in Figure 10.4. In each such analysis, the relationship between PSM and performance was found to be context-dependent. PSM is generally positively related to performance, although there are some situations in which there is no positive relationship between PSM and (dimensions of) performance. Three findings stand out.

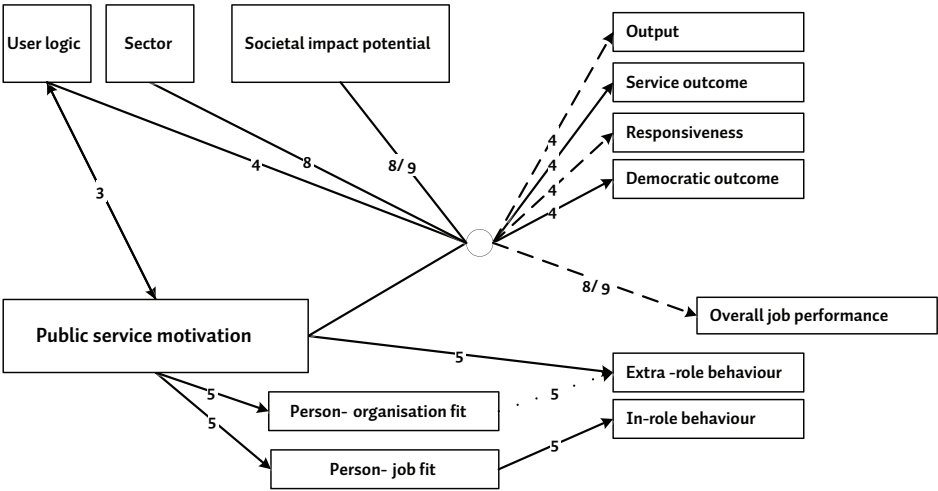


Figure 10.4: Overview of results on context-dependency of the PSM - performance relationship.

First, public service motivation is positively related to performance in some contexts, but not all. In Chapter 5 the reported results show that perceptions of person-job fit mediate the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour but not extra-role behaviour. This means that highly public service motivated employees feel more comfortable in their job in the studied public service providers, and that such a person-job fit leads to higher in-role behaviour. To explore the importance of the job further and gain greater insight into perceptions of publicness of the job mattered for the PSM-performance relationship, further analysis, reported in Chapters 6, 8 and 9, addressed the societal impact potential of a job. A job's societal impact potential refers to the perceived opportunities that the job provides to have an impact on society. The results show that employees with high PSM perform better if they perceive a sufficiently high societal impact potential. If not, the relationship between PSM and performance is non-existent or slightly negative.

Second, the *relative* importance of fits with the job, the organization, the service and the sector was studied. Within person-environment fit literature the relevance of different types of fit (job, organization, supervisor) is argued to depend on the type of outcome studied; for instance person-organization fit matters for organizational commitment, and job fit for job satisfaction (Hoffman & Woehr 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Following these

arguments, person-organization fit was expected to matter for extra-role behaviour, but our findings indicate otherwise. An important aspect of this study is that person-job and person-organization fit were considered concurrently to disentangle their relative importance for the PSM-performance relationship. The results (Chapter 5) show that person-job fit is more important than person-organization fit, indicating that public service motivated employees care more about whether the work they are doing contributes to society than whether their personal values are congruent with those of the organization. In fact, in all studies in this dissertation, the fit with the job or perceived job characteristics appeared more important than organizational or sector (legal status) fit. PSM is a drive to deliver public services and, as such, can be seen as a need that seeks an environment that provides the 'supply' or opportunities to do so (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). As a city hall employee put it:

"I do think, at first glance, [the most important fit] that between person and job. Put another way, if I would say person and organization, I would say that every job at a municipality would suit me. No, for me it is really the job in which I feel I can contribute to society... that is priority number one." - R24, city hall administration (see Chapter 3)

The results reported in Chapter 8 show that both the sector and the societal impact potential of the job moderate the relationship between PSM and performance. Further analyses showed that, of these, the job's societal impact potential is the more important: in both the public and private sectors, there is a positive relationship between PSM and performance if the societal impact potential of the job is high. Strikingly, Chapter 9 reports findings that show that PSM can be negatively related to performance in the public sector if there is no societal impact potential of the job. In Chapter 4 the analyses show that the user logic (people-changing or people-processing) matters for the relationship between PSM and dimensions of performance-behaviour. Chapter 6 shows that both the societal impact potential of the job and the user logic interact with PSM in determining wellbeing. Thus, sector, type of service and job characteristics matter for the relationship between PSM and performance.

The third significant finding is that the publicness of the institutional context matters in various ways. In Chapter 2 it was argued that whether an organization is viewed as public or not is not defined by simply distinguishing between publicly owned or privately owned, but by multiple structural, normative and cultural cognitive elements (Scott 2001). In this dissertation the empirical studies have focused on legal status as public or private, user logic (people-processing or – changing) and the perceived societal impact potential of the job. The empirical studies support an institutional interpretation of publicness. The strongest relationship between PSM and performance was found among public service motivated employees working in a job with a high societal impact potential in the *public sector* (Chapter 8). What is important to recognize is that a privately owned organization can also have a high degree of publicness if analysed on for instance goals as normative element of publicness. For instance, of our samples in Chapter 8, medical/paramedical/healthcare employees in the private domain perceived the highest societal impact potential in their job. Publicness matters for the relationship between PSM and performance, not only and most importantly in terms of structural elements such as legal status, but

through determining perceptions of whether the work contributes to society or serves a private purpose. As a police officer put it:

“That you do something for society. That you contribute instead of making some boss rich. That is something I have chosen deliberately. [...]” - R40, police (see Chapter 3)

10.5 The pitfalls of public service motivation

This research has used a balanced and multidimensional approach to performance. Focusing only on organizational outcomes would be too restrictive as employee and societal outcomes can be very different: an organization can produce high outputs, but may burn out its employees and harm society. In such a situation, performance may seem excellent looking solely at organizational outcomes. However, using a balanced approach means that employee wellbeing and societal outcomes are also included as part of performance (Boselie 2010; Boyne 2002; Paauwe 2009; Vandenabeele et al. 2013). This is more than a normative stand arguing that this is important based on moral principles: a balanced approach can increase the long-term sustainability of an organization as over time low employee wellbeing will decrease performance (Bakker et al. 2008; Judge et al. 2001; Paauwe 2009). Figure 10.5 provides an overview of this dissertation’s findings in this regard.

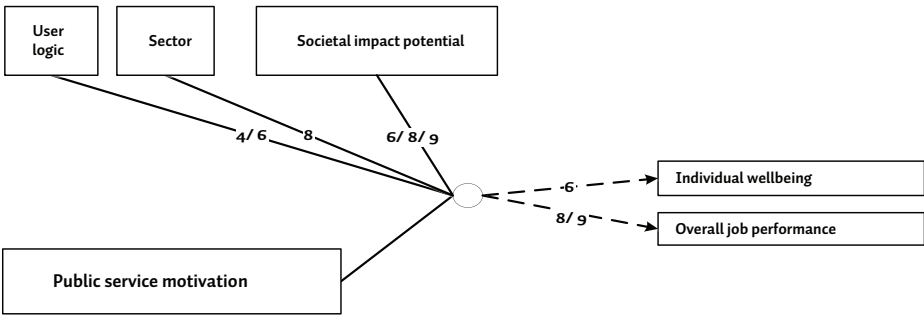


Figure 10.5: Overview of results on pitfalls of PSM as an instrument to increase performance.

In Chapter 6 the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction and the risk of burn-out was addressed. The results show that whether PSM is linked to lower employee wellbeing (i.e. higher risk of burn-out) depends on the context in which the work is done. In people-processing organizations, where employees have less contact with citizens and therefore receive less feedback on their societal impact, employees have a higher risk of burn-out if they do not perceive their job as having a societal impact potential. Conversely, in people-changing organizations such as schools, the high job’s societal impact potential, if combined with high PSM, increases the risk of burn-out. For example, teachers with say twenty students in need of extra attention may see many opportunities to contribute through their job, but such a societal impact potential may push public service motivated employees to

go far beyond what can be expected of them. A school director explained that his school normally enjoyed a low level of teacher absenteeism but that if employees call in ill it was usually burn-out-related. He described his motivated employees as:

'A power but also a risk, because yes, we want engaged employees, which we also broadcast, and we give them a lot of opportunities. But exactly because of that multitude of opportunities we give [they burn-out]. That we have learnt...we should not do everything'. R5, education (see Chapter 3)

Highly public service motivated employees in such contexts may end up depleting their own resources and energy in attempting to maintain a high level of performance, until they cannot handle it anymore due to enduring strain. This also has consequences for performance. As was found in Chapter 8, employees with high PSM but low societal impact potential in their job, performed less well than those employees with lower PSM. In Chapter 9 it was shown that there was even a slightly negative relationship between PSM and performance when highly public service motivated employees perceive no societal impact potential in their job. Thus, also for performance PSM may pose risks, if there is not a good fit with the institutional context. These risks for wellbeing and performance form pitfalls of an instrumental approach towards public service motivation, if implemented without attention for the institutional context.

10.6 Answering the main research question

The central research question of this dissertation was:

What is the role of public service motivation in performance and how does institutional context matter?

The results show that public service motivation mostly plays a positive role in the performance of public employees, but that this role may be non-significant or negative depending on the outcome and the context studied.

Institutional context was found to matter in three ways. First, this dissertation shows that there is an interaction between institutional context and public service motives. The type of organizational logic as part of the institutional context's publicness mattered for employee expressions of public service motives. Employees in people-processing service providers emphasized instrumental and normative motives, whereas employees in people-changing service providers emphasized affective motives.

Second, the public context of a public service provider has consequences when conceptualizing performance. Due to the multiplicity of goals and stakeholders public service providers have, performance is conceptualized as multidimensional, consisting of criteria such as equity, responsiveness and outputs, and the relative importance of these depends on the stakeholder asked. By distinguishing various dimensions of performance, the question moves from asking *whether* PSM is related to performance, to analysing *which* dimensions of performance relate to PSM.

Third, the institutional context influences whether the relationship between public service motivation and performance is positive or negative from employee, organizational and societal perspectives. To begin, overall measures of performance conceal differences between dimensions: public service motivation may well be related to overall performance, but, when the latter is broken down into its dimensions, no significant relationship is found with some dimensions. In a people-processing context PSM is unrelated to output and responsiveness, whereas, in a healthcare setting, it is unrelated to efficiency and responsiveness. However, in all contexts PSM appears to be strongly related to service and democratic outcomes, indicating that PSM safeguards public values related to societal and democratic outcomes. From a societal perspective it depends on what type of performance is wanted as to whether PSM can be seen as holding strong potential for performance or not.

Furthermore, the PSM-performance relationship is strongest for employees working in a public sector – defined by legal status – job with a high perceived societal impact potential. If employees have a high public service motivation but do not perceive opportunities to contribute to society through their job, this high PSM is not related to higher performance, and may even decrease it slightly. From an organizational perspective, this means that high PSM is only beneficial in circumstances with a high degree of (perceived) publicness.

Finally, public service motivated employees in people-processing service providers are at risk of burn-out if they perceive a low societal impact potential in their job. Conversely, in people-changing providers, they are at risk of burn-out if they perceive a high societal impact potential in their job. As such, stimulating PSM to increase performance may endanger employee wellbeing and make PSM a risk.

PART II: DISCUSSION

Initially, in this part, the limitations of the results are discussed. Second, the main contributions of this dissertation are highlighted. Third, a research agenda for future research on PSM and performance is formulated, followed by the implications of this dissertation for practice.

10.7 Limitations and how these were addressed

Naturally, each of the empirical chapters has some limitations, which were discussed in the individual chapters. In this section, the limitations of the overall research design and those that transcend the chapters are discussed.

First, because a largely quantitative, cross-sectional design was chosen for assessing the relationship between PSM, institutional context and performance, almost all the studies in this dissertation have analysed the relationship between PSM and performance at one point in time. However, Chapter 9 does analyse the relationship between the difference over time in PSM and performance, on an organizational level, and, as in the earlier chapters, found a positive relationship between PSM and performance if the societal impact potential of the job was high. Still, even this study cannot provide insight in the causal relationship between PSM and performance. Advanced designs, such as randomized experiments

or fixed-effects panel regression, are seen as more suitable for analysing causal relationships (Antonakis et al. 2010).

The current trend within public administration towards such designs is however not without its risks, and in the end, not one single method can provide insight in causality. Moreover, since it seems likely that motivation leads to higher performance *and* that good performance leads to higher motivation, research methods that focus on identifying mono-causality (i.e. a one-directional relationship) are questionable. As opposed to a rush towards more quantitative, context-ridden designs in which external factors are controlled for through lab settings and fixed-effect models, an alternative approach would be to pay more attention to context, to triangulate methods and integrate multiple perspectives. In this respect, this dissertation has addressed the causality issue by; first building a theoretical argument for the relationships studied (chapter 2); second by using multiple perspectives (self and supervisor; chapter 4-9); and third by triangulating the findings through the use of interviews (chapter 3, 6 and 10). The fifty interviews conducted before the survey took place were used to illustrate and interpret the findings from the survey. This provided extra context and deepened the interpretation of the results, thus increasing the internal validity of the findings.

Secondly, the performance data used to assess relationships with PSM were mostly self-reported. Although there is no consensus in the literature as to whether common-source or social desirability biases endanger the validity of the results (Conway & Lance 2010; Meier & O' Toole 2013; Podsakoff et al. 2012; Spector 1987; 2006), it is possible that public service motivated employees think they are doing well and therefore indicate higher performance scores. Further, self-reporting only reveal one piece of the performance puzzle (Andrews et al. 2011). Additional ratings, such as by clients, or register data, were unavailable. In the individual studies techniques were used to limit the risks of bias, for instance through developing behaviour-specific questions on performance (Meier & O' Toole 2013), adequate survey design (Couper 2008), and testing the data for bias (Podsakoff et al. 2003). Moreover, in Chapter 7 other-rated (i.e. provided by supervisors) performance scores were used to assess the relationship with PSM. Here, alike the self-reported data, a positive relationship was found between PSM and performance, but not with all the dimensions of performance. Together, the studies provide a robust view on the PSM-performance relationship.

Third, both PSM and performance measurements had limitations. The research discussed in early chapters measured public service motivation using a validated scale developed by Kim et al. (2013). In Chapters 8 and 9, an adapted version of Perry's (1996) scale was used. Both scales assume PSM has four dimensions but although all the items had been previously validated, the dimensional structure was not easily replicated. Consequently, in all the individual studies in this dissertation PSM was treated as a global concept with items from all four dimensions being integrated. An advantage of using a global PSM scale is that it gives equal weighting to the public service motivation stemming from empathy, feelings of duty, or to a desire to improve public services, and this makes it possible to analyse different types of service providers.

Performance was measured in various ways in the different chapters, including in terms of in-role and extra-role behaviours and of supervisor ratings of several aspects.

Sometimes only a global measure was available. It was not possible to measure all the theoretically anticipated dimensions of performance, and adjustments were also made to fit the performance measures to the specific contexts. Moreover, the used dimensions distinguished by Boyne (2002) may not be exhaustive. Distinguishing efficiency was problematic as it has to be determined relative to some outcome (in ratios such as outcome in terms of impact/quantity/quality over input of money or other resources). In Chapter 4 this dimension was therefore omitted, and in Chapter 7 it was only measured with one question on whether the work unit worked efficiently. It can be argued that efficiency should not be seen as a separate dimension of performance since it is always a relative construct (output relative to input, responsiveness relative to costs). Since the type of performance measured differed between the chapters one must be cautious in attempting to compare results between the chapters. However, on the other hand, this approach has highlighted that the relationship between PSM and performance may depend on whether overall or dimensional, global or specific, performance measures are used.

Fourth, the variance explained in the empirical studies ranges from low to moderate, indicating that public service motivation explains only part of the variation in performance scores. There are several possible reasons for the low explained variance. To start with, this research has focused on a single type of motivation. Both the behaviour and performance of employees are likely to be influenced by many factors, not only other motives but also an individual's competences and skills. A highly motivated employee who does not have the skills or knowledge required for the job will probably not perform well (unless the motivation is used to quickly learn on the job). It is therefore logical that PSM is one of the factors that contributes to high performance but does not explain a very high percentage of the variation in performance.

10.8 Contributions of this dissertation

This dissertation makes several contributions to the literature on public service motivation, performance and person–environment fit. The contributions of each empirical chapter are discussed within them. Here, the three major contributions of the overall dissertation are highlighted.

The relationship between PSM and performance depends on the organizational legal status, on the type of service and on the societal impact potential of the job.

Firstly, this dissertation shows that there is a relationship between the public service motivation of employees and their workplace behaviour and performance, but that whether this relationship is positive and significant depends on the institutional context. The proposition that high public service motivation is related to high performance (Perry & Wise 1990) is thus not universally applicable.

While previous studies had identified a link between PSM and performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Brewer & Selden 2000; Kim 2005; Vandenabeele 2009), this dissertation is the first to report a link between PSM and supervisor-rated performance

of work units. As such, evidence is provided for an alternative view on public servants who are often portrayed as lazy and self-interested (Moynihan 2010). Employees in the organizations investigated in this research expressed, both in interviews and through surveys, a strong commitment to the public interest and a willingness to sacrifice their own safety, time and energy to achieve such outcomes.

However, this dissertation also shows that this is not the case in all situations. The results provide insights into the contextual factors that set the boundaries of the PSM–performance proposition: a crucial element in developing any theory (Whetten 1989). Highly public service motivated employees only flourish in environments where they are able to make a genuine contribution to society – and working for an organization with a public legal status is not always enough. It therefore seems plausible that poor performance is, as opposed to the sceptical view of self-interested and lazy public-service employees, due to a misfit or the consequence of frustration. The difference between public and private sector, organizational logics and perceptions of job characteristics all influence the relationship between PSM and performance, through enabling or thwarting the enactment of PSM, and through influencing employees’ perceptions of being able to contribute to society through their job (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001).

Vandenabeele (2007), Bright (2007) and Leisink and Steijn (2009) drew attention to the role of the environment in PSM research. However, until now, most studies have focused on direct perceptions of person–environment fit (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Taylor 2008; Wright & Pandey 2008). This dissertation has integrated person–environment fit research further (Edwards et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown et al. 2005) and shown that such a fit can also be studied by looking at objective or subjective characteristics of the institutional context, such as the legal status of an organization and the societal impact potential of a job. Such approaches offer insight into *which* specific characteristics matter, such as public or private, the type of service and a job’s societal impact potential. This is an advance on studies that rely on direct perceptions of fit as these only show *whether* the job or organization matters.

