A Look at Public Service Motivation Using NLSY97 Data:
Examining Prosocial Attitudes and Altruistic Behavior in
Young Adults with Professional Public Service Experience

by

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Abstract

      This study examines whether young adults with work experience in public service organizations—defined as organizations within sectors which have an other-centeredness orientation, such as public, nonprofit, or military organizations—express higher levels of PSM than their peers who have held experience solely in the private, for-profit sector. This study moves a step beyond the popular public-private distinction by considering differences along a broader spectrum of public service professionals—namely individuals with nonprofit and military experience. Using data from a subgroup (n=1,848) of the Bureau of Labor Statistics National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97), five models of PSM—a composite score, and four dimensions: (1) attraction to policy making (APM), (2) commitment to the public interest and civic duty (CPI), (3) compassion (COM), and (4) self-sacrifice (SS)—are analyzed along with individuals' public service experience and other covariates.

      Findings show that PSM is positively associated with public service experience, religiosity, and education in all five models. Gender was a significant factor in two models: women were more likely to exhibit higher COM, while men were more likely to exhibit greater APM. Two covariates—relationship to household guardian and job satisfaction—were only statically significant in two models apiece, thus offering less explanatory power. Respondents' relationship to household guardians while in high school (1997) was used as a precursor to parent socialization and found to be positive and significant only in the composite model and APM—indicating that young adults living with biological parents during high school were more likely to exhibit higher PSM overall and APM. Job satisfaction was positive and strongly

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significant in CPI, but was negative and only marginally significant in relation to SS. Income

was positive and marginally significant with PSM overall, but it was strongly significant in one

model: SS. An intra-group analysis of public service organizations further revealed that

differences do exist in the levels of PSM demonstrated by individuals in different types of public

service organizations: individuals with nonprofit experience were more likely to have higher

PSM scores across all dimensions (except APM) than those with public sector experience, while

individuals with military experience were most likely to exhibit the highest PSM scores (across

all dimensions except COM) when compared with individuals in other public service

organizations. These findings indicate that military service is the highest form of public service.

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List of Abbreviations

APM   Attraction to Policy Making (Dimension #1)

BLS   Bureau of Labor Statistics

COM   Compassion (Dimension #3)

CPI   Commitment to the Public Interest and Civic Duty (Dimension #2)

NLSY97   National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1997 Cohort)

NPM   New Public Management

OLS   Ordinary Least Squares Regression

PSM   Public Service Motivation

SS   Self-Sacrifice (Dimension #4)

Executive Summary

The purpose of this study is to examine whether young adults with work experience in public service organizations—defined as organizations within sectors which have an other-centeredness orientation, such as public, nonprofit, or military institutions—express higher levels of PSM than young adults holding experience solely in the private, for-profit sector based on work experience over a ten-year period (from 1997 to 2007). It is hypothesized here that young adults with professional experience in public service organizations will exhibit higher PSM than their colleagues due to attraction-selection-attrition and/or adaptation processes (Wright 2001). This study is unique in that it considers public service experience through the lens of cumulative work experience over young respondents' entire work history (from 1997 to 2007), instead of taking a snapshot of a single moment in time. Additionally, this study expands the scope of PSM research by examining differences in individuals based on work experience along a broad spectrum—public, private, nonprofit, and military organizations—and identifies several intra-group variations in the expression of PSM across public service organizations. In order to examine the effect of PSM before entry, three classes of antecedents (a proxy for parental socialization, religious socialization, and individual demographic characteristics) are analyzed with sector experience and PSM variables. This study further contributes to PSM literature by examining levels of PSM along four sub-scales: attraction to policy making (APM), commitment to the public interest and civic duty (CPI), compassion (COM), and self-sacrifice (SS) in Generation Xers and Millennials through the new lens of cumulative work experience.

The fact that "Not all employees contribute equally to the performance of their organizations," (Campbell and Im 2015, 1) is widely recognized. Over the past century, scholars in public administration, as well as several closely related disciplines (e.g. psychology, personnel

management, industrial/labor relations, organizational behavior, human resource management, etc.), have scrutinized factors surrounding the employee-employer relationship by looking at diverse individuals in varied organizational environments. Commonly recognized as an important function of general management on equal footing with other major domains, such as accounting, production, etc. (Bakke 1958), the study of Human Resource Management (HRM) is primarily concerned with "understanding management decisions and actions which affect the nature of the relationship between the organization and employees" (Marciano 1995, 225). Raising questions such as "How do individual differences in dispositions interact with motivational interventions (such as goal-setting) to affect long-term job performance?" (Kanfer 1992, 2), scholars have studied determinants of work motivation with the hope of conceptualizing how motivational processes affect job performance and other outcomes.

A significant development springing from the concept of work motivation within the field of public administration is public service motivation (PSM). The term PSM was first coined in 1990 as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations," (Perry and Wise 1990, 368). Nearly 20 years later, these authors recapitulated PSM as "a particular form of altruism or prosocial motivation that is animated by specific dispositions and values arising from public institutions and [their] missions," (Perry, Hondeghem, and Wise 2010, 682). Similarly, other scholars have construed an overarching definition of 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," (Vandenabeele 2007, 547), while others describe PSM as "a value or attitude that motivates individuals to engage in behaviors that benefit society," (Gould-Williams, Mostafa, and Bottomley 2013, 3).

Over the years researchers, such as Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan (2008), have generally uncovered higher levels of PSM in public organizations and deduced that "public organizations may provide a more hospitable setting for the fulfillment of altruistic and prosocial motives," (92). While the relationship between PSM and organizational environment has long been understood as dynamic, only recently have academics begun to sort out important causal questions about the emergence and effects of PSM using longitudinal studies (Wright and Grant 2010). Several recent studies (e.g. Perry et al. 2008; Andersen and Pedersen 2012; Kjeldsen 2013; and Ward 2014) have observed that PSM changes over time and at different rates in different organizational environments. While motivational differences in public and private organizations have been scrutinized for decades, only recently have investigators started expanding the scope of analysis beyond the simple dichotomous approach and started including other, previously ignored sectors (i.e. nonprofit and military) which fall under the umbrella of public service organizations.

For the purpose of this study, public service organizations are defined as organizations which "pursue public missions without providing financial gains to stockholders or individual owners" while engaging in public activities similar to government organizations apart from market control (Feeney and Rainey 2010, 807). This study aims to build on PSM literature within the field of public administration by scrutinizing the influence antecedents and other covariates have on young adults with public service experience in public, nonprofit, or military organizations and by determining how this influence interacts with corresponding dimensions of PSM. A visual representation of this can be found in **Figure 1**.

[INSERT Figure 1 ABOUT HERE]

This study contributes to the literature by finding evidence that differences in PSM do, indeed, exist in different types of organizations and in various degree; individuals with military experience were most likely to exhibit higher PSM, followed by individuals with experience in nonprofit organizations and public sector organizations—all of which demonstrated higher PSM than individuals in private, for-profit organizations in overall PSM and along dimensions. Findings from this study also present strong evidence for developing PSM further by incorporating the least utilized sector—military—in future studies. Analyzing PSM along a broad spectrum of public service organizations allows high generalizability of findings to a wide array of public service professions, while teasing out differences among sectors enables investigators to better understand the role of antecedents and covariates in shaping PSM. This study does both.

The first chapter of this dissertation will review significant developments within the literature and explore how findings in PSM studies diverged from classical theories (such as proponents of rational choice and principal-agent theory) in understanding the motivational underpinnings of prosocial behavior. Starting with the general concept of work motivation, the chapter follows the development of PSM as a key domain within public administration which has grown increasingly popular over the past two-and-a-half decades. The second chapter focuses on key literature and recent studies designed to analyze the concept of PSM itself—what we know, where we've been, and the direction we're going. The third chapter introduces the data and methods used in this study. The fourth chapter will expound on findings from this research, and the final chapter will discuss the implications of these findings, how they contribute to our understanding of the concept, and future recommendations for advancing this topic of study academically as well as steps for practical utility in cultivating PSM.

Key Findings

In a full sample comparison (n=1,848), public service experience was a positive, significant factor in all models; young adults in the NLSY97 with professional experience in public, nonprofit, and military organizations were more likely to have higher PSM than their peers with experience solely in the private sector. Subsequently, an intra-group analysis of public service organizations revealed that military service had the greatest effect across all models—with Betas typically twice as large as public sector and significantly higher that nonprofit experience. Results indicate that military service has the strongest association with higher PSM.