Moreover, following Christensen and Wright (2011) and Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2012), this dissertation has provided further insight into the *relative* importance of various aspects of the institutional context. Previous studies on PSM and performance have included *either* person–job or person–organization fit and found that these types of fit matter (Bright 2007; Gould-Williams et al. 2013; Kim 2012). Further, in the wider person–environment fit literature, it is also uncommon to simultaneously study multiple types of fit. This dissertation took a different approach and studied person–job and person–organization fit simultaneously. The results show that person–job fit is more important than person–organization fit, indicating that public service motivated employees performance is related more to whether the work they are doing contributes to society, than to whether their values are congruent with their organization’s values.

Finally, it appears from our findings that PSM’s influence is not sector-bound – defined by legal status – as some have suggested it might be (Bozeman & Su 2014; Prebble 2014) but that it also contributes to performance in employment outside the public sector. This is not to say that public service motivation in reality reflects a general service or prosocial motivation (Grant 2008) but rather that work aimed at contributing to society

is not exclusively to be found in the public sector (Steen 2008). *Public*, central to public service motivation, is determined by more than structural institutional settings. This dissertation shows that publicness matters, but that publicness is much more subtle than a simple 'public versus private' dichotomy. PSM's positive relationship with performance is bound up by publicness in many ways: by sector, type of service and a job's societal impact potential. The strongest relationship between PSM and performance seems to be with public service motivated employees who are working in the public sector in a job with a high societal impact potential.

Within the current tide of public sector trends, this conclusion regarding the importance of publicness seems quite problematic. For instance, Haque (2001) and Moynihan (2010) identify a decrease in publicness of several aspects, such as the users the public sector can serve, the nature of its role in society and its accountability. With the influx of private values and management ideas (normative shifts), the outsourcing and privatization of public services and a greater interweaving of the public and private through partnerships and networks (structural shifts), public service providers are argued to be increasingly focused on private interests, serve a limited group of citizens (because they have more freedom to choose and select), and are more difficult to hold accountable (Haque 2001). Examples in the Netherlands include introducing market incentives in healthcare, privatizing postal services, and introducing customer orientation and output steering. This trend poses problems, not only for the legitimacy of these public services and public trust in them, but also for those employees who feel motivated to serve society and for whom publicness plays an important role. Moreover, as Moynihan (2010) argues, market-based models create more opportunities for moral hazard, which are best resisted by individuals who place societal interests above self-interests. In new organizational forms, such as public-private partnerships and privatized public organizations, being able to show the potential impact of the work on society is crucially important for the performance of employees who have joined these organizations to contribute to society.

Performance in a public context is best conceptualized as multidimensional and whether PSM is related to performance depends on the dimension used.

Under the influence of practices often placed under the banner of new public management, the focus has in many public organizations shifted from asking what values should be upheld by public service providers, and what input or structure is therefore needed, to output and performance measurement as a way to steer and control public services (Moynihan 2010). For instance, schools have to report student progress and are held accountable for graduation rates, police organizations have to reach targets regarding timeliness, and hospitals have to report mortality rates. Such a focus on performance may have had positive effects such as the increased attention given to performance management (Andrews & Van de Walle 2013), but may also have had negative effects, such as encouraging gaming within the system (Bevan & Hood 2006).

This dissertation, which can be seen as a child of its time due to its focus on performance, however moved beyond a focus on efficiency and output by defining performance as multidimensional, including employee, organizational and societal outcomes, and as

value-laden: public values such as equity form an important part of what public service providers have to do. The results show that both employees and supervisors could distinguish different dimensions of performance. Further, rather than seeing all dimensions as equal, the relative importance of dimensions may differ within different contexts: in schools it was seen as important to build relationships with the students as ‘clients’, whereas municipality employees saw it as essential to keep a distance so that they could remain objective and impartial.

By following Boyne (2002) and viewing public performance as multidimensional, insight into the PSM–performance relationship was increased with PSM being related to some, but not all, dimensions of performance. General measures of performance can disguise such differences, making the result of a study liable to what the respondents, be they employees, supervisors or other stakeholders, deem important or happen to be thinking about at the time of the survey. This dissertation provides additional support to the idea that various dimensions of performance have different antecedents (Andrews et al. 2011; Boyne 2002). Here, public service motivation was found to be most strongly related to those dimensions of performance that refer to public values regarding societal and democratic outcomes. No relationship was found between efficiency and PSM. It may be that the former does not match a public service identity.

Other studies have shown that too much control or command and talk of efficiency and customer-orientation can crowd out public service motivation (Christensen et al. 2013; Moynihan 2010; Perry et al. 2009). This dissertation shows that many employees are motivated by the norms and values of public service and it may thus be more fruitful to identify ways that refer to these values and norms in leading and organizing the provision of public services than to rely solely on control and command incentives. Public managers who consequently focus on running government like a business, on efficiency, on lean practices, customer service and output control may actually reduce PSM and with that, performance. This dissertation shows that public service motivation can act as a safeguard against a too narrow focus on output and efficiency, as PSM relates to other aspects such as equity, impact, transparency and fairness.

There is a dark side to public service motivation that threatens employee wellbeing and performance.

This dissertation’s third major contribution lies in showing the potential pitfalls or ‘dark side’ of public service motivation. Some studies on PSM, and also this dissertation in places, have framed public service motivation as an instrument through which public organizations can enhance their performance (Andersen et al. 2014; Bellé 2013; Vandenabeele 2009). Francois (2000) even argued that PSM is a reason why governmental provision of public services is more efficient than privatizing or contracting out: public service motivated employees would accept lower wages, work harder and be less inclined to cheat the system. A risk of framing PSM as such is that it may lead to depriving employees working in public services of benefits, and decrease their wellbeing. This dissertation shows that high public service motivation can lead to greater risk of burn-out, either through frustration, when public service motivated employees do not perceive they can have a positive impact on society through their job, or through overload, when public service motivated employees perceive

many opportunities to contribute and then overreach themselves in responding. Thus, PSM could have negative consequences for employee outcomes.

Moreover, the results show that when highly public service motivated employees perceive they cannot contribute to society through their job their performance is lower than those with low levels of public service motivation, and that when public service motivated employees perceive no societal impact potential in their job the relationship with performance is even slightly negative. Attempting to use public service motivation as a way to increase performance without clearly embedding publicness in the institutional context may thus pose risks to public service delivery through decreased performance of public service motivated employees.

Finally, as PSM was found to be only related to some dimensions of performance, it depends on which behaviours and aspects of performance are seen as most desirable whether public service motivation will deliver something positive in the eyes of society. For instance, Steen and Rutgers (2011) argued that public service motivation leads employees to focus on outcomes that go beyond the individual citizen's interests and those of their organization. In the studies in this dissertation the results indeed show that PSM was unrelated to responsiveness in people-processing service providers and in a healthcare setting. Whether this is problematic depends on the perspective: while user satisfaction may be lower, societal outcomes may be higher.

In conclusion

Public service motivation can be seen as a 'double edged sword' (Steen & Rutgers 2011): it can have positive effects for employees, the organization and society, but also negative effects. This research has shown that whether it is positive or negative depends on the outcomes and the context studied. This does not mean that one should not promote public service motivation. Public service motivation can be encouraged primarily for its value *regardless* of its consequences for performance: it represents values within a society and an adherence by public employees to expectations put forward by society regarding their work values and ethics (Steen & Rutgers 2011). Second, public service motivation can be valued for its potential impact on performance in a broad sense: it can safeguard the public interest when reforms pressure employees to focus on narrow outcomes judged in terms of output and efficiency, and for its ability to drive employees to go beyond what is asked of them in their work, even if it potentially harms their own interests and wellbeing. However, focusing solely on increasing PSM without giving sufficient attention to the institutional context may result in lower performance and decreased wellbeing.

10.9 An agenda for future research

The findings reported in this dissertation fill several gaps in the knowledge about the relationship between PSM and performance, but also raise new questions and form a starting point for new research on public service motivation and performance. Since this dissertation relies on data from public service providers in the Netherlands the variance in PSM scores is much lower than in a wider, more diverse, population. Such a reduction

in variance may lead to a lower percentage of variance explained because the studied respondents have an overall high level of PSM. Moreover, a study comparing countries can provide insight in how macro-level institutions on the country level play a role for the PSM-performance relationship. Regarding the relationship between PSM and performance, I identify three important avenues for future research.

First, the findings on the dark side of public service motivation have provided an insight in the pitfall of adopting an instrumental approach towards public service motivation, but important questions remain unanswered. Not only should this study be replicated to provide further supportive, future research could dive deeper into the mechanisms and trade-offs between employee, organizational and societal outcomes. For instance, why did PSM relate to burn-out in opposite ways in people-changing and people-processing service providers? It is also unclear how undesirable outcomes such as burn-out risks for employees with PSM can be decreased. Deci and Ryan (2000) identified autonomy, relatedness and competence as important basic needs, and it may be that low levels of competence make public service motivated employees less able to cope with their work and with the various stakeholders they are serving. Moreover, are there also trade-offs between different types of outcomes? Jensen and Andersen (2013) found that public service motivated general practitioners were less likely to prescribe antibiotics, in order to avoid bacterial immunity developing, than those with a high user-orientation, who were more likely to supply antibiotics to satisfy their patients. PSM can thus lead to behaviours desired by some stakeholders but not by others, but more research is necessary. Finally, most PSM research is carried out in democracies. So, what does PSM mean in a non-democratic context, and does it also lead to higher compliance in such contexts? Whether PSM is a force for good depends on how serving society is conceived, as well as the context in which it is studied.

Second, more research is needed on the relationship between PSM and the various dimensions of performance. A balanced approach, including multiple stakeholder interests such as those of the client, employee, organization and society, will provide greater insight into the role of PSM in various contexts. The research reported in this dissertation found that PSM is related to societal and democratic outcome dimensions of performance, but not always to more individual user or economic dimensions such as output, efficiency and responsiveness. Besides retesting these findings, future research should investigate why public service motivation leads to some aspects of performance but not others, perhaps by studying public employee's perceptions of their role and their expectations of what is asked of them. Moreover, we have shown that the relationships between PSM and dimensions of performance depend on the context. Is this because public service motivated employees follow the organizational logic, or because the employees emphasize other public service motives? We saw that affective motives were more emphasized in people-changing service providers, and it was in this context that PSM related to responsiveness, but could not test the relationship between the separate PSM dimensions and performance.

Third, this study focused on public service providers, and research into the role of PSM in organizations that have been privatized, have only recently been perceived as having a public function, or public organizations that are facing severe control and output steering would be valuable. Following privatization, the role of PSM in performance may be diminished because PSM is less incentivized, but this may depend on whether the

organization is able to maintain its public role. In the Netherlands, several scandals have recently come to light regarding the placing of personal or organizational interests above those of society in privatized housing corporations, banks and accountancy firms. This has led to a discussion as to what has happened in recent decades to create these problems. Based on this dissertation, it may be that the motives of the employees are different or have changed, moving away from a wish to serve the public. Alternatively, it may be that the performance criteria used by such organizations and their principals are too narrowly focused on economic and organizational outcomes. It may also be that the incentives coming from the environment (market forces, pay-for-performance, etc.) have triggered different types of motives and, with that, undesirable types of behaviour. Finally, public organizations are increasingly being monitored and steered through output performance management systems. The impact of such control systems on the motivation and performance of public employees can show whether such control systems do increase performance. Providing greater insight into the interaction between public service motivation and the institutional context in such situations could form an important new research avenue leading to the development of policies and practices regarding the provision of public value in organizations that are both public and private.

10.10 Implications for practice

Several implications for practice can be derived from this dissertation. These implications will be discussed for three different groups: for policymakers and those responsible for structuring the provision of public services, for organizations providing public services and their managers and for employees working on public services.

Policy regarding public service provision

In recent decades, many public service providers have been privatized or incentivized to become more like private businesses, with the ultimate goal being to increase their efficiency and performance (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004). Employees in these services have been encouraged to become more innovative, entrepreneurial and efficient (Leisink & Steijn 2005). However, based on our findings, one could question whether this strategy is the most productive route as publicness may actually provide benefits that a context in which profit and the company's interest stand central does not.

Moreover, in recent years, private businesses with societal importance, such as banks and accountancy firms, have been confronted with crises caused by misconduct, high risk-taking and placing self-interest above those of the client and society. Such misconduct has not only led to reputation damage but also to considerable financial costs for society as a whole. This highlights the dangers of relying solely on market-like incentives. Given these examples, it is unclear whether public employees should model themselves on private employees (Nelissen et al. 2000) as too much emphasis on efficiency and entrepreneurship may not always lead to greater public value.

Reforms in public service providers have been based on assumptions regarding the existing role of self-interest and a general mistrust in employees, with the focus shifting

to financial incentives and performance measures to control behaviour (Moynihan 2010). However, there may be risks involved in using excessive market-like incentives as it may reduce the fit between public service motivated employees and their institutional context, resulting in lower performance. Moreover, market-like systems involving external incentives (such as controls and financial rewards) can be expensive and inefficient because such controls can never fully determine the behaviour of employees and offering financial incentives can stimulate hazardous moral behaviour (Haque 2001; Moynihan 2010; Perry et al. 2009). Finally, in a public context, goals and outcomes are hard to define, making it almost impossible to determine what exactly should be rewarded in most jobs (Perry et al. 2009). Using a financial argument, Gailmard (2010) claimed that reforms leading to more market-like public services could actually cost more because they decrease PSM and, with that, lower performance, and should therefore be avoided.

As opposed to such financial or instrumental arguments, public service motivation can be seen as a way to protect public values that are being de-emphasized through reforms in which output, efficiency and client satisfaction are central (Boyne 2002; Moynihan 2010). A strong PSM is related to important public outcomes such as equity, fairness, safety and societal impact, aspects that are not easily measured and therefore generally neither controlled nor incentivized. Such outcomes are however crucial for the legitimacy of public service providers and the trust of citizens in government (Van Ryzin 2011). Having highly public service motivated employees is important in itself as citizens expect public employees to be motivated to serve society. In terms of organizing public services, it may be better to take the best of both worlds: learning from private organizations but not throwing away the positive aspects of public service providers.

Finally, it seems that norms and values regarding the provision of public services play a role in the performance of employees in public service providers. In the Netherlands, the government increasingly relies on evidence-based policies and output steering, implicitly assuming that if we know the best way to organize and manage, then the government will perform well, i.e. be successful in addressing societal problems. However, this dissertation shows that this assumption is problematic because what is seen as constituting good performance is dependent on the viewer's normative or political standpoint about what society should look like. Knowledge about which factors can influence various indicators of performance is important, but cannot take away that *political* choices have to be made regarding what dimension of performance is most important.

Public service providers

This dissertation shows that public service motivation can be positively related to performance. As such, it may be useful for public organizations to attract and socialize individuals with high public service motivation (Paarlberg et al. 2008). However, it is important to realize that employees who are highly public service motivated often place societal interests above their own interests, risking their own wellbeing. As a manager, it is important to discuss the boundaries of what is possible in order to avoid frustrations and avoid employees using too much of their down time on doing their work. In interviews with school employees and directors it appeared that teachers often carry the weight of all their students' problems, and sometimes are so motivated that they just keep going until they drop. As a leader or as

an organization it is important to set goals that are attainable and to discuss the responsibilities of employees. A full public-value-based approach is necessary, in which public service motivation is seen as a driver of employee behaviour and one that may have both positive and negative consequences.

When PSM is seen as an instrument that can increase performance, it is not sufficient to attract a public service motivated workforce: it is also important to structure the provision of public services in such a way that these employees perceive that they can have a meaningful impact on society through their job. This can be achieved through smart job design, leadership and communication (Paarlberg et al. 2008; Perry et al. 2006). Such practices could include ensuring contact with beneficiaries (Grant 2008) or describing the goals of the job in terms of public values. The success of a PSM approach depends on the leadership being able to show a true commitment to serving the public, and on the degree to which the job and the organization emphasize contributing to society. Moreover, establishing clear communication over the potential impact of the work on society can be beneficial for the performance of public service motivated employees. Here, Grant (2008) and Bellé (2013) showed that contact with beneficiaries enhanced both public service motivation and the relationship between PSM and performance.

Finally, in this section, a note on a report the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2013) published entitled 'The Grand Retreat Revised', in which they no longer saw a shortage of employees in the public sector as the main challenge, but rather getting the right employees in the right place, referring to job demands and skills of employees. Given the cutbacks, leading to a drop in recruitment, and rising retirement age, the already high average age of government employees will likely increase. At the same time, public service providers are expected to increase their performance. Public service providers will thus have to do better with the current staff is the message of the report. For this to happen, achieving the right fit between individual employees and the job and type of service, will be essential not only regarding skills as acknowledged in the report, but also regarding motivation and opportunities in the job to contribute to society. With the current wave of cutbacks, a challenge may be to convince employees that can still make a meaningful contribution to society through their job.

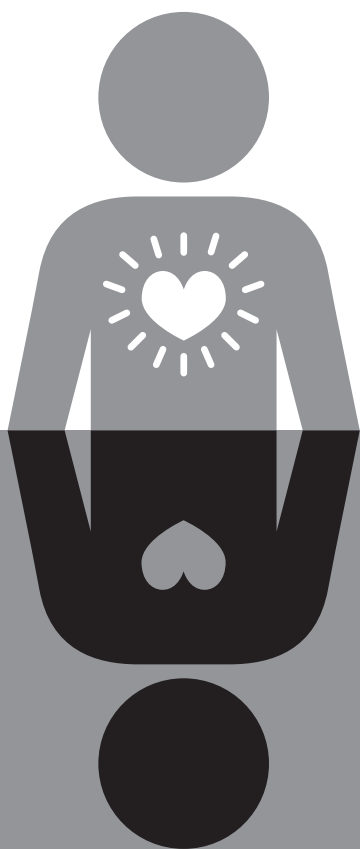
Employees in public services

Employees in public administration, or in one of the public service fields, are likely to have a strong drive to contribute to society. Those entering the workforce may however experience a reality shock as opportunities to contribute to society through their job may be more limited than their textbooks suggested (Blau 1960; Kjeldsen 2013). Barriers such as red tape, downsizing and policy changes may also decrease the perceived societal impact potential of the job later in an employee's career. This may lead to a state of resigned satisfaction, decreased effort put into the job (Giauque et al. 2012), lower performance, burn-out through frustration, or even quitting public service. Another risk is that an employee may go beyond the call of duty, spending increasing amounts of their personal time and energy on their work. In the long term this leads to high work pressure (Giauque et al. 2013) as there is always something to do, and this may, in combination with limited resources, lead to burn-out.