Among covariates, religiosity and education were the only other two variables (aside from public service experience) which were positive and significant across all models—demonstrating that individuals with a greater degree of involvement in religious activities and individuals with higher education are more likely display higher PSM overall and along and each of its four dimensions (APM, CPI, COM, and SS). Gender was a significant factor in two of five models: APM and COM. Consistent with past research, this study found that women were more likely to score higher on COM than men, but this study also found that men were more likely to demonstrate greater APM than women. Two covariates—relationship to household guardian(s) and job satisfaction—were significant in two models each. Respondents' relationship to household guardian(s) in high school (1997), a precursor to the antecedent of parent socialization, was positive and significant only in the composite model and APM—indicating that young adults living with both biological parents during high school were more likely to display higher PSM overall and APM than those in the care of one biological parent or under some other kind of living arrangement. Job satisfaction was positive and significant in CPI, but it was negative in relation to SS. Income was only positive and significant for PSM overall and SS.

Key Lessons

First, this study finds that young adults with work experience in public service

organizations express higher levels of PSM than young adults holding experience solely in the

private, for-profit sector—and to varying degrees when comparing individuals with work

experience across various forms of public service organizations. Second, noting that individuals

with military experience, which have generally been overlooked, were the most likely to exhibit

higher PSM when compared to other individuals, it is reasonable to consider military service the

highest form of public service and to be more mindful and inclusive of this segment of public

service professionals when it comes to developing a broad-based instrument to measure PSM in

different contexts and cultures. Third, recognizing differences in public service organizations

extends a unique perspective to proponents of PSM in understanding work motivation and its

related expression throughout society (Houston 2006) through the lens of a Theory Y managerial

perspective.

CHAPTER 1: Work motivation within public administration

Emergence of the discipline

Considered the father of public administration, Woodrow Wilson's 1887 essay "The Study of Administration" represents the origin of the self-conscious study of this field within the United States (Fry and Raadschelders 2013). In making the case for why the duties of administration should be separated from political power and concerns, Wilson's proposed separation of policy and implementation effectively triggered the development of a science of administration. This science, known as public administration, is alive and well today, and continues to influence important policies and structures of implementation in the provision of public goods and services.

A significant development within the field of public administration is the concept of public service motivation (PSM) (Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016). In order to examine this concept as it is currently understood, it is important to first review key developments within the literature which led to the formation of PSM as well as to discuss how these early works continue to influence the evolution of this concept. This chapter explains how the concept of PSM took root during the zenith of rational choice theory, and how theorists' findings later necessitated the adaptation of human relations theory. While the literature reviewed in this chapter explains the contributions of pivotal works within the field and their influence on PSM, Chapter 2 will delve in to PSM-specific studies, their findings, and how the concept of PSM has evolved over time.

Rational choice theory

Scholars have long examined determinants of work motivation with the hope of conceptualizing how motivational processes affect job performance and other outcomes. Early

work in public administration closely adhered to perspectives grounded in rational choice theory, which held that individuals evaluate alternatives and make choices based on their own preferences—determined by self-interest—in order to maximize personal utility (DiIulio 1994). Although rational choice theory has some explanatory power in models of PSM (Neumann and Ritz 2015), concerns have been raised (Perry 2000; Vandenabeele 2007) and scholars continue to seek an alternative theory while recognizing that any study of motivation must draw some aspects from rational choice theory given that motives are derived from three analytically-distinct categories: rational, norm-based, and affective (Perry and Wise 1990). Rational motives, which involve actions grounded in individual utility maximization, therefore, are included in the study of PSM, and particularly in relation to Perry's (1997) dimension of APM. **Figure 2** depicts how the four dimensions of PSM correspond to rational, norm-based, and affective motives.

[INSERT Figure 2 ABOUT HERE]

Rational choice theory holds that individuals evaluate alternatives and make choices based on their own preferences as determined by self-interest. In an organizational context, the notion that individuals place supremacy on, and ultimately end up behaving in a way consistent with, their own self-interest spurred a barrage of theories, systems, and techniques designed to empower managers to reach peak efficiency by taking in to account this sort of counterproductive behavior. In America, the national quest for public efficiency was epitomized in President Roosevelt's address, in which he stated, "The conservation of our national resources is only preliminary to the larger question of national efficiency," (F. W. Taylor 1911, 7).

Inspired by President Roosevelt's address during the Progressive Era, in 1911 mechanical engineer and management consultant Frederick W. Taylor published *The Principles of Scientific Management*, which offered practical solutions for improving industrial efficiency. Taylor

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(1911) did not buy-in to the popular notion of his day that "the fundamental interests of employees and employers are necessarily antagonistic" but rather proposed that "true interests of the two are one and the same," (9). Using task management and pay incentives, Taylor (1911) suggested that tying compensation directly to a worker's output would help cultivate "the true incentive of the workman" and thereby advance industrial efficiency (68).