Naturally, the organization and individual supervisors are responsible for the way work is organized, and employees are dependent on others regarding their work and their job. There are, nevertheless, ways in which employees can also manage such risks. One way is to include internships in one's education so as to become aware of the work circumstances of an intended job. Second, increasing contact with beneficiaries through employee organized meetings may increase the pleasure and perception of societal impact potential (Grant 2008) as this will show how citizens have benefitted from the work done. Seeking contact with other employees and entering discussions about the work can also increase the opportunities to make changes. Finally, job crafting can be a useful strategy to increase the societal impact potential. Asking for a different task, or a project, which provides greater opportunities to contribute to society, or even doing volunteer work, may provide outlets for public service motivation.

10.11 To conclude

In the introduction to this dissertation, two hypothetical situations in which public employees have to do their work, those of Ellie and Russell, were described. Both Ellie and Russell were highly motivated to contribute to society but whereas Ellie feels able to contribute to society through her job, Russell feels he has too many students and so much administration that he is unable to do what he wanted to do. Based on the findings discussed in this dissertation we can conclude that Russell is experiencing a misfit between his public service motivation and his institutional context, and in particular with his job's societal impact potential, and is therefore likely to perform less well than Ellie. Further, he has a higher risk of burn-out than Ellie because of this misfit situation. Public service motivation should not be seen as a quick-fix instrument that a public organization can always use to increase performance, because the context determines whether PSM will be positively related to employee, organizational and societal outcomes. Nevertheless, public service motivation is an important driver for public servants in doing their work, and this should be considered when developing policies and practices for the provision of public services since PSM does influence their performance. Russell may be helped with more attention towards ways to cope with the high work pressure and more clearly defined tasks, whereas Ellie may even perform better when her supervisor shows how her work has had an impact on the municipality. For both of them, their motivation to contribute to society forms a potential source of satisfaction and providing good public services but whether this potential is realized partly depends on the way their work context is shaped.



References

- Afifi, A., Clark, V. & May, S. 2004. *Computer-Aided Multivariate Analysis*. 4th ed. Boca Raton, FL: Chapman & Hall/CRC.
- Aguinis, H., Beaty, J.C., Boik, R.J. & Pierce, C.A. 2005. Effect Size and Power in Assessing Moderating Effects of Categorical Variables Using Multiple Regression: A 30-Year Review, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(1): 94-107.
- Aiken, L.S. & West, S.G. 1991. *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, London, Sage.
- Antonakis, J., Bendahan, S., Jacquart, P. & Lalive, R. 2010. On making causal claims: A review and recommendations. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 21: 1086-1120.
- Alonso, P. & Lewis, G.B. 2001. Public Service Motivation and Job Performance: Evidence from the Federal Sector. *American Review of Public Administration*, 31(4), 363-380.
- Andersen, L.B. 2009. What determines the behaviour and performance of health professionals? Public service motivation, professional norms and/or economic incentives. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 75(1), 79-97.
- Andersen, L.B., Heinesen, E. & Pedersen, L.H. 2014. How Does Public Service Motivation Among Teachers Affect Student Performance in Schools? *Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory*, 24(3): 651-671.
- Andersen, L.B. & Kjeldsen, A.M. 2012. Public Service Motivation, User Orientation, and Job Satisfaction: A Question of Employment Sector? *International Public Management Journal*, 16 (2): 252-274.
- Andersen, L. B., Pallesen, T., & Pedersen, L. H. 2011. Does ownership matter? Public service motivation among physiotherapists in the private and public sectors in Denmark. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 31(1), 10-27.
- Andersen, L.B. & Pedersen, L.H. 2012. Public Service Motivation and Professionalism. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(1), 46-57.
- Andersen, L.B. & Serritzlew, S. 2012. Does Public Service Motivation Affect the Behavior of Professionals?, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(1):19-29.
- Anderson, J.C. and Gerbing, D.W. (1988). Structural Equation Modeling in Practice: A Review and Recommended Two-Step Approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103(3): 411-423.
- Andrews, R., Boyne, G.A. & Walker, R.M. 2006. Subjective and objective measures of organizational performance: An empirical exploration. In: Boyne, G.A., Meier, K.J., O'Toole, L.J. and Walker, R.M. (eds). *Public Service Performance*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Andrews, R., Boyne, G.A., Moon, M.J. & Walker, R.M. 2010. Assessing Organizational Performance: Exploring Differences between Internal and External Measures. *International Public Management Journal*, 13(2): 105-129.
- Andrews, R., Boyne, G. & Walker, R.M. 2011. The Impact of Management on Administrative and Survey Measures of Organizational Performance. *Public Management Review*, 13(2): 227-255.
- Andrews, R. & Van de Walle, S. 2013. New Public Management and Citizens' Perceptions of Local Service Efficiency, Responsiveness, Equity and Effectiveness, *Public Management Review*, 15(5): 762-783.
- Antonsen, M. & Beck Jørgensen, T. 1997. The 'publicness' of public organizations. *Public Administration*, 75, 337-357.
- Atwater, L.E., Ostroff, C., Yammarino, F.J. & Fleenor, J.W. 1998. Self-other agreement: Does it really matter? *Personnel Psychology*, 51: 577-598.

- Bacon, D.R., Sauer, P.L. & Young, M. 1995. Composite Reliability in Structural Equations Modeling, *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 55(3): 394-406.
- Bakker, A.B. & Demerouti, E. 2006. The Job Demands-Resources model: state of the art. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 22(3): 309-328.
- Bakker, A.B., Van Emmerik, H. & Van Riet, P. 2008. How job demands, resources, and burn-out predict objective performance: A constructive replication. *Anxiety, Stress and Coping: An International Journal*, 21(3): 309-324.
- Baron, R.M. & Kenny, D.A. 1986. The Moderator-Mediator variable Distinction in Social Psychological Research: Conceptual, Strategic, and Statistical Considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(6): 1173-1182.
- Behn, R.D. 2003. Why Measure Performance? Different Purposes Require Different Measures, *Public Administration Review*, 63(5):586-606.
- Bell, S.T. 2007. Deep-Level Composition Variables as Predictors of Team Performance: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(3):595-615.
- Bellé, N. 2013. Experimental Evidence on the Relationship between Public Service Motivation and Job Performance. *Public Administration Review*, 73 (1):143-153.
- Bellé, N. 2014. Leading to Make a Difference: A Field Experiment on the Performance Effects of Transformational Leadership, Perceived Social Impact, and Public Service Motivation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 24 (1):109-36.
- Bevan, G. & Hood, C. 2006. What's Measured is What Matters: Targets and gaming in the English public health care system, *Public Administration*, 84(3): 517-538.
- Blau, P.M. 1960. Orientation toward clients in a Public Welfare Agency. *Administrative Science Quarterly*: 5(3): 341-361.
- Boeije, H. 2010. *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bommer, W. H., Johnson, J. L., Rich, G. A., Podsakoff, P. M., & Mackenzie, S. B. 1995. On the Interchangeability of Objective and Subjective Measures of Employee Performance: A Meta-Analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 587-605.
- Boon, C., den Hartog, D.N., Boselie, P. & Paauwe, J. 2011. The relationship between perceptions of HR practices and employee outcomes: examining the role of person-organisation and person-job fit, *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22 (1): 138-162.
- Boselie, P. 2010. *Strategic Human Resource Management: A Balanced Approach*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Boselie, P., Dietz, G & Boon, C. 2005. Commonalities and contradictions in HRM and performance research, *Human Resource Management Journal*, 15(3): 67-94.
- Boyne, G.A. 2002. Concepts and indicators of local authority performance: An evaluation of the statutory framework in England and Wales. *Public Money and Management*, 22 (4): 17-24.
- Boyne, G. A., Meier, K.J., O'Toole, L. & Walker, R.M. (Eds.). 2006. *Public Service Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bozeman, B. 1987. *All organizations are public: Bridging public and private organization theories*. Jossey-Bass: San Fransisco.
- Bozeman, B. 2007. *Public Values and Public Interest: Counterbalancing economic individualism*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.
- Bozeman, B. & Su, X. 2014. Public Service Motivation Concepts and Theory: A Critique. *Public Administration Review*. DOI: 10.1111/puar.12248.

- Brænder, M. & Andersen, L.B. 2013. Does Deployment to War affect Public Service Motivation? A panel study of soldiers before and after their service in Afghanistan. *Public Administration Review* 73 (3):466-77.
- Brehm, J. & Gates, S. 1997. *Working, Shirking and Sabotage. Bureaucratic Response to a Democratic Public*. University of Michigan Press
- Brewer, G.A. 2006. All measures of performance are subjective: More evidence on US federal agencies. *Public Service Performance*, eds Boyne, G.A., Meier, K.J., O'Toole, L.J. & Walker, R.M. (2006) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brewer, G.A. 2008. Employee and Organizational Performance, in J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in Public Management: The Call of Public Service* (pp. 136-156). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brewer, G.A. 2010. Public service motivation and performance. In: Walker, R.M., Boyne, G.A. & Brewer, G.A. *Public Management and Performance: Research directions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brewer, G.A. & Brewer, G.A. jr. 2011. Parsing Public/Private Differences in Work Motivation and Performance: An Experimental Study. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Practice*, 21:i347-362
- Brewer, G.A. & Selden, S.C. 1998. Whistle Blowers in the Federal Civil Service: New Evidence of the Public Service Ethic. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 3: 413-439.
- Brewer, G.A. & Selden, S.A. 2000. Why Elephants Gallop: Assessing and Predicting Organizational Performance in Federal Agencies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 10 (4): 685-711.
- Brewer, G.A., Selden, S.C. & Facer II, R.L. 2000. Individual Conceptions of Public Service Motivation. *Public Administration Review*, 60(3), 254-264.
- Brewer, G.A. & Walker, R.M. 2013. Personnel Constraints in Public Organizations: The Impact of Rewards and Punishment on Organization Performance. *Public Administration Review*. 73 (1): 121-131.
- Bright, L. 2007. Does Person-Organization Fit Mediate the Relationship Between Public Service Motivation and the Job Performance of Public Employees? *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 27(4), 361-379.
- Bright, L. 2008. Does Public Service Motivation Really Make a Difference on the Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intentions of Public Employees? *The American Review of Public Administration*, 38(2), 149-166.
- Brown, T.L., Potoski, M. & Van Slyke, D.M. 2006. Managing Public Service Contracts: Aligning Values, Institutions, and Markets. *Public Administration Review*, 66(3):323-331.
- Bryson, J.M., Crosby, B.C. & Bloomberg, L. 2014. Public Value Governance: Moving beyond traditional public administration and the new public management. *Public Administration Review*, DOI: 10.1111/puar.12238.
- Buchanan, B. II. 1975. Red Tape and the Service Ethic. *Administration and Society* 6(4): 423-44.
- Byrne, B.M. 2012. *Structural Equation Modeling with Mplus*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Cable, D.M. & DeRue, D.S. 2002. The convergent and discriminant validity of subjective fit perceptions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(5), 875.
- Cable, D.M. & Judge, T.A. 1996. Person-organization fit, job choice decisions, and organizational entry. *Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 67(3), 294-311.

- Callier, J.G. 2014. Towards A Better Understanding Of Public Service Motivation And Mission Valence In Public Agencies, *Public Management Review*, DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2014.895033.
- Cameron, A.C. & Trivedi, P.K. 2009. *Microeconometrics Using Stata*. College Station Texas: Stata Press.
- Camilleri, E. & Van der Heijden, B.I.J.M. 2007. Organizational Commitment, Public Service Motivation, and Performance within the Public Sector. *Public Performance & Management Review*, 31(2): 241-274.
- Castaing, S. 2006. The Effects of Psychological Contract Fulfilment and Public Service Motivation on Organizational Commitment in the French Civil Service. *Public Policy and Administration*, 21 (1): 84.
- CBS (Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek). 2013. *Gezondheid en zorg in cijfers 2013*. Den Haag/Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek.
- Chan, D. 1998. Functional Relations Among Constructs in the Same Content Domain at Different Levels of Analysis: A Typology of Composition Models. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83 (2): 234-246.
- Cheung, G.W. & Rensvold, R.B. 2002. Evaluating Goodness-of-Fit Indexes for Testing Measurement Invariance. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 9(2): 233-255
- Choi, D.L. 2004. Public Service Motivation and Ethical Conduct. *International Review of Public Administration*, 8(2): 99-106.
- Christensen, R.K. & Wright, B.E. 2011. The Effects of Public Service Motivation on Job Choice Decisions: Disentangling the Contributions of Person-Organization Fit and Person-Job Fit. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 21(4): 723-743.
- Christensen, R.K., Whiting, S.W. Im, T., Rho, E., Stritch, J.M. & Park, J. 2013. Public Service Motivation, Task, and Non-task Behavior: A Performance Appraisal Experiment with Korean MPA and MBA Students. *International Public Management Journal*, 16(1): 28-52.
- Conway, J.M., & Huffcutt, A.I. 1997. Psychometric Properties of Multisource Performance Ratings: A Meta-Analysis of Subordinate, Supervisor, Peer and Self-Ratings. *Human Performance*, 10(4): 331-360.
- Conway, J.M. & Lance, C.E. 2010. What Reviewers Should Expect from Authors Regarding Common Method Bias in Organizational Research. *Journal of Business Psychology*, 25: 325-334.
- Couper, M.P. 2008. *Designing effective web surveys*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Coursey, D.H. & Pandey, S.K. 2007. Public Service Motivation Measurement. *Administration & Society*, 39(5): 547-568.
- Coursey, D.H., Perry, J.L., Brudney, J.L. & Littlepage, L. 2008. Psychometric Verification of Perry's Public Service Motivation Instrument: Results for Volunteer Exemplars. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 28(1): 79-90.
- Crawford, S.D., Couper, M.P. & Lamias, M.J. 2001. Web surveys perceptions of burden. *Social Science Computer Review*, 19(2), 146-162.
- Crewson, P.E. 1997. Public Service Motivation: Building Empirical Evidence of Incidence and Effect. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 7(4): 499-518.
- Dawson, J.F. 2013. Interpreting Interaction Effects. Retrieved September 10, 2013, from <http://www.jeremydawson.com/slopes.htm>.
- Dawson, J.F. 2014a. Interpreting Interaction Effects. Retrieved May 9th, 2014 from <http://www.jeremydawson.com/slopes.htm>.

- Dawson, J.F. 2014b. Moderation in Management Research: What, Why, When, and How. *Journal of Business Psychology*, 29:1-19.
- Dawson, J.F. & Richter, A.W. 2006. Probing three-way interactions in moderated multiple regression: Development and application of a slope difference test, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(4): 917-926.
- Deci, E.L. & Ryan, R.M. 2000. The “what” and “why” of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11: 227-268.
- Delery, J.E. & Shaw, J.D. 2001. The strategic management of people in work organizations: review, synthesis and extension, *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 20: 165-197.
- Den Hartog, D. N., Boon, C., Verburg, R.M. & Croon, M.A. 2013. HRM, Communication, Satisfaction, and Perceived Performance: A Cross-Level Test. *Journal of Management*, 39 (6): 1637-1665.
- Dias, J.J. & Maynard-Moody, S. 2007. For-Profit Welfare: Contracts, Conflicts, and the Performance Paradox. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 17: 189-211.
- DiIulio, J.D. 1994. Principled agents: The cultural bases of behavior in a federal government bureaucracy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 4: 277-318.
- Downs, A. 1967. *Inside Bureaucracy*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Edwards, J.R., Cable, D.M., Williamson, I.O., Lambert, L.S. & Shipp, A.J. 2006. The Phenomenology of Fit: Linking the Person and Environment to the Subjective Experience of Person-Environment Fit, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(4): 802-827.
- Edwards, J. R. & Shipp, A.J. 2007. The relationship between person-environment fit and outcomes: An integrative theoretical framework. In C. Ostroff and T. A. Judge (Eds.), *Perspectives on organizational fit*. (pp. 209-258) Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Favero, N. & Bullock, J.B. 2014. How (Not) to Solve the Problem: An Evaluation of Scholarly Responses to Common Source Bias. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25: 285-308.
- Fox, S. & Bizman, A. 1988. Differential dimensions employed in rating subordinates, peers, and superiors. *The Journal of Psychology*, 122(4), 373-382.
- Francois, P. 2000. ‘Public service motivation’ as an argument for government provision. *Journal of Public Economics*, 78(3): 275-299.
- Frank, S.A. & Lewis, G.B. 2004. Government Employees: Working Hard or Hardly Working? *The American Review of Public Administration*, 34 (1): 36-51.
- Gailmard, S. 2010. Politics, Principal-Agent Problems, and Public Service Motivation. *International Public Management Journal*, 13(1): 35-45.
- George, J.M. & James, L.R. 1993. Personality, Affect and Behavior in Groups Revisited: Comment on Aggregation, Levels of Analysis, and a Recent Application of Within and Between Analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(5): 798-804.
- Giauque, D., Anderfuhren-Biget, S. & Varone, F. 2013. HRM Practices, Intrinsic Motivators, and Organizational Performance in the Public Sector, *Public Personnel Management*, 42 (2): 123-150.
- Giauque, D., Anderfuhren-Biget, S. and Varone, F. 2013. Stress Perception in Public Organisations: Expanding the Job Demands-Job Resources Model by Including Public Service Motivation, *Public Personnel Administration*, 339(1): 58-83.