Unfortunately, Taylor's positive view of aligned interest between employees and employers was lost over time; one doesn't have to look far to see cynicism when considering employee motives. Only four decades after Taylor's influential emergence in upper spheres of management literature Douglas McGregor (1957) noted differences in two prominent styles of management: Theory X and Theory Y. The first management style, which he described as "the conventional view" (166), was built around the premise that a huge gulf exists between worker motivations and organizational interests. Managers ascribing to Theory X tend to view the average worker as a lazy, self-centered, and ignorant individual who must be "persuaded, rewarded, punished, and controlled" (166) in order to achieve organizational outcomes. Unfortunately, it was in the era under this prevailing point-of-view that Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management were launched; many of which were later used as a springboard for theorists who began erecting strategies for finding the *one best way* to do things while advocating methods of using carrot-and-stick techniques of control (e.g. extrinsic punishment and rewards) to motivate workers to contribute more to organizational goals.

Although not profit-driven like private companies, organizations within the public sphere became preoccupied with achieving utmost efficiency. In the New York Bureau for Municipal Research, for example, principles of scientific management were applied to the delivery of public goods and services, such as street paving and snow removal, with the purpose of

benchmarking the efficiency of public organizations and for the sake of identifying corruption (Gruening 2001). Although designed with good intent, methods and techniques launched under the principles of scientific management largely neglected the physiological needs of individual workers in favor of focusing unequivocally on how to achieve organizational efficiency. For this reason, McGregor (1957) criticized scientific management for imposing conditions which tied people to "limited jobs which do not utilize their capabilities, have discouraged the acceptance of responsibility, have encouraged passivity, and have eliminated meaning from work," (170). Generations working under such organizational constraints, he posited, led managers ascribing to a Theory X mentality to rely exclusively on external controls (e.g. management-by-objectives) to influence human behavior within organizations while failing to recognize and satiate basic human needs.

Therefore, within the field of public administration, consistent with a Theory X disposition, the quest for organizational efficiency led to a proliferation of bureaucratic organizations characterized by hierarchical control through top-down, highly centralized-decision making—where tasks and information trickle down a vertical chain of command. Superiors in such organizational environments were often expected to control subordinates primarily through direct oversight, financial incentives, and performance-related accountability measures—with important factors, such as intrinsic work motivation, often marginalized or completely ignored. As McGregor (1957) cautioned, in the absence of "opportunities *at work* to satisfy these higher level needs, people will be deprived; and their behavior will reflect this deprivation," (169). Therefore theorists, like McGregor, acknowledged behavioral deviance, but called in to question the nature of cause-and-effect. When employee behavior deviated from organizational objectives, it was because his needs were thwarted—leading McGregor to assert

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that resistant, antagonistic, and uncooperative "behavior is a consequence" to organizational shortcomings, rather than "a cause" (168).

The proliferation of rules which led to such problematic behavior is most visibly seen in one of public administration's heralded structures of organization: the bureaucracy. Emerging as a prototypical organization prior to McGregor's thesis, organizational theory drew heavily from the works of rational theorists, such as Max Weber, in constructing a system of managerial dominion and control. Commending bureaucracy as the most rational and efficient form of organization concocted by man, the works of renown German sociologist Max Weber were translated in English and embraced by American scholars of public administration during the 1930's and 1940's. Believing that the individual is rational and responsible despite the surrounding organizational and social environments, Weber offered a description of key features of an ideal bureaucracy and contemplated the impact such institutions have on the personnel within them—both positive and negative (B. R. Fry and Raadschelders 2013). Weber is generally credited with developing the concept of agency theory due to his focus on agency relations and its assertion that "agency relations must exist because rulers must delegate authority to state officials in order to implement any of their policies," (Beckert and Zafirovski 2006, 6).

Many of the management techniques used within the context of public administration today are deeply rooted in the concept of agency theory, which is based on two components: the principal and the agent. Principals are those with power, authority, and ability to mandate orders to get things done; they are the superiors (or managers) in organizations. Agents are subordinates who are delegated power and authority by the superior to actually perform the work through their technical expertise. Consistent with a Theory X managerial view which McGregor (1957) observed and so eloquently described years later, Weber assumed in this model that the

contractual relationship between both actors must be moderated through tight control; the principal must find a way to align the agent's interests with organizational goals because, he assumed, they are always conflicting. Issues of control, proponents asserted, may be confounded because agents have more technical knowledge than principals; therefore it is plausible that they may use this to their personal advantage by hiding information, slacking off, or doing sub-par work. Principals who assume agents are inclined to pursue their own self-interest to the detriment of the organization will try to implement control measures to minimize this. Weber's solution in dealing with agency problems was through his ideal form of state organizations: bureaucracies (Beckert and Zafirovski 2006).

Following this line of thought, analyses conducted using the rational choice model did not assuage concerns over public trust of administrative officials, but may have rather exacerbated the issue. Bureaucracy, heralded as the best form of organization, proliferated in subsequent decades. When public employee behavior deviated from public interest, rational choice theorists within the field of public administration were eager to cry foul, and began painting the majority of bureaucrats as "self-seeking slugs who are disposed to shirk, subvert, and steal whenever and wherever they can get away with it," (DiIulio 1994, 278). By the end of the 20th century, this erosion of public trust triggered a "quiet crisis" in the federal civil service, as the national trust in American public administrators reached an all-time low (Perry and Wise 1990, 367).

Human relations and theories of motivation

The context of the norm-based and affective motives associated with PSM are best understood from literature grounded in the development of human relations and public choice theory. In the 1940's, the focus on advancing organizational achievement through efficiency

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measures, such as scientific management, began to give way to studies of human relations and behavioralism as results circulated of experiments conducted between 1924-33 at the Western Electric Company in Hawthorne, Illinois. While researchers Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger originally undertook the experimental studies in order to *advance* scientific management by determining whether workers were more responsive and efficient in response to changes in their environmental conditions, the primary contribution of the study was found to be in its unexpected finding that workers were more responsive to *social factors* than to environmental ones (Sonnenfeld 1985). Touted as one of the most significant events in the development of industrial-organizational psychology, the Hawthorne Studies are largely credited with spawning the human relationships movement which gave way to scrutinizing "the complexities of variables that drive human behavior at work," (Olson et al. 2004, 23).

Realizing that factors which influence workers' motivation (e.g. outside attention) could significantly impact performance—despite changes in environmental conditions, such as lighting—the study of work motivation within the context of organizational behavior took off. Other notable scholars of human motivation, such as Abraham Maslow (1943) and Douglas M. McGregor (1957), rose to prominence during this time as they uncovered important motivational influences, which are still commonly studied and applied in organizational environments today. Maslow (1943) envisioned a hierarchy of human needs in which each level was built on top of another. Biological and physiological needs, he proposed, were the most basic needs and had to be satisfied before an individual would seek to satisfy needs of a higher level. Upon gratification of physiological needs, Maslow (1943) asserted that a new set of needs would emerge after each previous level had been fully satisfied. Conceptualized as a pyramid, five typology of needs are put forth in Maslow's hierarchy: (1) physiological needs (air, food, water, shelter, sleep, etc.); (2)

safety needs (security of body, employment, resources, health, property, etc.); (3) belongingness and love needs (love, family, relationships, etc.); (4) esteem needs (confidence, achievement, respect, self-esteem, etc.); and (5) self-actualization (personal growth and fulfillment expressed through creativity).

McGregor (1957), a contemporary of Maslow, contributed to the development of management and motivational theory by demarcating the importance of unleashing human motivation by encouraging managers to foster a supportive environment in which workers could meet all levels of needs *within* the organizational environment. McGregor concisely described the prevailing managerial view ("Theory X", as previously described) and countered its premise with a new managerial perspective, which he dubbed "Theory Y" (169). In sharp contrast to Theory X, managers operating under a Theory Y perspective recognize that:

"The potential for development, the capacity for assuming responsibility, and the readiness to direct behavior toward organizational goals are all present in people. Management does not put them there. It is the responsibility of management to make it possible for people to recognize and develop these human characteristics for themselves," (166).

In addition to expounding on these radically different managerial perspectives, McGregor (1957) delineated how a manager's perspective of human nature would determine how he or she would treat, control, and motivate employees. The work of these theorists were instrumental in moving the discussion of management within organizations away from the negative view espoused in traditional personnel management under a rational choice theory, which could explain why "bureaucrats shirk, subvert, or steal" much better than why "bureaucrats behave as 'principled agents'—workers who do not shirk, subvert, or steal on the job even when the

pecuniary and other tangible incentives to refrain from these behaviors are weak or nonexistent," (DiIulio 1994, 277).