- Giauque, D., Ritz, A., Varone, F. and Anderfuhren-Biget, S. 2012. Resigned but Satisfied: The Negative Impact of Public Service Motivation and Red Tape on Work Satisfaction. *Public Administration*, 90(1): 175-193.
- Giauque, D., Ritz, A., Varone, F., Anderfuhren-Biget, S., & Waldner, C. 2011. Putting public service motivation in context: a balance between universalism and particularism. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 77, 227.
- Glew, D.J. 2009. Personal Values and Performance in Teams: An Individual and Team-Level Analysis. *Small Group Research*, 40(6): 670-693.
- Goodin, R.E. & Tilly, C. 2006. *The Oxford Handbook of contextual political analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gould-Williams, J.S., Mostafa, A.M.S. & Bottomley, P. 2013. Public Service Motivation and Employee Outcomes in the Egyptian Public Sector: Testing the Mediating Effect of Person-Organization Fit, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, doi:10.1093/jopart/muto53.
- Grant, A.M. 2007. Relational job design and the motivation to make a prosocial difference. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(2), 393-417.
- Grant, A.M. 2008. Does intrinsic motivation fuel the prosocial fire? Motivational synergy in predicting persistence, performance, and productivity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(1), 48-58.
- Grant, A. M. 2008. Employees without a Cause: The Motivational Effects of Prosocial Impact in Public Service. *International Public Management Journal*, 11(1), 48-66.
- Grant, A.M. & Campbell, E.M. 2007. Doing good, doing harm, being well and burning out: The interactions of perceived prosocial and antisocial impact in service work. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 80, 665-691.
- Grant, A.M., Campbell, E.M., Chen, G., Cottone, K., Lapedis, D. & Lee, K. 2007. Impact and the art of motivation maintenance: The effects of contact with beneficiaries on persistence behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 103(1), 53-67.
- Grant, A.M. & Gino, F. 2010. A little thanks goes a long way: Explaining why gratitude expressions motivate prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98(6), 946-955.
- Greenwood, R., Diaz, A.M., Li, S.X. & Lorente, J.C. 2010. The Multiplicity of Institutional Logics and the Heterogeneity of Organizational Responses. *Organization Science*, 21(2):521-539
- Guest, D.E. 1997. Human resource management and performance: a review and research agenda. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 8(3): 263-276.
- Hackman, J.R. & Oldham, G.R. 1976. 'Motivation through the Design of Work: Test of a Theory', *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 16, 250-79.
- Hargrove, E.C. & Glidewell, J.G., Eds. 1990. *Impossible Jobs in Public Management*. University Press of Kansas: Kansas.
- Hasenfeld, Y. 1972. People Processing Organizations: An Exchange Approach. *American Sociological Review*, 37(3), 256-263.
- Hasenfeld, Y. 1983. *Human Service Organizations*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Haque, M.S. 2001. The Diminishing Publicness of Public Service under the Current Mode of Governance. *Public Administration Review*, 61(1):65-82.
- Hesketh, B. 2000. The Next Millennium of "Fit" Research: Comments on "The Congruence Myth: An Analysis of the Efficacy of the Person-Environment Fit Model" by H. E. A. Tinsley. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 56: 190-196.

- Hoffman, B.J. & Woehr, D.J. 2006. A quantitative review of the relationship between person–organization fit and behavioral outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 68: 389–399.
- Hoffman, C.C., Nathan, B.R. & Holden, L.M. 1991. A comparison of validation criteria: Objective versus subjective performance measures and self- versus supervisor ratings. *Personnel Psychology*, 44, 601–618.
- Hood, C. 1991. A Public Management For All Seasons? *Public Administration*, 69: 3–19.
- Horton, S. 2008. History and Persistence of an Idea and an Ideal. In J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in Public Management: The call of public service* (pp. 56–79). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Houston, D.J. 2000. Public-Service Motivation: A Multivariate Test. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 10(4), 713–728.
- Houston, D.J. 2011. Implications of Occupational Locus and Focus for Public Service Motivation: Attitudes Toward Work Motives across Nations. *Public Administration Review*, 71(5):761–771.
- Hu, L. & Bentler, P. M. 1999. Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6(1), 1–55.
- Jacobsen, W.S. 2011. Creating a Motivated Workforce: How Organizations Can Enhance and Develop Public Service Motivation (PSM). *Public Personnel Management*, 40(3), 215–238.
- Jacobsen, C.B., Hvitved, J. & Andersen, L.B. 2013. Command and Motivation: how the perception of external incentives relates to intrinsic motivation and public service motivation, *Public Administration*, DOI: 10.1111/padm.12024
- Jakobsen, M. & Jensen, R. 2015. Common Method Bias in Public Management Studies. *International Public Management Journals* 18(1): 3–30.
- James, L.R., Demaree, R.G. & Wolf, G. 1984. Estimating Within-Group Interrater Reliability With and Without Response Bias. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69(1): 85–98.
- Jensen, U.T. & Andersen, L.B. 2013. When Doing Good for the Individual Can Harm Society and Vice Versa: Trade-offs Between Public Service Motivation and User Orientation. *Paper presented at the International PSM conference*, 2013, Utrecht
- Jørgensen, T.B. and Bozeman, B. 2007. Public Values: An inventory. *Administration & Society*. 39: 354
- Judge, T.A., Thoresen, C.J., Bono, J.E. & Patton, G.K. 2001. The Job-Satisfaction- Performance Relationship: A Qualitative and Quantitative Review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127 (3): 376–407.
- Kim, S. 2005. Individual-Level Factors and Organizational Performance in Government Organizations. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 15 (2): 245–261.
- Kim, S. 2006. Public service motivation and organizational citizenship behavior in Korea. *International Journal of Manpower*, 27 (8): 722–740.
- Kim, S. 2012. Does person-organization fit matter in the public sector? Testing the mediating effect of person-organization fit in the relationship between public service motivation and work attitudes, *Public Administration Review* 72 (6):830–40.
- Kim, S., & Vandenabeele, W. 2010. A Strategy for Building Public Service Motivation Research Internationally. *Public Administration Review*, 70(5), 701–709.
- Kim, S., Vandenabeele, W., Wright, B.E., Andersen, L.B., Cerase, F.P., Christensen, R.K., Desmarais, C., Koumenta, M., Leisink, P., Liu, B., Paliduskaite, J., Pedersen, L.H., Perry, J.L., Ritz, A., Taylor, J. & De Vivo, P. 2013. Investigating the Structure and Meaning of Public Service Motivation across Populations: Developing an International Instrument and Addressing

- Issues of Measurement Invariance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 23(1): 79-102.
- Kjeldsen, A.M. 2012a. Sector and Occupational Differences in Public Service Motivation: A Qualitative Study. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(1), 58-69.
- Kjeldsen, A.M. 2012b. *Dynamics of Public Service Motivation*. (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Aarhus University, Aarhus.
- Kjeldsen, A.M. 2013. Dynamics of Public Service Motivation: Attraction–Selection and Socialization in the Production and Regulation of Social Services, *Public Administration Review*, 74(1): 101-112.
- Kjeldsen, A.M. & Andersen, L.B. 2012. How Pro-social Motivation Affects Job Satisfaction: An International Analysis of Countries with Different Welfare State Regimes. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 36(2): 153-176.
- Kjeldsen, A.M. & Jacobsen, C.B. 2012. Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector: Attraction or Socialization? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 23(4): 899-926.
- Kline, R.B. 2010. *Principles and practice of structural equation modelling*, 3rd press. New York: Guilford press.
- Knies, E. 2012. *Meer waarde voor en door medewerkers: een longitudinale studie naar de antecedenten en effecten van peoplemanagement*. Dissertation. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht.
- Knies, E. & Leisink, P.L.M. 2014. Linking people management and extra-role behaviour: results of a longitudinal study, *Human Resource Management Journal*, 24(1): 57-76.
- Knoke, D. & Wright-Isak, C. 1982. Individual motives and organizational incentive systems. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 1, 209-254.
- Koehler, M., & Rainey, H.G. 2008. Interdisciplinary Foundations of Public Service Motivation. In J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in public management* (pp. 33-55). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kristof, A.L. 1996. Person-organization fit: An integrative review of its conceptualizations, measurement, and implications. *Personnel Psychology*, 49, 1-49.
- Kristof-Brown, A.L., Zimmerman, R.D. & Johnson, E.C. 2005. Consequences of individual's fit at work: A meta-analysis of person-job, person-organization, person-group and person-supervisor fit. *Personnel Psychology*, 58(2), 281-342.
- Kroll, A. & Vogel, D. 2013. The PSM-Leadership Fit: A Model of Performance Information Use. *Public Administration*. DOI: 10.1111/padm.12014.
- Lauver, K.J. & Kristof, A.L. 2001. Distinguishing between Employees' Perceptions of Person–Job and Person–Organization Fit. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 59, 454-470.
- Lazear, Edward P. & Michael Gibbs. 2009. *Personnel Economics in Practice*, 2nd ed. John Wiley & Sons.
- Leisink, P.L.M. & Steijn, B. 2005. The Netherlands: Modernization, Participation and Strategic Choice, in: Farnham, D., Hondeghem, A & Horton, S. 2005. *Staff Participation and Public Management Reform. Some international comparisons*. Hamspire: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Leisink, P.L.M. & Steijn, B. 2009. Public service motivation and job performance of public sector employees in the Netherlands. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 75(1), 35-52.
- Lemmon, G. & Wayne, S.J. 2014. Underlying Motives of Organizational Citizenship Behavior: Comparing Egoistic and Altruistic Motives. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, DOI: 10.1177/1548051814535638.

- Lipsky, M. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lui, B. & Perry, J.L. 2014. The Psychological Mechanisms of Public Service Motivation: A Two-Wave Examination. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, DOI: 10.1177/0734371X14549672.
- MacKinnon, D.P., Lockwood, C.M., Hoffman, J.M., West, S.G., and Sheets, V. 2002. A Comparison of Methods to Test Mediation and Other Intervening Variable Effects, *Psychological Methods*, 7(1): 83.
- March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. 1989. *Rediscovering Institutions*. New York: Free Press.
- March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. 2006. The Logic of Appropriateness, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, edited by Moran, M., Rein, M. and Goodin, R.E. (2006), New York: Oxford University Press, p.689-709.
- Margolis, J. & Molinsky, A. 2008. Navigating The Bind of Necessary Evils: Psychological Engagement and The Production of Interpersonally Sensitive Behavior. *Academy of Management Journal*, 51(5), 847-872.
- Martin, S. & Smith, P.C. 2005. Multiple Public Service Performance Indicators: Toward an Integrated Statistical Approach. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 15: 599-613.
- Maslach, C., Schaufeli, W. B., & Leiter, M. P. 2001. Job Burn-out. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 397-422.
- Maynard-Moody, S. & Musheno, M. 2003. *Cops, teachers, counselors: stories from the front lines of public service*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Meier, K.J. & O' Toole, L.J. 2006. *Bureaucracy in a Democratic State: A Governance Perspective*, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Meier, K.J. and O'Toole, L.J. 2013. Subjective Organizational Performance and Measurement Error: Common Source Bias and Spurious Relationships. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 23(2): 429-456.
- Meyer, B. & Schermuly, C.C. 2012. When beliefs are not enough: Examining the interaction of diversity faultlines, task motivation, and diversity beliefs on team performance. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 21(3): 456-487
- Meyer, R.E., Egger-Peitler, I., Höllerer, M.A. & Hammerschmid, G. 2013. Of Bureacrats and Passionate Public Managers: Institutional Logics, Executive Identities, and Public Service Motivation. *Public Administration*, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.2012.02105.x
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. 2014. *Prestatieafspraken met universiteiten en hogescholen*. <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/hoger-onderwijs/prestatieafspraken-met-universiteiten-en-hogescholen>
- Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. 2013a. *Feiten en cijfers: Werken in de publieke sector*, www.arbeidenoverheid.nl, website visited on 01-06-2014
- Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. 2013b. *De Grote Uittocht Herzien: Een nieuwe verkenning van de arbeidsmarkt voor het openbaar bestuur*. www.beterwerkeninhetopenbaarbestuur.nl.
- Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. 2014. www.arbeidenoverheid.nl, website visited on 01-06-2014.
- Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. 2013. *Letter to the Parliament: Good Governance in Healthcare*, Reference number: 116696-103573-MC.
- Molinsky, A. & Margolis, J. 2005. Necessary evils and interpersonal sensitivity in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 30(2), 245-268.

- Motivaction, 2010. *Bezuinigen op ambtenaren* ? Retrieved from: <http://www2.motivaction.nl/content/factsheet-bezuinigen-op-ambtenaren-o>
- Motowidlo, S.J. & Van Scotter, J.R. 1994. Evidence That Task Performance Should be Distinguished from Contextual Performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(4): 475-480.
- Moynihan, D.P. 2005: Managing for Results in an Impossible Job: Solution or Symbol? *International Journal of Public Administration*, 28 (3-4): 213-231.
- Moynihan, D. P. 2010. A Workforce of Cynics? The Effects of Contemporary Reforms on Public Service Motivation. *International Public Management Journal*, 13(1): 24-34.
- Moynihan, D. P., Fernandez, S. Kim, S., LeRoux, K.M., Piotrowski, S.J., Wright, B.E. & Yang, K. 2011. Performance regimes amidst complexity. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21 (suppl 1): 141-55.
- Moynihan, D.P. & Pandey, S.K. 2007. The Role of Organizations in Fostering Public Service Motivation. *Public Administration Review*, 67(1), 40-53.
- Moynihan, D.P. & Pandey, S.K. 2008. The Ties that Bind: Social Networks, Person-Organization Value Fit, and Turnover Intention. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(2), 205-227.
- Moynihan, D.P. & Pandey, S.K. 2010. The Big Question for Performance Management: Why Do Managers Use Performance Information? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 20: 849-866.
- Moynihan, D.P. 2013. Does Public Service Motivation Lead to Budget Maximization? Evidence from an Experiment. *International Public Management Journal*, 16(2):179-196.
- Moynihan, D.P., Vandenabeele, W. & Hansen, J. Blom 2013. Debate: Advancing public service motivation research. *Public Money and Management*, 33 (4): 288-289.
- Muchinsky, P.M. & Monahan, C.J. 1987. What is person-environment congruence? Supplementary versus complementary models of fit. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 31(3), 268-277.
- Muthén, B. & Muthén, L. (2010-2014) *User Guide Mplus*. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- Naff, K.C. & Crum, J. 1999. Working for America: Does Public Service Motivation Make a Difference? *Review of Public Personnel Administration* 19 (Fall): 5-16.
- Nelissen, N., Denhardt, R.B. & Lako, C.J. 2000. The pursuit of Significance. *Public Management Review*. 2(2): 219-238.
- Niskanen, W. 1971. *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherson.
- Oberfield, Z. 2014. Motivation, Change, and Stability. Findings From an Urban Police Department, *The American Review of Public Administration*, 44(2): 210-232.
- Olsen, J.P. 2006. Maybe It Is Time to Rediscover Bureaucracy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 16 (1): 1-24.
- Organ, D.W. & Ryan, K. 1995. A meta-analytic review of attitudinal and dispositional predictors of organizational citizenship behavior. *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 775-802.
- Paarlberg, L.E. & Lavigna, B. 2010. Transformational Leadership and Public Service Motivation: Driving Individual and Organizational Performance. *Public Administration Review*, 70(5): 710-718.
- Paarlberg, L.E., Perry, J.L. & Hondeghem, A. 2008. From Theory to Practice: Strategies for Applying Public Service Motivation, in J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in Public Management* (pp. 268-293). New York: Oxford University Press.

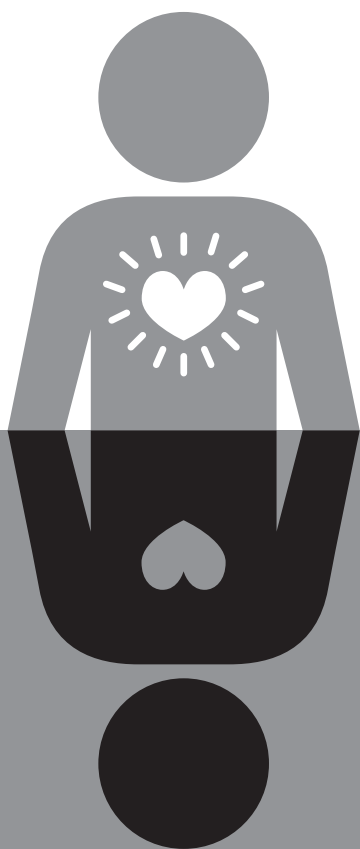
- Paauwe, J. 2009. HRM and Performance: Achievements, Methodological Issues and Prospects. *Journal of Management Studies*, 46(1): 129-142.
- Paauwe, J. & Boselie, P. 2003. Challenging 'strategic HRM' and the relevance of the institutional setting. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 13(3): 56-70.
- Pandey, S.K. & Stazyk, E.C. 2008. Antecedents and Correlates of Public Service Motivation, in (eds Perry, J.L. and Hondghem, A.) *Motivation in Public Management*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pandey, S.K., Wright, B.E. & Moynihan, D.P. 2008. Public service motivation and interpersonal citizenship behaviour in public organizations: Testing a preliminary model. *International Public Management Journal* 11 (1):89-108.
- Park, S.M. & Rainey, H.G. 2008. "Leadership and Public Service Motivation in U.S. Federal Agencies." *International Public Management Journal*, 11(1): 109-142.
- Pedersen, L.H. 2013. Committed to the public interest? Motivation and behavioural outcomes among local councilors. *Public Administration*, doi: 10.1017/j.1467-9299.2012.02107.x
- Perry, J.L. 1996. Measuring Public Service Motivation: An Assessment of Construct Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 6(1), 5-22.
- Perry, J.L. 1997. Antecedents of Public Service Motivation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 7(2), 181-197.
- Perry, J.L. 2000. Bringing Society In: Toward a Theory of Public-Service Motivation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 10(2), 471-488.
- Perry, J.L., Engbers, T.A. & Yun Jun, S. 2009. Back to the Future? Performance-Related Pay, Empirical Research, and the Perils of Persistence. *Public Administration Review*, 69(1): 39-51.
- Perry, J.L. & Hondeghem, A. 2008. Directions for Future Theory and Research. In J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in Public Management* (pp. 294-313). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Perry, J.L., Hondeghem, A. & Wise, L. 2010. Revisiting the Motivational Bases of Public Service: Twenty Years of Research and an Agenda for the Future. *Public Administration Review*, 70(5): 681-690.
- Perry, J.L., Mesch, D & Paarlberg, L. 2006. Motivating Employees in a New Governance Era: The Performance Paradigm Revisited. *Public Administration Review* 66(4):505-14.
- Perry, J.L. & Porter, L.W. 1982. Factors Affecting the Context for Motivation in Public Organizations. *Academy of Management*, 7(1):89-98.
- Perry, J.L. & Wise, L.R. 1990. The motivational bases of public service, *Public Administration Review*, 75(1), 53-78.
- Perry, J.L., & Vandenabeele, W.V. (2008). Behavioral Dynamics: Institutions, Identities and Self-Regulation. In J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in public management: The call of public service* (pp. 56-79). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Petrovsky, N. and Ritz, A. 2014. Public service motivation and performance: a critical perspective. *Evidence-based HRM*, 2(1): 57-79.
- Pinder, C.C. 2008. *Work Motivation in Organizational Behavior* (2nd ed.). Sussex: Taylor & Francis Group, Psychology Press
- Podsakoff, P.M., Ahearne, M. & MacKenzie, S.B. 1997. Organizational citizenship behavior and the quantity and quality of work group performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82: 262-270.