Soon after, students of management and organizations recognized differences between extrinsic (e.g. motivation derived from external consequences, such as rewards and punishment), intrinsic motivation (originating within an individual due to personal characteristics or satisfaction from performing the job itself), and service-related work values. Mortimer and Lorence (1979), for example, found that college seniors who valued people and service were more likely to choose professions stressing social welfare, teaching, or service upon graduation. Mortimer and Lorence's (1979) longitudinal study also revealed that over time, the value individuals place on intrinsic rewards diminished while the desire for extrinsic rewards increased. Their findings strongly influenced several studies which examined PSM during the subsequent decades, as scholarly probes into the underlying differences between extrinsic and intrinsic work motivation continued.

Whether they ascribe to Theory X or Theory Y managerial perspectives, theorists in the fields of organizational behavior and industrial psychology have long sought to understand work motivation, which has practical utility in revealing "how to motivate employees to perform duties and responsibilities assigned by organizations," (Wright 2001, 560). Advances in work motivation theory over several decades have "yielded a wealth of information about both factors and the processes that affect the direction, intensity, and persistence of behavior in the workplace," (Kanfer 1992, 1). Examining the issue of work motivation has led to a discussion of the relative importance and influence of extrinsic rewards (e.g. pay, benefits, and career advancement) versus sources of intrinsic motivation (e.g. meaningfulness, purpose, and interest) on job performance and organizational behavior (Van Ryzin 2015).

Over the years, two major developments in the field of public administration have diverged based on Theory X and Theory Y underpinnings. The first, New Public Management (NPM), seeks to improve public services by making public sector organizations more "business-like" (Diefenbach 2009, 893). This is achieved by focusing on systems through the lens of various external orientations: market, stakeholder, customer, efficiency, and cost. Popular techniques of control through NPM include: pay-for-performance through management-by-objectives (MBO), management-by-results, total quality management (TQM), and various techniques of budgeting for results (Osborne and Gaebler 1993). While there is evidence that infusing modern management techniques (such as shifting the focus from input controls to output controls) has improved public administration in many ways, some researchers, such as Pollitt (2000), have voiced concern that "efficiency gains may be achieved at the cost of other, less desirable effects," (p. 192). Using qualitative data, an empirical study by Butterfield, Edwards, and Woodall (2004) conducted interviews and focus groups with senior managers, inspectors, sergeants, and constables in the UK in order to ascertain the nature of the changes that had taken place since 1995, the reasons for these changes, and what they perceived the impact had been on front-line workers (i.e. police sergeants). Results from the study led Butterfield, Edwards, and Woodall (2004) to conclude that the introduction of NPM systems had "actually made the dysfunctional effects of bureaucracy (over-caution, ritualistic rule-bound behavior, delay, procrastination, abnegation of responsibility and distorted communication) much worse," (339).

At the end of the day, the inescapable observation is that any technique heavily relying on control techniques is deeply rooted in a Theory X managerial perspective. The literary evolution of the second major development in public administration is PSM, which ascribes to a Theory Y managerial perspective. The development of PSM and its corresponding components will be

described in detail in Chapter 2. Drawing from variables included in the National Longitudinal

Survey of Youth (NLSY97), in Chapter 3 this study examines (1) whether young adults with

work experience in public service organizations express higher levels of PSM than young adults

holding experience solely in the private, for-profit sector and (2) whether or not intra-group

differences occur in the expression of PSM in public service organizations. Findings from

Chapter 4 are discussed in Chapter 5, which also makes recommendations for future direction for

those ascribing to a Theory Y perspective in public administration.

CHAPTER 2: Public service motivation

Though the motivational characteristics of public service have intrigued scholars since the inception of public administration (Perry and Wise 1990), it has only recently gained popularity in publications, despite the fact that the study of work motivation has been a major area of interest in organizational behavior and psychology for several decades (Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016). Given the unique pressures and constraints public organizations must often contend with (e.g. budgetary limits, accountability to multiple stakeholders, restrictive personnel systems, etc.), understanding work motivation within public service organizations is necessary in order to maximize efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery within the public sector while maximizing the full development and potential of human resources.

Within the field of public administration, Perry and Wise's (1990) seminal article, *The Motivational Bases of Public Service,* represented a major breakthrough when it formally introduced scholars to the concept of public service motivation (PSM) as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations," (Perry and Wise 1990, 368). In that article, Perry and Wise (1990) identified three types of motives behind PSM: rational (individual utility maximization), norm-based (the desire to pursue the common good and further the public interest), and affective (human emotion). Two decades later, they reiterated PSM as "a particular form of altruism or prosocial motivation that is animated by specific dispositions and values arising from public institutions and [their] missions," (Perry, Hondeghem, and Wise 2010, 682).