- Podsakoff, P.M., MacKenzie, S.B., Lee, J. & Podsakoff, N.P. 2003. Common Method Bias in Behavioral Research: A Critical Review of the Literature and Recommended Remedies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(5): 879-903
- Podsakoff, P.M. MacKenzie, S.B. & Podsakoff, N.P. 2012. Sources of Method Bias in Social Science Research and Recommendations on How to Control It. *The Annual Review of Psychology*, 63: 539-569.
- Podsakoff, P.M. & Organ, D.W. 1986. Self-reports in organizational research—problems and prospects. *Journal of Management*, 12:531-44.
- Pollitt, C. & Bouckaert, G. 2004. *Public management reform: A comparative analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Preacher, K.J. & Hayes, A.F. 2008. Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavior Research Methods*, 40(3): 879-891.
- Prebble, M. 2014. Has the Study of Public Service Motivation Addressed the Issues That Motivated the Study? *American Review of Public Administration*, doi: 10.1177/0275074014554651.
- Rabe-Hesketh, S. & Skrondal, A. 2008. *Multilevel and Longitudinal Modeling using Stata*, 2nd edn. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Rainey, H.G. 1982. Reward references among public and private managers: In search of the service ethic. *American Review of Public Administration*, 16, 288-302.
- Rainey, H.G. 2003. *Understanding and managing public organizations* (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Rainey, H.G. & Bozeman, B. 2000. Comparing Public and Private Organizations: Empirical Research and the Power of the A Priori. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 10(2):447-469.
- Rainey, H.G. & Steinbauer, P. 1999. Galloping Elephants: Developing Elements of a Theory of Effective Government Organizations, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 9(1): 1-32.
- Raykov, T. 2009. Evaluation of Scale Reliability for Unidimensional Measures Using Latent Variable Modeling, *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 42(3):223-232.
- Ritz, A. 2009. Public service motivation and organizational performance in Swiss federal government. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 75(1), 53-78.
- Ritz, A. 2011. Attraction to public policy-making: A qualitative inquiry into improvements in PSM measurement. *Public Administration*, 89(3): 1128-1147.
- Ryan, R.M. & Deci, E.L. 2004. Autonomy Is No Illusion: Self-Determination Theory and the Empirical Study of Authenticity, Awareness, and Will. In J. Greenberg, S. L. Koole & T. Pyszczynski (Eds.), *Handbook of Experimental Existential Psychology*. (pp. 449-479) New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- Saks, A.M. & Ashforth, B.E. 1997. A longitudinal investigation of the relationships between job information sources, applicant perceptions of fit, and work outcomes. *Personnel Psychology*, 50(2), 395-426.
- Schaufeli, W.B. & Van Dierendonk, D. (2000). UBOS – Utrechtse Burn-out Schaal. *Handleiding*. Lisse: Swets Test Services.
- Scott, W.R. 2001. *Institutions and Organizations*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- SCP (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau). 2010. *Burgers over de kwaliteit van publieke diensten*. Den Haag: SCP.

- Shingler, J. Van Loon, M.E., Alter, T.R. & Bridger, J.C. 2008. The Importance of Subjective Data for Public Agency Performance Evaluation. *Public Administration Review*, 68(6): 1101-1111.
- Smith, C.A., Organ, D.W. & Near, J.P. 1983. Organizational citizenship behavior: Its nature and antecedents. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 68(4), 653-663.
- Soper, D.S. 2014. *A-priori Sample Size Calculator for Multiple Regression* [Software]. Available from <http://www.danielsoper.com/statcalc>, visited on 09-08-2014.
- Spector, P.E. 1987. Method variance as an artifact in self-reported affect and perceptions at work: Myth or significant problem? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72: 438-443.
- Spector, P.E. 2006. Method Variance in Organizational Research: Truth or Urban Legend? *Organizational Research Methods*, 9(2): 221-232.
- Steen, T. 2008. Not a government Monopoly: The Private, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sectors. In J. L. Perry, and A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in Public Management: The call of public service* (pp. 56-79). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steijn, B. 2008. Person-environment fit and public service motivation. *International Public Management Journal*, 11, 13-27.
- Stritch, J.M. & Christensen, R.K. 2013. Looking at a job's social impact through PSM-tinted lenses: Probing the motivation-perception relationship. *Public Administration*, doi: 10.1111/padm.12043.
- Taylor, J. 2008. Organizational influences, public service motivation and work outcomes: An Australian study. *International Public Management Journal*, 11, 67-88.
- Taylor, J. 2013. Public Service Motivation, Relational Job Design, and Job Satisfaction in Local Government. *Public Administration*, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9299.2012.02108.x
- Taylor, J. & Taylor, R. 2011. "Working Hard for More Money or Working Hard To Make a Difference?: Efficiency Wages, Public Service Motivation, and Effort." *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 31(1): 67-86.
- Thornton, P.H. & Ocasio, W. 1999. Institutional Logics and the Historical Contingency of Power in Organizations: Executive Succession in the Higher Education Publishing Industry. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3): 801-843.
- Thornton, P.H. & Ocasio, W. 2008. Institutional logics, in (eds) Greenwood, R., Oliver, C. Sahlin, K and Suddaby, R. *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, SAGE publications.
- Todd, D.L., Slegers, D.W. & Card, N.A. 2006. A Non-arbitrary Method of Identifying and Scaling Latent Variables in SEM and MACS Models. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 13(1): 59-72.
- Tummers, L. & Bekkers, V. 2014. Policy Implementation, Street-level Bureaucracy, and the Importance of Discretion. *Public Management Review*, 16(4):527-547.
- Van den Broeck, A., Vansteenkiste, M., De Witte, H. & Lens, W. 2008. Explaining the relationships between job characteristics, burn-out, and engagement: The role of basic psychological need satisfaction. *Work & Stress*. 22 (3): 277-294.
- Vandenabeele, W. 2007. Toward a public administration theory of public service motivation, *Public Management Review*, 9(4): 545-556.
- Vandenabeele, W. 2008. Development of a public service motivation measurement scale: corroborating and extending Perry's measurement instrument. *International Public Management Journal*, 11(1), 143-167.

- Vandenabeele, W. 2009. The mediating effect of job satisfaction and organizational commitment on self-reported performance: more robust evidence of the PSM—performance relationship. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 75(1), 11–34.
- Vandenabeele, W. 2011. Who Wants to Deliver Public Service? Do Institutional Antecedents of Public Service Motivation Provide an Answer? *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 31(1): 87–107.
- Vandenabeele, W. 2013. Further integration of public service motivation theory and self-determination theory: concepts and antecedents. *Paper presented at the International Public Service Motivation Conference, Utrecht 2013*.
- Vandenabeele, W., Leisink, P.L.M. & Knies, E. 2013. Public value creation and strategic human resource management: Public service motivation as a linking mechanism. In P. Leisink, P. Boselie, M. Van Bottenburg & D. Hosking (eds), *Managing Social Issues: A Public Values Perspective*. Cheltenham, UK/Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar.
- Vandenabeele, W., Scheepers, S., & Hondeghem, A. 2006. Public Service Motivation in an International Comparative Perspective: The UK and Germany. *Public Policy and Administration*, 21(1), 13–31.
- Vandenabeele, W.V. & Van de Walle, S. 2008. International Difference in Public Service Motivation. In J. L. Perry, & A. Hondeghem (Eds.), *Motivation in Public Management : The call of public service* (pp. 223–244). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van de Voorde, K., Paauwe, J. & Van Veldhoven, M. 2010. Predicting business unit performance using employee surveys: monitoring HRM-related changes, *Human Resource Management Journal*, 20(1): 44–63.
- Van Ryzin, G.G. 2001. Outcomes, Process, and Trust of Civil Servants. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 21(4): 745–760.
- Van Veldhoven, M. 2012. *Over knipogen, badkuipen en kampeertenten: Arbeidsgedrag als fundament van strategisch HRM*, Tilburg: Tilburg University, PrismaPrint.
- Verbeek, M. 2008. *A Guide to Modern Econometrics*. 3rd ed. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Vogel, R.M. & Feldman, D.C. 2009. Integrating the levels of person-environment fit: The roles of vocational fit and group fit. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 75(1), 68–81.
- VSO (Verbond Sectorwerkgevers Overheid), SCO (Samenwerkende Centrales Overheidspersoneel) & Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. 2010. *De Grote Uittocht; vier toekomst-beelden van de arbeidsmarkt van onderwijs- en overheidssectoren*. Den Haag.
- Walker, R.M., Boyne, G.A. & Brewer, G.A. (Eds.). 2011. *Public Management and Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, R.M., Boyne, G.A., Brewer, G.A. & Avellaneda, C.N. 2011. Market Orientation and Public Service Performance: New Public Management Gone Mad? *Public Administration Review*, 71(5): 707–717.
- Wanous, J.O., Reichers, A.E. & Hudy, M.J. 1997. Overall job satisfaction: how good are single-item measures? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82 (2), 247–252.
- Ward, K.D. 2014. Cultivating Public Service Motivation through AmeriCorps Service: A Longitudinal Study. *Public Administration Review*, DOI: 10.1111/puar.12155.
- Whetten, D.A. 1989. What constitutes a theoretical contribution? *Academy of Management Review*, 14 (4): 490–495.

- Williams, L.J. & Anderson, S.E. 1991. Job satisfaction and organizational commitment as predictors of organizational citizenship and in-role behaviors. *Journal of Management*, 17, 601-617.
- Wise, L.R. 2004. Bureaucratic Posture: On the Need for a Composite Theory of Bureaucratic Behavior. *Public Administration Review*, 64(6): 669-680.
- Wooldridge, J.M. 2013. *Introductory Econometrics, a modern approach*, 5th international edition. South-Western Cengage Learning.
- Wright, B.E. 2001. Public-Sector Work Motivation: A Review of the Current Literature and a Revised Conceptual Model. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 11(4): 559-586.
- Wright, B. E. 2007. Public Service and Motivation: Does Mission Matter? *Public Administration Review*, 67(1), 54-64.
- Wright, B.E., Christensen, R.K. & Pandey, S.K. 2013. Measuring Public Service Motivation: Exploring the Equivalence of Existing Global Measures. *International Public Management Journal*, 16:2, 197-223.
- Wright, B.E. & Grant, A.M. 2010. Unanswered Questions about Public Service Motivation: Designing Research to Address Key Issues of Emergence and Effects. *Public Administration Review*, 70(5), 691-700.
- Wright, B.E. & Pandey, S.K. 2008. Public Service Motivation and the Assumption of Person-Organization Fit. *Administration & Society*, 40(5), 502-521.
- Wright, B. E. & Pandey, S.K. 2010. Public Organizations and Mission Valence: When Does Mission Matter? *Administration & Society*, 43(1): 22-44.
- Wright, P.M. & Nishii, L.H. 2006. Strategic HRM and organizational behavior: integrating multiple levels of analysis, *working paper* 06-05, Cornell University, Ithaca NY.
- WRR (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid). 2010. *Bewijzen van goede dienstverlening*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- WRR (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid). 2012. *Publieke zaken in de marktsamenleving*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Zhao, X., Lynch Jr, J.G., Chen, Q. 2010. Reconsidering Baron and Kenny: Myths and Truths about Mediation Analysis. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(2): 197-206.



Summary in English

The role of public service motivation in performance

*Examining the potentials and pitfalls through
an institutional approach*

1. The potential of public service motivation

Employees in municipalities, schools and hospitals have a substantial influence on the lives of citizens. It is therefore not surprising that society wants them to perform well, and that what they should do in terms of performance and how it can be influenced, is a recurring theme in both political and scholarly debates (Walker et al. 2011; WRR 2004). One of the propositions which has gained considerable scholarly attention is that a high motivation to contribute to society, called public service motivation, leads to higher performance (Perry & Wise 1990). Following research mainly finding a positive relationship between public service motivation (PSM) and performance, scholars have argued that PSM is a useful instrument for public organizations to increase their performance, for instance through selecting new employees with high PSM. However, the circumstances in which public employees work differ substantially: one employee may have a lot of opportunities to contribute to society through the job; another may not feel able to do so because of, for instance, high levels of red tape. It can be questioned if employees who are equally public service motivated but work in such different circumstances will perform equally well.

To account for such differences in the context in which employees do their work, this dissertation takes an institutional perspective in studying the relationship between PSM and performance. Institutions can be described as enduring social constructions, encompassing rules, norms and routines which determine appropriate ways of action and shared meanings (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). Rules can for instance regulate the opportunities to contribute to society and norms can influence the mission of the organization and what the employees' goals are. Employees with high PSM want to be able to contribute to society through their work and it is therefore quite possible that differences in opportunities to do provided by the institutional context matter for the relationship between PSM and performance. Although the role of institutions for the development of PSM has been acknowledged (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008), the role of the institutional context for the relationship between PSM and performance has received far less attention. At the same time studies on the relationship between PSM and performance have found mixed results, as there are studies that found no or a mediated relationship (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Bright 2007; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014). This may be due to insufficiently taking the role of institutional context into account. Therefore the research question guiding this dissertation can be formulated as:

What is the role of public service motivation in performance and how does institutional context matter?

This dissertation aims to provide insight in whether PSM contributes to performance in general, and can thus be seen as a potential way to increase public performance, or if there are also conditions to this proposition, and potentially even pitfalls to such an instrumental approach towards public service motivation. Three unsolved issues guided the study, which are discussed next.

2. Public service motivation and performance: three unsolved issues

First, this dissertation addresses doubts about whether we can assume that two equally public service motivated employees who have to do their work in different institutional contexts will perform equally well. Those who want to contribute to society but do not perceive they can do so in their work do not experience a good fit with their institutional context. Is PSM related to higher performance in such work situations? This dissertation argues that the relationship between PSM and performance is therefore context-dependent. Using institutional theory, the context in which employees are working is seen as the missing link in explaining the how and why of the PSM-performance relationship. Does the institutional context offer opportunities to contribute to society? A fit between *public* service motivation of the employee and the *publicness* of the institutional context (Bozeman 1987; Rainey 2003) is crucial for PSM to be positively related to performance. Although when referring to publicness usually structural characteristics such as public or private ownership are meant, here publicness means the degree and way in which the work is aimed at societal interests. This means there are not only differences in degree to which organizations contribute to society, but also differences in the way they aim to do so, such as between producing and regulating services.

Second, this dissertation questions a too simple conceptualization of performance in a public context. Until now the PSM literature has mainly viewed performance as a global concept, whereas public service providers such as schools, police, healthcare services, municipalities and prisons have multiple stakeholders and multiple goals. In the wider public administration literature more nuanced conceptualizations of public performance can be found that acknowledge the role of multiple, sometimes conflicting, public values that play a role in the performance of public service providers (see Boyne 2002). To analyse the performance of public service providers not one, but multiple dimensions such as output, responsiveness and equity have to be included. This approach resembles the ‘balanced approach’ in human resource management literature (Boselie 2010). This approach argues that organizational performance should be balanced with societal and employee outcomes. Viewing performance as such means there is a methodological problem with overall measures in survey research, because it is unclear what respondents are thinking about when they have to rate the overall performance of public organizations or employees. Moreover, differences between dimensions are concealed: being responsive and working quickly cannot always be achieved at the same time. No studies on PSM have however analysed the relationship between PSM and multiple dimensions of performance, whereas this multidimensionality may partly explain why studies have found dissimilar results regarding the relationship between PSM and performance.

Thirdly, risks may be related to an instrumental approach in which PSM is increased to enhance performance of the organization. For instance, it could also be that those who are motivated to sacrifice their own interests for the sake of society actually outrun themselves and harm their own wellbeing (Steen & Rutgers 2011). Moreover, highly public service motivated employees who do not perceive opportunities to contribute to society through their job may become frustrated and as a consequence not perform better at all.

If the relationship between PSM and performance is indeed dependent on its context, an approach in which only PSM is increased without attention for the context may pose risks for both wellbeing and performance. How and why institutional context matters for the relationship between public service motivation and performance is discussed next.

3. The context-dependency of PSM, performance and its relationship

PSM can be described as motivation to contribute to society, or more nuanced, as “*the belief, the 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*” (Vandenabeele 2007, p.549). Theories about behaviour and performance of employees have different assumptions regarding why employees want to perform. Some studies assume that individuals act solely out of self-interests and only work if they are paid or regulated. Theory on public service motivation argues that employees of public organizations are also motivated by other motives to do their work, such as duty, compassion and an urge to participate in making society a better place. Perry and Wise (1990) described three types of public service motives:

- *Rational*: wanting to participate and enhance public service provision
- *Normative*: a sense of duty and commitment to the public interest
- *Affective*: identification and compassion with the underprivileged.

Public service motivation is not a stable trait of individuals with which they are born, but can change in strength, shape and salience during an individual’s life course because individuals are influenced by their institutional context (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). PSM is not a purely intrinsic motivation – if it was it would mean that behaviour stemming from it is purely driven by internal forces. Instead, PSM is an extrinsic – but autonomous – type of motivation since the drive is based on a feeling of obligation (Vandenabeele 2013). This is important, because this interaction with the institutional context means that the relationship between PSM and performance also depends on this interaction: the performance of public service motivated employees is also influenced by their environment.

However, a second reason needs to be added to explain why context matters: It is essential that there is variance in the institutional context of public service motivated employees. For *public service motivation*, the *publicness* (Bozeman 1989; Rainey 2003) is a crucial characteristic of the institutional context. Within the PSM literature the public and semi-public sector are often seen as one whole, whereas there are important differences between public service providers. Using an institutional approach to publicness means that distinguishing between public and private based on structural elements such as ownership or financing is insufficient as privately owned organizations can also have a public mission. For instance, when studying organizations with a public legal status, they can differ in their mission, such as aiming to produce or regulate services, and jobs can differ in their potential impact on society. Public service motivated employees work in these different institutional contexts which do to a lesser or higher degree fit with their motivation.

How institutional context matters for the relationship between PSM and performance

can be illustrated using person-environment fit theory (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). According to this theory a fit between a person and the environment is necessary for attaining positive outcomes. Regarding PSM this means that a relationship between PSM and performance can only be expected if there is a fit between the PSM of the employee and the institutional context (Steijn 2008). Although some authors have studied the role of a fit between person and environment for PSM (Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenaabeele 2007), there is no coherent theoretical framework and research on the how, why, when and where regarding the relationship between PSM and performance, and the role of institutional context in it.

Performance can also be seen as a context-dependent concept. In a public context performance is complex because public service providers often have multiple goals of which it is unclear which one is the most important – next to efficiency and output aspects such as equity, responsiveness and legitimacy are also seen as important (Boyne 2002).

Moreover, public service providers have multiple stakeholders that each have their own opinion about which aspect of performance is most important. For instance, clients often emphasize responsiveness, whereas regulatory agencies focus on obeying the procedures. Performance in a public context can from this institutional perspective be conceptualized as multidimensional, including output, efficiency, service, responsiveness and democratic outcomes. With such an approach the main question is no longer whether PSM is related to performance, but to which dimension of performance – leaving the normative question about which dimension of performance is most important to society and politicians to answer.

Including the role of institutional context, multiple expectations can be formulated regarding the relationship between PSM and performance. First, the relationship between PSM and performance may depend on the performance outcome studied. Second, it can be expected that there is an interaction between PSM and the institutional context and that this will lead to differences between public service motives expressed by employees in various contexts. Third, publicness will matter: PSM is a drive to contribute to society and therefore it can be expected that employees with high PSM will perform high if their institutional context has a certain degree of publicness and thus fits their need to contribute to society. Following on this, fourth, if the institutional context has a low degree of publicness we can expect a non-significant or even negative relationship between PSM and performance due to frustration of employees that they are not able to contribute to society. Fifth, risks may be attached to an instrumental approach of PSM for the wellbeing of employees. Employees motivated to go above and beyond the call of duty may if this motivation does not fit with the opportunities to contribute to society become frustrated or overreach themselves. Finally, it can be expected that of all the aspects of the institutional context, those regarding the *publicness* of the work, and with that the opportunities in the *job* are more important than for instance the organization or sector as public service motivated employees want to contribute to society through their work.

In Chapters 3 to 9 these propositions were studied empirically. Since this dissertation consists of chapters that are independent articles/papers, the most important results will be discussed per chapter.

4. Results

The results of this study are grouped in two parts. In Part 1 (Chapters 3-6) the role of the institutional context for PSM's relationship to performance is addressed. Part 2 (Chapters 7-9) provides more knowledge regarding three issues that were identified during this research project within research on the relationship between PSM and performance. The first issue, the reliance on self-reported performance data in which bias may be an issue, is addressed in Chapter 7 by using supervisor-rated performance data. The second issue, whether PSM is a sector-specific motivation and thus only plays a role in the public sector, necessitates a discussion of what constitutes 'public', which is addressed in Chapter 8 by studying both public and private employees. Third, most studies have used cross-sectional data for studying the relationship between PSM and performance. Chapter 9 uses panel data that can to some extent take away endogeneity issues.

Figure 1 shows how the various aspects of the theoretical framework have been studied and which results have been found. Each number represents the chapter in which that part of the model was studied. A *full* arrow represents a significant relationship. Most of the found relationships were found to be influenced by aspects of the institutional context (service logic, sector, the job's societal impact potential). Relationships between PSM and performance that are only positive and significant under certain circumstances are represented by *striped* arrows. The studied but non-significant relationships are indicated by *dotted* arrows. This model was not studied as a whole, but in parts in separate chapters. In the following the main conclusions are presented per chapter.

Part 1: The role of institutional context

In Chapter 3, on the left side of figure 1, the interaction between PSM and institutional context was studied. Through interviews with fifty employees of various public service providers (city hall administrators, police, prison, secondary education, hospital) differences in emphasis on public service motives (rational, normative, and affective) between public service providers were examined. First, whether the emphasis on motives varied between service providers with different client logics, distinguishing people-changing (aimed at changing citizens) services such as schools, hospitals and prisons, and people-processing (aimed at processing or regulating) services such as city hall and police. Second, whether emphasis in motives differed between negative (wanted) and positive (unwanted) service logics. These aspects determine the organizational logic, as part of the institutional context. The results show that there are differences in public service motives between service providers. The most prominent difference can be found between people-changing and people-processing service providers, in which the first group of employees emphasized affective motives and the second normative and instrumental motives.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are based on the same dataset. A survey was sent out to all employees of the in Chapter 3 studied organizations: a hospital, secondary schools, city halls, prisons and the police. This resulted in 1031 usable responses. The respondents were regarding their age and gender sufficiently representative of the national employee population in each domain.

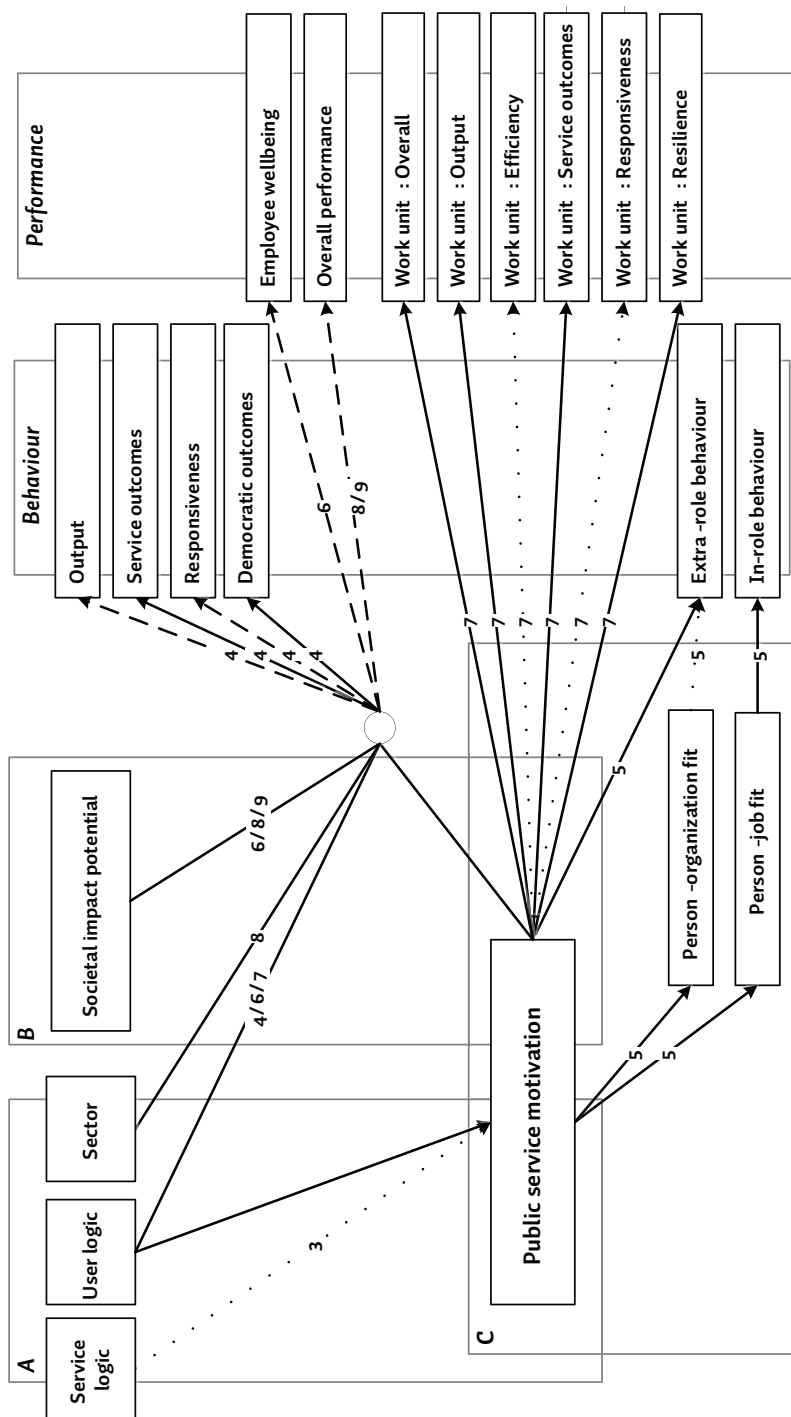


Figure 1: Overview of results on aspects of the theoretical framework.

In Chapter 4, at the top of Figure 1, the relationship between public service motivation and various dimensions of performance-related behaviour was studied to gain knowledge on whether the relationship with PSM would differ for various dimensions of performance. In the analyses people-changing and people-processing service providers were distinguished. Using the performance dimensions identified by Boyne (2002) the self-reported behaviour on output, service outcome, responsiveness and democratic outcomes was analysed. The results show that highly public service motivated employees had significantly higher scores on all dimensions in the people-changing group, but not on output and responsiveness in the people-processing group.

Chapter 5, represented at the bottom of Figure 1, aimed to provide insight in the relative importance of a fit with the job and organization for the relationship between PSM and in-role and extra-role behaviour. The results show that PSM contributes to direct perceptions of person-job and person-organization fit, but that only person-job fit mediates the relationship between PSM and in-role behaviour. PSM directly and positively influences extra-role behaviour. The results show that a fit with the job is more important than a fit with the organization for the performance of public service motivated employees.

In Chapter 6, shown at the top/middle of Figure 1, the potential pitfalls of PSM for the wellbeing of employees were analysed. The analysis focused on how the type of service provider (people-changing and people-processing) and degree of publicness in the job, the perceived societal impact potential, mattered for the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction and risk of burn-out. The analyses show that PSM increases the risk of burn-out when employees feel they cannot contribute to society in people-processing organizations, or when they see too many opportunities to contribute in people-changing organizations.

Part 2: Addressing three issues

Chapter 7, in the middle of Figure 1, explored whether the relationship between PSM and performance found is due to bias in self-reports, or due to the complexity and multidimensionality of performance in a public context. Using survey data from employees in 55 work units in a healthcare organization, and the performance ratings of those work units provided by their supervisors, the results show a positive relationship between PSM and overall work unit performance. However, when analysing separate performance dimensions, work unit PSM was not significantly related to supervisor-rated efficiency and responsiveness, which shows that the differences in results between PSM-performance studies may be due to the complexity and multidimensionality of performance.

In Chapter 8, at the top/middle of Figure 1, the role of sector (defined by legal status) and societal impact potential of the job for the relationship between PSM and performance is analysed for both public and private sector employees. Analysing data from a survey among a representative sample of public employees ($n=22,446$), and a matched sample of private sector employees ($n=2,560$), the results show that the job's societal impact potential is more important for the relationship between PSM and performance than sector, although sector did also matter. Highly public service motivated employees working in the public sector but who perceive a low societal impact potential in their job do not perform better. Publicness can thus be seen as encompassing more than legal status but also the

values and opportunities to contribute to society.

Chapter 9, at the top/middle of Figure 1, addresses the question as to whether the interaction between PSM and a job's societal impact potential relates to performance over time. As opposed to the previous chapters which were based on cross-sectional data, this study investigates whether differences from 2010 to 2012 in the levels of PSM, the job's societal impact potential and performance on the organizational level are related. Here, we found that there is also a positive relationship between PSM and performance *over time* but that this relationship is strongest when the job's societal impact potential is high. There is even a slightly negative relationship between PSM and performance if employees perceive no societal impact potential in the job.

5. Discussion: Public service motivation, potential and pitfalls

This dissertation has addressed the role of institutional context for the relationship between PSM and performance. The main contributions of this study can be summarized in three points. First, an instrumental approach increasing PSM to enhance performance holds certain pitfalls. Public service motivated employees were found to perform better than employees with lower PSM, but they can also harm their own wellbeing in the meantime. It is beneficial and noteworthy for public organizations that their employees are willing to sacrifice their own interests for society, but this also holds a risk for employee wellbeing of which managers should be aware. Moreover, if an employee is highly public service motivated but does not feel able to have a positive impact on society they do not perform better. Thus, public organizations need to create the right, fitting, circumstances for public service motivation to be a potential in stead of a pitfall.

Second, publicness matters for the relationship between PSM and performance. Although in recent years the debate seems to focus on 'run government like a business' arguing that more market incentives and management like in private companies will increase the performance of public service providers, the results of this dissertation indicate that publicness is important for the performance of public services. Publicness does not, however, necessarily imply government ownership, but is rather determined by various elements of the context, of which the job's opportunities to contribute to society seem most important for public service motivated employees. PSM can influence performance, but only in those contexts in which the publicness of the work is clear: there needs to be a good fit between the public service motivation of the employee and the job to prevent lower performance and higher risk of burn-out.

Third, public service motivation is positively related to overall performance, but not to all aspects of performance. Performance of public service providers can best be seen as multidimensional and PSM mainly contributes to those aspects of performance that are related to safeguarding certain public values such as equal treatment, impact on society and transparency. This relationship between PSM and dimensions of performance can also differ between contexts.

In conclusion, PSM can be seen as an instrument with potential to increase performance, but such an approach also holds certain risks as which aspect of performance it

increases, whether it is positively related to performance and whether it results in wellbeing or not depends on the fit between the publicness of the institutional context and the employee.

Limitations

These results should be interpreted in light of their limitations. The most important limitations are relying mainly on self-reported and cross-sectional data and limitations in the analyses. To enhance the strength of the results Chapter 7 used supervisor-rated performance data and Chapter 9 studied the relationship between PSM and performance over time. Moreover, various advanced analytical techniques were used (structural equation modelling, testing for the influence of bias, fixed effects analysis). Moreover, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods facilitated interpretation and illustration of the results found through statistical models. Each of the chapters within this dissertation has its limitations, but together they form a comprehensive and robust analysis of the relationship between PSM and performance, and the role of institutional context.

An agenda for future research

The results of this dissertation also raise new questions for future research. Three main paths are identified here. First, research is needed on the potential pitfalls or 'dark side' of PSM. On top of replicating the findings in this dissertation, research could focus on why complete opposite relationships were found in people-changing (indicating an overload process) versus people-processing (indicating a frustration process) service providers. Moreover, how can we prevent a misfit and potential frustration or overload for employees with high PSM? This dissertation shows there is no 'one size fits all'. But which circumstances enable employees to do their best for society without harming themselves?

Second, more research is necessary on the relationship between PSM and various dimensions of performance. This dissertation has provided first insights in how the relationship between PSM and various dimensions can differ. But how is PSM related to various dimensions of performance in different organizations? And what is the role of PSM when employees have to make a choice between for instance being responsive to an individual citizen and following the rules?

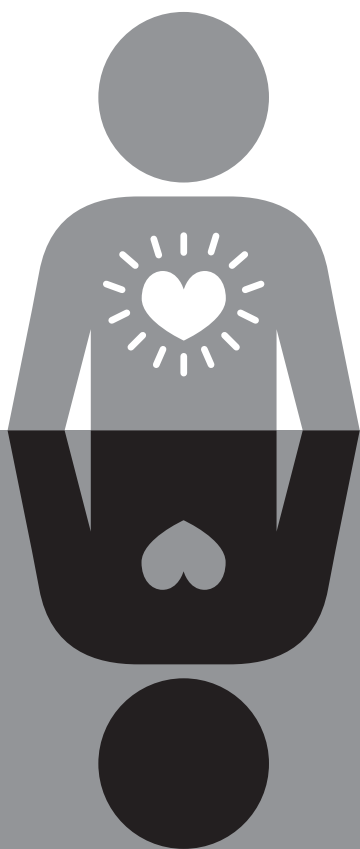
Third and finally, the findings in this dissertation raise questions regarding public organizations that are private or have been privatized, and public organizations that experience strong control and performance output management. Recently housing corporations, banks and accountancy firms have been scrutinized for their alleged lack of commitment to and attention for the public interest. Is this due to different or changed employees who are motivated by other reasons? Were the performance criteria too narrowly defined? Or did the publicness of the institutional context change, that the employees did not account for societal interests? The answer is likely to be found in a combination of these aspects. Moreover, public organizations which using strong output steering and control may form less inspiring environments for public service motivated employees; do they then still perform well? Research on this topic is important to develop policy and practices regarding the delivery of public services.

Implications for practice

Several recommendations can be derived from the findings. In 2013 the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations published a report called 'The Great Retreat Revisited'. In this report the ministry no longer saw a shortage of employees as a problem, but identified a new challenge: To get the right person on the right spot. This aligns with person-environment fit, but in this they focused on abilities. The results show that many public employees also feel a need to contribute to society through their work, and that their performance partly depends on whether they perceive they are able to contribute to society. It is thus also important to look at a 'PSM-fit'. Second, the aforementioned development towards more market-like incentives could decrease the fit between public service motivated employees and their work context. PSM is mainly related to aspects of performance that are not easily measured, such as equity. Systems are increasingly designed to measure and steer on performance, but this may result in a quite narrow approach towards performance, excluding those elements which cannot be measured, and with that not activating or addressing those highly public service motivated. Public service providers can work on creating the optimal environment for their employees to do their work by paying attention to job design (are there opportunities to contribute to society), communication (what is our public mission and how do employees contribute to this, which boundaries do we place on how far employees should go to help citizens), and leadership (through serving as an example, value-based, creating a shared vision on what needs to be done).

6. To conclude

This dissertation shows that public service motivation is a drive of employees in public service providers to contribute to society which influences their behaviour and performance. It is however dependent on the context whether PSM is positively or negatively related to employee, organizational and societal outcomes. Public service motivation forms a potential source of satisfaction and providing good public services but whether this potential is realized partly depends on the way their work context is shaped.



Samenvatting in het Nederlands

De rol van motivatie voor de publieke zaak in prestaties

*Een analyse van potentieel en valkuilen vanuit
een institutionele benadering*

1. Het potentieel van motivatie voor de publieke zaak

Presteren medewerkers in publieke organisaties beter als ze gemotiveerd zijn om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij? Medewerkers in gemeenten, scholen en ziekenhuizen hebben een aanzienlijke invloed op het leven van burgers. Het is dan ook geen verrassing dat er vanuit de maatschappij, politiek en binnen de wetenschap veel aandacht is voor hun prestaties en hoe deze kunnen worden beïnvloed (Walker et al. 2011; WRR 2010). Een van de proposities die in de afgelopen jaren veel is onderzocht is dat een hoge motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij, *public service motivation* (PSM) genoemd, leidt tot hogere prestaties (Perry & Wise 1990). Naar aanleiding van bevindingen die overwegend wijzen op een positief verband tussen PSM en prestaties wordt gesteld dat PSM een nuttig instrument kan zijn voor publieke organisaties om de prestaties te verbeteren, bijvoorbeeld door nieuwe medewerkers met hoge PSM te selecteren. Hierin wordt echter voorbij gegaan aan het feit dat medewerkers in verschillende situaties verkeren: de één heeft veel mogelijkheden in zijn werk om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij, de ander voelt zich daarin beperkt door bijvoorbeeld een hoge mate van overbodige bureaucratie. Het is de vraag of medewerkers die even gedreven zijn om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij in zulke verschillende situaties wel even goed zullen presteren.