Drawing on this concept, numerous studies have emerged over the past two-and-a-half decades to examine work motivation in public organizations and have refined the concept of PSM by: developing survey instruments (Houston 2011); analyzing new sources of data;

correlating antecedents (Perry et al. 2008) and consequences (Gould-Williams, Mostafa, and Bottomley 2013); infusing variables drawn from organizational behavior theory (Perry and Vandenabeele 2015); examining contextual differences in different cultures (Kim 2012), and developing a universal scale applicable to an international framework (Kim and Vandenabeele 2010). Today, many scholars recognize that PSM is "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," (Vandenabeele 2007, 547) or as "a value or attitude that motivates individuals to engage in behaviors that benefit society," (Gould-Williams, Mostafa, and Bottomley 2013, 3). Perry's (1997) four dimensions—(1) attraction to policy making (APM), (2) commitment to the public interest and civic duty (CPI), (3) compassion (COM), and (4) self-sacrifice (SS)—are widely recognized, but underutilized. Unlike this study (which examines overall PSM as well as each of the four dimensions), most studies only examine two or three dimensions at a time.

Significance #1: Strengthening the discipline

Understanding the nature of work motivation within the ranks of public service members is a highly relevant topic in the field of public administration for two reasons. First, celebrated scholar-practitioners, such as Woodrow Wilson and Frank Goodnow, paved the way for public administration to be a separate and unique discipline consisting of "independent theory, practical skills, and methods" (Vigoda-Gadot 2002, 11). While Wilson's (1887) essay *The Study of Administration* is customarily recognized as the origin of the academic discipline, subsequent developments—such as White's (1955) clearly articulated principles outlined in the first text of the field—have added great progress over the last century. Despite this, recent scholars have noted that the field of public administration has long struggled with identity and legitimacy

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issues (Chung-An Chen, Hsieh, and Chen 2014) and has "reluctantly been accepted as a science by some of its sister disciplines in the social sciences" (Thornhill and van Dijk 2010, 96).

Much of the discipline's criticism was garnered over its heavy reliance on underlying methods and theories rooted other behavioral-administrative sciences, such as business, economics, management, political science, psychology, public policy, and sociology (Gill and Meier 2000). Some recent critics have gone so far as to say that the concept of PSM is "one of the few scholarly developments" spawned within the field of public administration that holds relevance both within and beyond the discipline—a criterion required to demonstrate a field's intellectual vitality and footing within the scientific community (Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016, 1). PSM exploration has been recognized as a strong research domain within public administration (Bozeman and Feeney 2014; Meier 2015; Perry and Vandenabeele 2015), and its exchange of ideas with sister disciplines has given further credence to the scientific contributions of the discipline (Wright 2015; Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016).

Significance #2: Administrative practice and implementation

Second, given that the context of public service organizations are fundamentally different from private, for-profit organizations (Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013)—which can scrutinize performance and seek to control employee behavior through market-based incentives—it is recognized that something other than economic indicators of efficiency must be used to measure organizational effectiveness and outcomes in the context of public administration (Wright 2001). Because public administrators are often beholden to several groups of stakeholders and who have multiple or conflicting goals (Wright 2004, 20), throughout history management in the public arena has largely subscribed to a Theory X perspective in an attempt to achieve desired outcomes. Therefore, organizational performance within the public sphere has largely been

impeded by a proliferation of formal procedural constraints which are designed to direct or control employee behavior (Behn 1995).

Public administration academics now recognized that, while examining work motivation through the lens of rational choice theory may help explain why bureaucrats "shirk, subvert, and steal on the job," it cannot amply explain why they behave as "principled agents—striving, supporting, and sacrificing on the job" (DiIulio 1994, 281). Given rational choice theory's inability to explain prosocial behavior in public organizations (Perry 2000; Wise 2004; Steen 2006), researchers have continually turned to PSM—which often characterizes public service as a calling (Lyons, Duxbury, and Higgins 2006)—as an alternative lens to understand work performance and effective reward preferences (Houston 2006). The expectation is that understanding how to cultivate PSM through the lens of a Theory Y managerial perspective will alleviate administrative constraints while increasing performance due to unleashing workers' full capabilities and potential (Feeney and Rainey 2010; Bakker 2015).