Om rekening te houden met de verschillen in context waarin medewerkers in publieke organisatie hun werk doen, kijkt dit proefschrift vanuit een institutioneel perspectief naar de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties. Instituties kunnen worden omschreven als voortdurende sociale constructies die bestaan uit regels, normen en routines, die ‘manieren van doen’ bepalen, alsook gedeelde betekenissen creëren (March & Olsen 1989; Scott 2001). Instituties kunnen daardoor gedrag stimuleren en reguleren. Zo kunnen regels het gedrag van medewerkers sturen. Medewerkers met een hoge motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij willen dit kunnen doen via hun werk, en dus is het goed mogelijk dat verschillen in mogelijkheden hierin die de context waarin zij werken bieden relevant zijn voor of deze medewerkers goed presteren. Hoewel de rol van instituties is erkend binnen onderzoek wat betreft de ontwikkeling van PSM (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008), is er veel minder aandacht besteed aan de rol van institutionele context voor de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties. Tegelijkertijd hebben onderzoeken naar de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties geleid tot gemengde resultaten, aangezien er ook studies zijn die geen of een indirecte relatie hebben gevonden (Alonso & Lewis 2001; Bright 2007; Petrovsky & Ritz 2014). Onvoldoende rekening houden met de rol van de institutionele context voor PSM, prestaties en de relatie tussen deze, zou dit kunnen verklaren. De onderzoeksvraag die centraal staat in dit proefschrift is dan ook:

Wat is de rol van motivatie voor de publieke zaak in de prestaties van medewerkers, en hoe is de institutionele context van invloed?

Met het beantwoorden van deze vraag heeft dit proefschrift tot doel inzicht te geven in de vraag of *public service motivation* altijd bijdraagt aan prestaties en dus gezien kan worden als potentiële manier om de dienstverlening te verbeteren, of dat er ook *grenzen of condities* verbonden zijn aan deze generieke propositie, en er eventueel zelfs *risico's* aan een te instrumentele benadering van PSM kleven.

2. PSM en prestaties: drie onopgeloste kwesties

Allereerst wordt in dit proefschrift de vraag gesteld of we wel kunnen aannemen dat twee medewerkers met overeenkomstig hoge PSM, maar in verschillende werksituaties, even goed zullen presteren. Diegenen die graag willen bijdragen aan de maatschappij maar dit niet kunnen via hun werk ervaren geen goede aansluiting tussen hun persoonlijke behoefte om bij te dragen en de institutionele context. Dit proefschrift beargumenteert dat de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties afhankelijk is van de context. Gebruikmakend van institutionele theorie wordt de institutionele context waarin individuen zich bevinden gezien als een ontbrekende schakel in het hoe-en-waarom van de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties. Biedt de context wel mogelijkheden om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij? Omdat het hier gaat over public service motivation, is een aansluiting met de publieke dimensie (of: publicness) van de context cruciaal voor goede prestaties. Met publieke dimensie wordt hier bedoeld de mate en manier waarop het werk gericht is op bijdragen aan de maatschappij. Hierin zitten niet alleen verschillen in mate van kunnen bijdragen, maar ook in de manier waarop zoals het verschil tussen produceren of juist reguleren van publieke middelen.

Ten tweede kunnen vraagtekens worden gezet bij een te eenvoudige opvatting van prestaties. Tot op heden wordt in de PSM literatuur 'prestaties' overwegend gezien als een eenduidig concept, terwijl publieke dienstverleners zoals scholen, zorginstellingen en gemeenten meerdere belanghebbenden en doelen hebben. In de bredere bestuurskundige literatuur bestaan ook meer genuanceerde opvattingen van prestaties die erkennen dat meerdere publieke waarden, die niet altijd samen gaan, een rol spelen in publieke prestaties (zie bijvoorbeeld Boyne 2002). Om de prestaties van publieke dienstverleners te kunnen beoordelen moet niet naar één aspect worden gekeken, maar naar meerdere criteria zoals output, responsiviteit en rechtvaardigheid. Deze benadering sluit aan bij de 'evenwichtige benadering' in human resource management literatuur (Boselie 2010). Ook hier wordt beargumenteerd dat naast organisatie-uitkomsten zoals output en efficiëntie ook het welzijn van medewerkers én de maatschappelijke uitkomsten zouden moeten worden meegeteld. Deze complexiteit van prestaties levert een methodisch probleem op bij enquête onderzoek. Het is immers niet duidelijk aan welk aspect van prestaties respondenten denken als zij de globale prestaties van publieke organisaties of medewerkers moeten beoordelen. Ook worden verschillen tussen dimensies door globale metingen verhuld: meer responsief zijn en sneller werken gaat niet altijd goed samen. Bovendien zouden verschillen tussen studies in welk aspect van prestaties wordt gemeten de verschillende resultaten qua relatie tussen PSM en prestaties kunnen verklaren als de relatie met PSM niet even sterk is voor verschillende aspecten van prestaties. Er is echter tot nu toe geen onderzoek gedaan naar de relatie tussen PSM en meerdere verschillende dimensies van publieke prestaties.

Tot slot zouden er ook risico's kunnen kleven aan een benadering waarbij wordt getracht de prestaties van organisaties te verhogen door de mate van motivatie van medewerkers voor de publieke zaak te verhogen. Wat betreft het welzijn van medewerkers kan men zich afvragen of medewerkers die bereid zijn hun eigenbelang op te offeren in het belang van de maatschappij niet ook zichzelf voorbij kunnen lopen. Daarnaast zouden medewerkers die zeer gemotiveerd zijn voor de publieke zaak gefrustreerd kunnen raken

in situaties waarin zij niet het gevoel hebben bij te kunnen dragen aan de maatschappij, en juist niet beter, maar misschien wel slechter kunnen presteren dan medewerkers met lagere PSM. Als organisaties enkel inzetten op het verhogen van PSM zou dit dus een risico kunnen zijn voor zowel het welzijn van medewerkers als voor hun prestaties.

3. De context-afhankelijkheid van PSM, prestaties en hun relatie

PSM kan worden omschreven als motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij, of meer genuanceerd, als *“the belief, the 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”* (Vandenabeele 2007, p.549). Theorieën over gedrag en prestaties hebben verschillende vooronderstellingen over waarom mensen goed presteren. Aan de ene kant is er onderzoek dat uit gaat van een zelfzuchtige mens die enkel werkt omdat deze er betaald voor krijgt. Aan de andere kant beargumenteert theorie over *public service motivation* (PSM) dat werknemers van publieke organisaties ook door andere motieven, zoals plichtsgevoel, medeleven en de maatschappij beter willen maken, worden gedreven in hun werk. Perry en Wise (1990) omschrijven drie public service motieven: *rationeel*, vanuit het willen participeren en willen verbeteren van publieke dienstverlening; *normatief*, vanuit een plichtsgevoel en overtuiging van het belang van de publieke zaak; *affectief*, vanuit identificatie en compassie met de medemens.

PSM is geen stabiel kenmerk waarmee individuen worden geboren, maar kan veranderen in sterkte, vorm, en belang gedurende het leven, omdat mensen worden beïnvloed door de context waarin zij zich begeven (Perry & Vandenabeele 2008). PSM is namelijk geen puur intrinsieke motivatie – wat zou betekenen dat hun gedrag enkel door een interne drijfveer wordt bepaald – maar deels extrinsiek: het gaat om een opgelegd plichtsgevoel en identificatie met publieke waarden (Vandenabeele 2013). Dit is belangrijk, aangezien dit betekent dat de prestaties van public service gemotiveerde medewerkers niet alleen door hun motivatie maar ook door de institutionele context worden beïnvloed.

Er moet echter ook sprake zijn van *variatie* in de institutionele context van medewerkers met public service motivation, om te beargumenteren dat de institutionele context van belang is. Voor *public service motivation* kan worden beargumenteerd dat de *publieke* dimensie van de context, de mate en manier waarop het werk gericht is op maatschappelijke belangen cruciaal is (Bozeman 1989; Rainey 2003). Binnen de PSM-literatuur is de publieke en semipublieke sector, daar waar PSM verwacht wordt een rol te spelen, echter vaak als één homogene sector voorgesteld, terwijl tussen publieke dienstverleners ook verschillen zijn. Zelfs wanneer men enkel organisaties met een publieke taak bestudeert, zit er verschil in missie zoals gericht zijn op het veranderen van burgers of het herverdelen van middelen, en tussen functies in de mogelijke bijdrage aan de maatschappij. Bij het toepassen van een institutioneel perspectief is enkel onderscheid maken tussen publiek en privaat op basis van eigenaarschap ontoereikend omdat er ook belangrijke verschillen zijn tussen publieke organisaties zoals scholen en de politie. Andere aspecten van instituties die de publieke dimensie van het werk

bepalen, zoals normatieve elementen (missie en waarden) kunnen ook van belang zijn (Scott 2001). Medewerkers met PSM werken dus in verschillende institutionele contexten, die in meerdere of mindere mate aansluiten bij hun motivatie.

De manier waarop institutionele context van belang is voor de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties is te illustreren met behulp van ‘*person-environment fit*’ theorie (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Volgens deze theorie is een aansluiting (*fit*) tussen de persoon en omgeving noodzakelijk voor het optreden van een effect. In termen van PSM betekent dit dat er alleen een relatie tussen PSM en prestaties kan worden verwacht als de omgeving goed aansluit bij de motivatie van de medewerker. Hoewel enkele auteurs aandacht hebben besteed aan het belang van een aansluiting tussen de motivatie van het individu en de werk context (Bright 2007; Leisink & Steijn 2009; Vandenabeele 2007), is er geen theoretisch raamwerk en samenhangend onderzoek over het *hoe*, *waarom*, *wanneer* en *waar* aangaande de rol van context in de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties.

Prestatie kan ook worden gezien als een context-afhankelijk begrip, omdat wat we ermee bedoelen af hangt van waar we naar kijken. In een publieke context is prestatie een complex begrip. Publieke organisaties hebben vaak meerdere doelen waarvan niet duidelijk is welke het belangrijkste is – naast output en efficiëntie zijn aspecten als rechtvaardigheid, responsiviteit en legitimiteit ook belangrijk (Boyne 2002). Daarnaast hebben publieke organisaties meerdere belanghebbenden die ieder een eigen standpunt hebben over welk aspect van hun prestaties belangrijk is. Zo vinden cliënten responsiviteit meestal belangrijk, terwijl de inspectie weer kijkt naar het naleven van de regels. Prestatie in een publieke context is vanuit een institutioneel perspectief te conceptualiseren als multidimensionaal, waarbij aspecten zoals output, efficiëntie, service, responsiviteit en democratische uitkomsten een rol spelen. Met deze benadering is de vraag niet langer of er een relatie is tussen PSM en prestaties, maar met *welk aspect van prestaties* PSM een relatie heeft. De meer normatieve vraag welk element van prestaties het belangrijkste is blijft dan een keuze van de maatschappij en de politiek.

Met aandacht voor de institutionele context en het wel of niet ervaren van een aansluiting daarmee, zijn meerdere verwachtingen te formuleren. Als eerste is te verwachten dat de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties zal verschillen tussen dimensies van prestaties. De link tussen PSM en efficiëntie zou weleens zwakker kunnen zijn dan tussen PSM en gelijke behandeling. Ten tweede kan verwacht worden dat er een interactie is tussen PSM en de werkomgeving en dat er dus verschillen zijn in nadruk op de verschillende public service motieven tussen contexten. Ten derde kan men stellen dat de publieke dimensie van het werk van belang is: PSM is een drijfveer om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij, en deze medewerkers zullen het beste presteren wanneer zij in een context werken die een zekere publieke dimensie bevat, en dus bij hen past (goede fit). Ten vierde, hierop aansluitend, is er indien de publieke dimensie van de context niet goed aansluit op de PSM van het individu geen of zelfs een negatieve relatie tussen PSM en prestaties te verwachten. Medewerkers met hoge PSM kunnen in zo een situatie gefrustreerd raken omdat ze niet kunnen doen wat ze willen doen. Ten vijfde is het mogelijk dat er risico’s zijn verbonden aan volledig inzetten op PSM om de prestaties te verbeteren: medewerkers met hoge PSM plaatsen het belang van de maatschappij boven hun eigenbelang, en indien er een groot aantal mogelijkheden is om zich in te zetten kan dit ertoe leiden dat medewerkers zichzelf uitputten. Tot slot is de

vraag welke aspecten van de omgeving het meest van belang zijn. Gaat het om werken in de publieke sector, om een goede aansluiting met de publieke waarden van de organisatie, of om de mogelijkheden in de baan om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij? In dit proefschrift wordt beargumenteerd dat het gaat om de *publieke dimensie* van het werk dat de medewerker kan doen, en dat de mogelijkheden in de baan om bij te dragen het belangrijkste zijn.

In de hoofdstukken 3 tot en met 9 zijn de verschillende verwachtingen empirisch onderzocht. Omdat dit proefschrift is opgebouwd uit op zichzelf staande artikelen, worden de belangrijkste bevindingen per empirisch hoofdstuk toegelicht, waarbij ook per hoofdstuk de gebruikte methoden worden toegelicht.

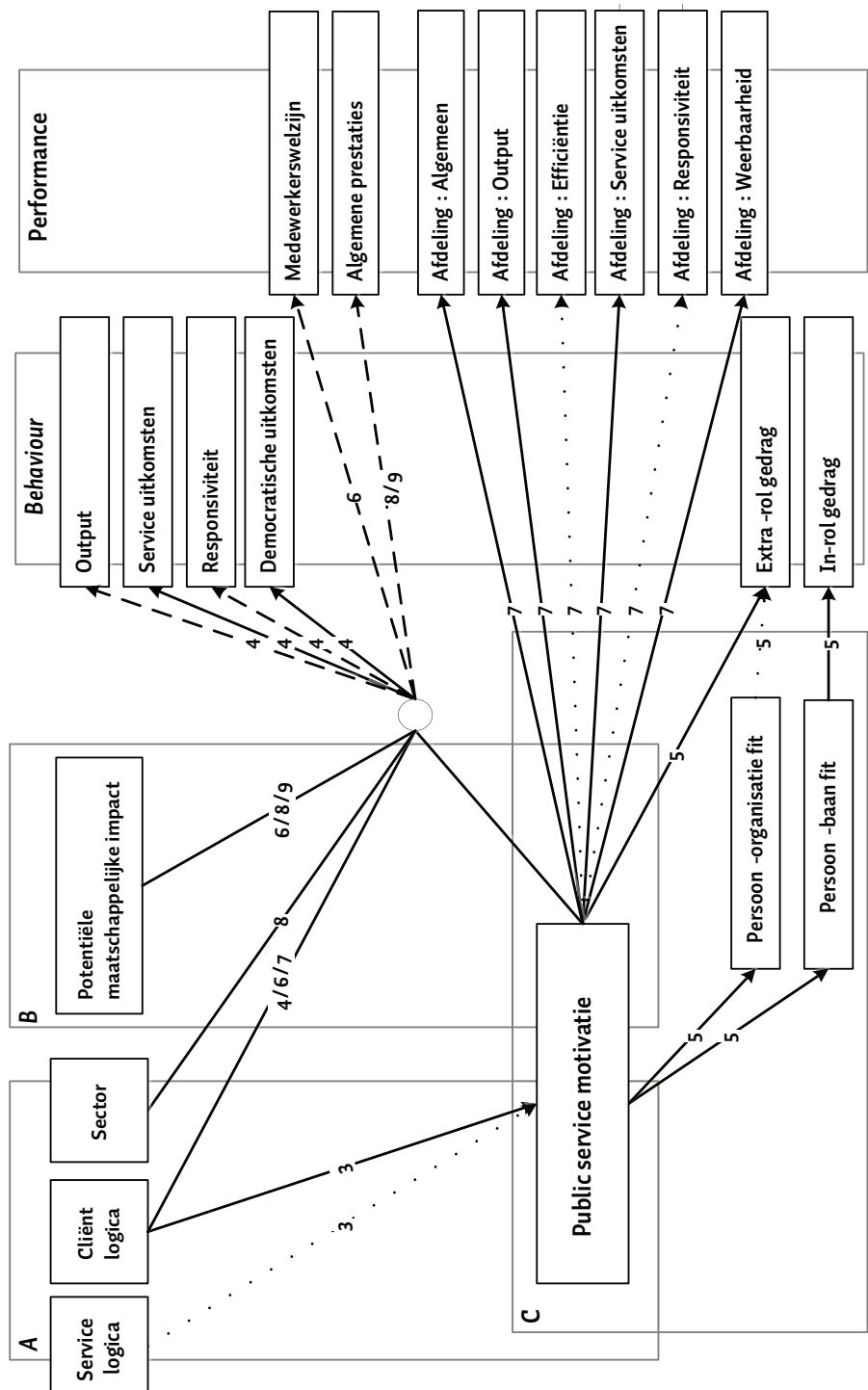
4. Resultaten

Dit proefschrift heeft twee empirische delen. In deel 1, hoofdstukken 3, 4, 5 en 6, wordt de rol van institutionele context voor de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties ontrafeld. Deel 2, hoofdstuk 7, 8 en 9, richt zich op drie kwesties die tijdens het uitvoeren van dit onderzoek werden aangekaart aangaande onderzoek naar de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties. Allereerst het gegeven dat het merendeel van het onderzoek naar de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties, ook in dit proefschrift, is gebaseerd op zelfrapportages van prestaties en hier een zekere vertekening (*bias*) in kan zitten. In hoofdstuk 7 is daarom gebruik gemaakt van een andere bron, de leidinggevendenden, om de prestaties te beoordelen. De tweede kwestie die is aangekaart is in hoeverre PSM een sectorspecifiek concept is, en of PSM relevant is voor prestaties buiten de publieke sector. Deze vraag, en wat de publieke dimensie precies inhoudt, is uitgediept in hoofdstuk 8. Tot slot is veel onderzoek gebaseerd op cross-sectionele data, ofwel op één punt in de tijd. In hoofdstuk 9 is dan ook een analyse gedaan gebaseerd op panel data waarbij vertekeningen door endogeniteit een veel kleinere rol kunnen spelen in de analyse.

Figuur 1 toont hoe de verschillende onderdelen van het theoretisch raamwerk zijn onderzocht in deze dissertatie en wat de bevindingen zijn. Een *doorgetrokken pijl* duidt op een directe, significante relatie. Een *gestreepte pijl* duidt op een relatie die alleen in een bepaalde context aanwezig is - duidend op een afhankelijkheid van de institutionele context. Een *gestippelde pijl* wijst op een niet-significante maar wel onderzochte relatie. Dit model is niet in zijn geheel onderzocht, maar is in delen per hoofdstuk geanalyseerd. In welk hoofdstuk welke relatie is onderzocht is te zien aan de nummers op de pijlen in figuur 1. De resultaten worden nu per hoofdstuk toegelicht.

Deel 1: De rol van institutionele context

In *hoofdstuk 3*, aan de linkerkant van figuur 1, is allereerst gekeken in hoeverre er sprake is van een interactie tussen PSM en de institutionele context. Middels interviews met vijftig medewerkers van verschillende publieke dienstverleners (lokale overheid, politie, penitentiaire inrichtingen, secundair onderwijs en ziekenhuizen) is gekeken in hoeverre de nadruk op de motieven om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij - rationeel, normatief en affectief - verschillen tussen typen dienstverleners. Allereerst of deze motieven verschillen in cliënt logica tussen *people-changing* (burger-veranderend of producerende) diensten zoals onderwijs, gevangenis en zorg en *people-processing* (status-veranderend of herverdelende) diensten



Figuur 1: Overzicht van bevindingen op de verschillende onderdelen van het theoretisch raamwerk.

zoals gemeente en politie. Daarnaast is gekeken naar verschillen in motieven tussen dienstverleners die een negatieve (ongewenste) of positieve (gewenste) dienst leveren. Hoewel alle onderzochte organisaties een publiek doel nastreven, verschillen zij in manier waarop ze dit proberen te doen. Deze aspecten zijn verschillen in de *publieke dimensie* van het werk. De analyses laten zien dat er inderdaad verschillen zijn in motieven tussen verschillende typen dienstverleners. Het meest prominente verschil doet zich voor tussen *people-changing* en *people-processing* dienstverleners waarbij in de eerste groep de nadruk ligt op affectieve motieven en bij de tweede op normatieve en instrumentele motieven. Dit laat zien dat er een interactie is tussen institutionele context en PSM.

Voor hoofdstuk 4, 5 en 6 is gebruik gemaakt van dezelfde data. Het betreft hier enquêteonderzoek onder medewerkers van de in hoofdstuk 3 onderzochte dienstverleners: een ziekenhuis, middelbare scholen, gemeentehuizen, penitentiaire inrichtingen en de politie. In totaal leverde dit 1031 respondenten op, die wat betreft leeftijd en geslacht voor de verschillende domeinen behoorlijk representatief waren voor de Nederlandse samenstelling van deze groepen medewerkers.

In hoofdstuk 4, aan de bovenkant van figuur 1, is de relatie tussen PSM en verschillende dimensies van prestatiegericht gedrag onderzocht om vast te stellen of de relatie tussen motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij en prestaties hetzelfde is voor verschillende aspecten van prestaties. Hierbij is onderscheid gemaakt tussen *people-changing* en *people-processing* dienstverleners. Gebruikmakend van de prestatie-dimensies zoals onderscheiden door Boyne (2002), is het zelf-gerapporteerde prestatie-gerelateerde gedrag op de dimensies output, service uitkomsten, responsiviteit en democratische uitkomsten onderzocht. Uit de analyses blijkt dat PSM in de *people-changing* dienstverleners significant en positief gerelateerd is aan alle dimensies, maar in de *people-processing* groep is PSM alleen aan service en democratische uitkomsten significant gerelateerd.

Hoofdstuk 5, vertegenwoordigt aan de onderkant van figuur 1, richt zich op het relatieve belang van een goede aansluiting (*fit*) met de baan en organisatie voor de relatie tussen PSM en in-rol (voldoen aan de eisen van de baan) en extra-rol gedrag (helpen van collega's). Uit de analyses blijkt dat de PSM bijdraagt aan de percepties van een aansluiting met de baan en de organisatie, maar dat enkel de 'persoon-baan fit' de relatie tussen PSM en in-rol gedrag medieert. De relatie tussen PSM en extra-rol gedrag wordt niet gemedieerd maar is direct. Hieruit blijkt dat voor mensen met een sterke motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij de fit met de baan belangrijker is dan de fit met de organisatie voor hun in-rol prestaties.

In hoofdstuk 6, te zien aan de bovenkant/ in het midden van figuur 1, is dieper ingegaan op de potentiële risico's van PSM voor het welzijn van medewerkers. In dit hoofdstuk is onderzocht of de *publieke dimensie* van de baan, uitgedrukt in de gepercipieerde potentiële impact op de maatschappij via de baan, en verschillen tussen *people-changing* en *people-processing* dienstverlening uitmaken voor de relatie tussen PSM, baantevredenheid en het risico op burn-out. De analyses tonen aan dat PSM leidt tot verhoogd risico op burn-out bij *people-processing* dienstverleners als medewerkers het gevoel hebben dat ze niet kunnen bijdragen aan de maatschappij via hun baan. Bij *people-changing* dienstverleners vergroot PSM het risico op burn-out wanneer medewerkers juist zeer veel mogelijkheden zien om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij via hun baan.

Deel 2: Drie kwesties nader onderzocht

Hoofdstuk 7, in het midden van figuur 1, richt zich op de vraag of de tot nu toe gevonden relatie tussen PSM en prestaties te wijten is aan een vertekening (*bias*) door zelfrapportage, of dat de complexiteit en multi-dimensionaliteit van publieke prestaties de verschillen in bevindingen kan verklaren. Gebaseerd op enquêtedata van medewerkers van 55 afdelingen in een zorgorganisatie, en de beoordelingen van leidinggevendenden van de prestaties van hun eigen afdeling, is gekeken naar het verband tussen de gemiddelde PSM van medewerkers van een afdeling en de prestatiescores. De resultaten tonen dat er een positief verband is tussen het niveau van PSM van medewerkers en de globale afdelingsprestaties zoals beoordeeld door de leidinggevende. Wanneer globale prestaties worden opgesplitst in dimensies blijkt echter dat PSM niet significant gerelateerd is aan efficiëntie en responsiviteit, wat laat zien dat de verschillen in uitkomsten tussen studies over de PSM-prestatie relatie mogelijk worden veroorzaakt door de complexiteit van prestaties.

In *hoofdstuk 8*, te zien aan de bovenkant/in het midden van figuur 1, is onderzocht in hoeverre sector, gebaseerd op de wettelijke status van de organisatie, en de potentiële maatschappelijke impact van de baan van belang zijn voor de relatie tussen PSM en globale individuele prestaties. Op basis van analyses van enquêtegegevens van een representatieve steekproef onder medewerkers van publieke organisaties ($n=22.446$) en een gekoppelde steekproef onder medewerkers van private organisaties ($n=2.560$) wordt duidelijk dat de potentiële maatschappelijke impact van de baan belangrijker is dan sector voor de relatie tussen PSM en zelf-gerapporteerde prestaties. Er is geen significante relatie tussen PSM en prestaties voor medewerkers in de publieke sector met een lage potentiële impact op de maatschappij via hun baan, terwijl er wel een relatie is in de private sector. Dit laat ook de complexiteit van het concept 'publieke sector' zien, omdat veel banen in organisaties met een private wettelijke status, zoals ziekenhuizen, ook een publieke dimensie hebben. Het is dus zinvoller te kijken naar de potentiële bijdrage aan de maatschappij via de baan.

Tot slot is in *hoofdstuk 9* een panel analyse uitgevoerd op een representatieve steekproef onder medewerkers van publieke organisaties in 2010 en 2012. Door te aggregeren naar het organisatieniveau kon een groot deel van problemen rondom vertekeningen (*bias*) door endogeniteit worden uitgesloten. Ook over tijd blijkt er een significante relatie tussen PSM en prestaties te bestaan. De resultaten laten zien dat de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties het sterkst is als de potentiële maatschappelijke impact via de baan hoog is. Er is zelfs een licht negatieve associatie tussen PSM en prestaties als zeer public service gemotiveerde medewerkers geen potentiële maatschappelijke impact via de baan waarnemen.

5. Discussie: Motivatie voor de publieke zaak, potentieel en risico's

In dit proefschrift is de rol van motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij in prestaties en de invloed van institutionele context onderzocht. De belangrijkste bijdragen van dit onderzoek zijn samen te vatten in drie punten.

Ten eerste laat dit proefschrift zien dat er risico's zitten aan het zien van PSM als instrument om de prestaties te verhogen. Medewerkers gemotiveerd om bij te dragen aan

de maatschappij presteren over het algemeen inderdaad beter maar kunnen tegelijkertijd hun eigen welzijn schaden. Het is belangrijk voor de organisatie en de maatschappij dat veel leraren, verpleegkundigen, agenten, gevangenisbewaarders en gemeentemedewerkers bereid zijn om *‘above and beyond the call of duty’* (DiIulio 1994) te gaan, maar hierin schuilt ook een risico voor hun eigen welzijn als ze zoveel geven dat ze zelf risico lopen op een burn-out.

Ten tweede is de publieke dimensie van belang voor de prestaties van medewerkers met hoge PSM. Hoewel de discussie de laatste jaren vooral lijkt te gaan over *‘run government like a business’* onder het mom dat meer marktwerking en gelijkenis op private bedrijven zou bijdragen aan betere prestaties, blijkt uit dit onderzoek dat de publieke dimensie wel degelijk van belang is voor prestaties van public service gemotiveerde medewerkers. Deze publieke dimensie gaat echter niet over eigendom, maar eerder over of het werk (en dan voornamelijk de baan) van medewerkers mogelijkheden bevat om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij. PSM kan de prestaties van medewerkers vergroten, maar alleen in die contexten waar de publieke dimensie van het werk duidelijk is: er moet een goede aansluiting zijn tussen PSM en het werk om lage prestaties en hoger risico op burn-out te voorkomen.

Ten derde blijkt dat motivatie om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij positief gerelateerd is aan de globale prestaties van medewerkers, maar niet aan alle dimensies van prestaties als er wordt gekeken naar aparte dimensies. Prestaties van publieke dienstverleners kunnen het beste gezien worden als een genuanceerd begrip waarin meerdere waarden een rol spelen. PSM draagt voornamelijk bij aan die aspecten van prestaties die te maken hebben met het hooghouden van bepaalde publieke waarden zoals gelijke behandeling, maatschappelijke impact hebben, kwaliteit en transparantie. PSM kan dus worden gezien als een instrument met potentie, omdat het bijdraagt aan (bepaalde) prestaties, maar ook als risico: niet alleen kan hoge PSM leiden tot verminderd welzijn, zonder een institutionele context te hebben of te creëren waarin de publieke waarde van het werk centraal staat leidt PSM niet altijd tot verbeterende prestaties, en kan het zelfs tot minder goede prestaties leiden.

Beperkingen van de resultaten

De resultaten moeten geïnterpreteerd worden in het licht van de beperkingen van dit onderzoek. De belangrijkste beperkingen zijn dat de analyses voornamelijk zijn gebaseerd op data van één punt in de tijd (*cross-sectioneel*) en dat voornamelijk gebruik is gemaakt van zelf-gerapporteerde gegevens over prestaties. De opzet in twee delen zorgde ervoor dat een aantal beperkingen konden worden geadresseerd in deel 2. Om de conclusies uit dit proefschrift te versterken is in hoofdstuk 9 een panel studie uitgevoerd, is in hoofdstuk 7 gebruik gemaakt van rapportages van prestaties door leidinggevend en zijn er verschillende analysestrategieën (*structural equation modeling*, controleren voor bias) gebruikt. De combinatie van kwalitatief en kwantitatief onderzoek zorgde ervoor dat de cijfers en modellen aan de hand van de interviews met medewerkers konden worden geduid en geïllustreerd. Zo hebben alle studies in dit proefschrift beperkingen, maar geven ze samen een robuust beeld van de relatie tussen PSM en prestaties en de rol van de institutionele context.

Een agenda voor toekomstig onderzoek

Toekomstig onderzoek naar PSM is nodig op drie hoofdpunten. Allereerst is onderzoek

nodig naar de hier gevonden risico's ('dark side') van PSM. Behalve dat de bevindingen in dit proefschrift een eerste analyse zijn en dus gerepliceerd moeten worden, kan toekomstig onderzoek verder uitdiepen waarom in onderwijs en zorg veel mogelijkheden om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij en hoge PSM bijdragen aan een hoger risico op burn-out, en bij de politie en gemeente juist weinig mogelijkheden. Daarnaast is een belangrijke vraag hoe we een misfit en daarmee mogelijke frustratie kunnen voorkomen. Uit dit onderzoek blijkt dat er geen 'one size fits all' strategie mogelijk is. Maar welke omstandigheden stellen medewerkers in staat om hun best te doen voor de publieke zaak zonder dat ze daar zelf schade van ondervinden?

Daarnaast is meer onderzoek nodig waarin meerdere dimensies van publieke prestaties tegelijkertijd worden onderzocht. Hier is een begin gemaakt met het onderscheiden van verschillende dimensies. Tussen welke dimensies van prestaties en PSM bestaat een positieve relatie in verschillende organisaties? En welke rol speelt PSM als publieke dienstverleners keuzes moeten maken tussen bijvoorbeeld een burger tevreden stellen en potentiële risico's voor de maatschappij?

Tot slot roept dit onderzoek ook vragen op over publieke organisaties die op afstand zijn gezet van de overheid of zijn geprivatiseerd, en publieke organisaties die via sterke prestatiesturing worden gecontroleerd. Recentelijk werden woningcorporaties, banken en accountancybedrijven kritisch beschouwd vanwege een vermeend gebrek aan betrokkenheid bij, en aandacht voor, het publiek belang van het werk. Komt dit doordat hier individuen met andere motieven werken? Zijn de prestatiecriteria te smal gedefinieerd? Of zijn de prikkels vanuit de institutionele omgeving veranderd en is de *publieke dimensie* verminderd? Het antwoord ligt waarschijnlijk in een combinatie van deze aspecten. Publieke organisaties met sterke prestatiesturing en controlemechanismen zouden een minder aantrekkelijke omgeving kunnen vormen voor medewerkers met motivatie voor de publieke zaak. Presteren medewerkers hier ook slechter, of speelt PSM een minder grote rol? Onderzoek hiernaar is een belangrijk startpunt voor het ontwikkelen van beleid en praktijken voor het leveren van publieke diensten.

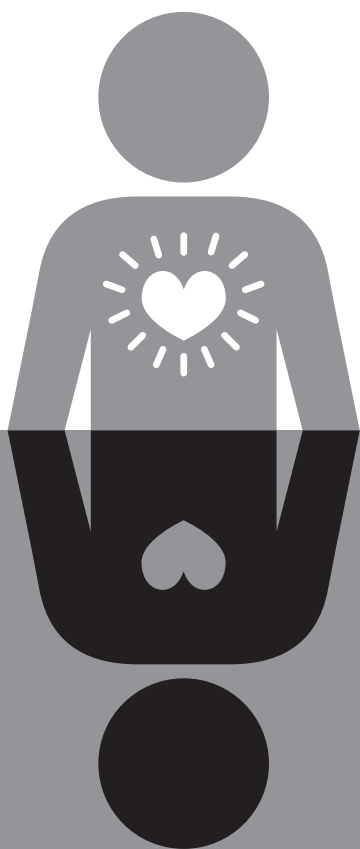
Inzichten voor de praktijk

Dit onderzoek levert ook praktische aanbevelingen op voor beleid en de organisatie van publieke dienstverlening. In 2013 publiceerde het ministerie van binnenlandse zaken een rapport genaamd 'De Grote Uittocht Herzien'. Hierin werd niet langer een tekort aan medewerkers voorzien, maar een uitdaging om 'de juiste persoon op de juiste plek' te krijgen omdat de komende jaren weinig nieuwe medewerkers worden aangenomen. Dit sluit nauw aan bij persoon-omgeving fit, maar de juiste *fit* gaat niet alleen over vaardigheden – waar het rapport notie van neemt – maar ook over behoeften. Dit proefschrift laat zien dat veel publieke medewerkers de behoefte hebben om via hun werk bij te kunnen dragen aan de maatschappij, en dat hun prestaties deels afhangen van of zij ook daadwerkelijk mogelijkheden zien om bij te dragen. Het is dus van belang om ook te kijken naar zo een fit tussen motivatie en mogelijkheden. De al eerder genoemde ontwikkeling om de nadruk te leggen op marktprikkels kan de fit tussen public service gemotiveerde medewerkers en de omgeving verminderen. PSM is voornamelijk gerelateerd aan aspecten van prestaties die niet eenvoudig te meten zijn, zoals rechtvaardigheid. Systemen worden

steeds meer ingericht op het meten van prestaties om medewerkers daarmee te sturen, maar dit kan weleens zorgen voor een zeer enge opvatting van prestaties. Publieke dienstverleners kunnen tot slot zelf zorgen voor een optimale omgeving voor hun medewerkers om in te werken, door aandacht te besteden aan baanontwerp (*zijn er mogelijkheden om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij*), communicatie (*wat is ons maatschappelijk doel en hoe dragen medewerkers hieraan bij, welke grenzen moeten we stellen aan hoe ver medewerkers moeten gaan om burgers te helpen*) en leiderschap (*vanuit waarden, een voorbeeldfunctie en een gedeelde visie op wat de organisatie bijdraagt aan de maatschappij*).

6. Tot slot

Dit proefschrift laat zien dat motivatie voor de publieke zaak een drijfveer is van medewerkers om bij te dragen aan de maatschappij die hun gedrag en prestaties beïnvloedt. Het is echter afhankelijk van de context waarin zij hun werk doen (de sector, het type dienstverlening en de potentiële impact op de maatschappij in de baan) of PSM positief of negatief uitpakt voor de medewerker, de organisatie en de publieke dienstverlening.



Curriculum Vitae

Nina Mari van Loon (1986) studied Public Administration and Organizational Science and an interdisciplinary Honours Minor at Utrecht University. She received her Bachelor's degree in 2008 and subsequently completed a two-year Research Master in Public Administration and Organizational Science, a joint program of Utrecht University, Erasmus University Rotterdam and Tilburg University. She graduated *cum laude* in 2010 with a research proposal for NWO (the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) and a conference article.

In 2010 she started working as a junior researcher on a project on red tape in the central government at the Utrecht School of Governance. Her NWO research proposal was funded in February 2011, at which times she started her PhD. In 2012 she received scholarships from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds and Danish Ministry of Education to stay as a visiting scholar at Aarhus University, Denmark. Alongside working on her PhD Nina has conducted contract research on red tape for the central government, reorganization in the police and professional capabilities of primary school teachers.

Nina has given lectures at international conferences and provided several practitioner talks about her research. She serves as a reviewer for several international journals (JPART, PMR, RoPPA, ARPA, PAR, PPM) and *Beleid en Maatschappij*. She has published in national (*Beleid en Maatschappij*) and international journals (*American Review of Public Administration*, *International Public Management Journal*, *International Journal of Public Administration*, *Public Money and Management*), as well as co-authored a chapter for the Handbook of Public Administration (Jossey-Bass, 3rd edition, 2015).

Next to this, she taught courses on policy analysis and qualitative research methods, and supervised bachelor and master theses. She has been a representative in the PhD council of the Department of Law, Economics and Governance (2011-2013), and the Research Board at Utrecht School of Governance (2013-2015), as well as the Law, Economics and Governance PhD representative in the Board of Studies (2012-2013).