Alternative theories: old solutions repackaged

PSM is not the only vehicle through which experts have recently attempted to influence the organizational context of public institutions by overcoming the surmounting gridlock of procedural constraints. The New Public Management (NPM) movement, rooted in public-choice theory, has been touted as an alternative to PSM (Pratchett and Wingfield 1996; Lyons, Duxbury, and Higgins 2006; Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007; Perry and Buckwalter 2010; Stensöta 2010; Bellé and Ongaro 2014). While advertised as a revolutionary perspective, over time many researchers have come to criticize public-choice theory rooted NPM techniques as repackaged techniques rooted in scientific management.

Although infused with human observation and considerations, behavioral theorists, such as Herbert Simon (who strongly influenced the field of administrative behavior) largely continued to ascribe to a Theory X perspective by operating under the premise that the purpose of objective scientific knowledge is to control the social environment (Gruening 2001). The NPM movement, which began in the late 1970's and early 1980's, called on diversity of service providers (e.g. outsourcing, contracting) in meeting the needs of citizens, which it envisioned as "customers", because managers in these contexts could function more effectively as entrepreneurs responsive to market-based incentives (Osborne and Gaebler 1993). The NPM movement was built on several principles closely aligned with scientific management: the division of work and specialization, homogeneity, unity of command, hierarchy with respect to delegation of authority, accountability, span of control, and the staff principle (Gruening 2001). Popular techniques of control through NPM include: pay-for-performance through management-by-objectives (MBO), management-by-results, total quality management (TQM), and various techniques of budgeting for results (Osborne and Gaebler 1993).

While aiming for a noble cause, many of these methods—which focus on benchmarking the efficiency of public service delivery by measuring and controlling outputs—operate congruently within the perspective of Theory X management. As a result, they often function at the expense of the processes and the people implementing them. Under this view, those working through public personnel systems are painted in a negative light as self-serving bureaucrats who are buffered from public influence and therefore inadequately responsive to the needs of citizen-customers and should be replaced. While said to be equally applicable to public and voluntary sectors, as well as the private sector (Osborne and Gaebler 1993), most of the strategies espoused by NPM call for methods of measurement and control which can further constrain the actions of

public servants via pay-for-performance incentives or external checks, or the elimination of their posts (through outsourcing) altogether. Some scholars have found evidence to suggest that change instituted from NPM reforms which infuse private sector-style extrinsic rewards can crowd out intrinsic motivation typically found in public service employees (Georgellis, Iossa, and Tabvuma 2011). To-date, the debate over what kind of impact NPM has had on PSM within public service organizations is still largely unknown, though it is largely anticipated to have a negative relationship with PSM through displacement (Bellé and Ongaro 2014).

Meanwhile, PSM proponents sought to improve the delivery of public goods and services by making improvements *within* pre-existing personnel systems. PSM scholars began identifying tools (e.g. high-performance human resource practices) designed to cultivate internal motivation through human resource practices in order to guide behavior within public service organizations (Paarlberg and Lavigna 2010; Bakker 2015; Lavigna 2015; Mostafa, Gould-Williams, and Bottomley 2015). Behn (1995) pointed to a proliferation of rules and regulations enacted by legislative and executive branches designed to constrain inappropriate individual behavior within public organizations as a result of a lack of understanding over how civil servants could be effectively motivated to "do something right" (321). A better understanding of PSM, he believed, would curtail the tendency of legislative, executive, and politically-appointed actors to micromanage. In addition to an individual's socio-historical background, recent studies have offered evidence that the organizational environment can also influence PSM (Scott and Pandey 2005; Mostafa, Gould-Williams, and Bottomley 2015). If PSM can be influenced on-the-job by organizational factors, then the degree to which these factors hold sway becomes a matter of importance in determining effective administrative frameworks and managerial practices which are consistent with a positive, Theory Y managerial perspective.

Major developments

Before Perry and Wise (1990) presented the first clear and concise definition of PSM, scholars examining motivational differences between public and private sector workers used proxies, such as respondents' job involvement (Buchanan 1975) and propensity to engage in meaningful public service (Rainey 1982). Perry and Wise's discovery was made against the backdrop of waning public confidence in American institutions which led to a "quiet crisis" in the federal civil service, where traditional public service values—personal sacrifice and duty to the public interest—gradually took a back seat to a rising tide of criticism and "bureaucrat bashing" in political elections (1990, 367). Drawing on past research, near the close of the 20th century Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (368) while explaining that "PSM should be understood as a dynamic attribute that changes over time and, therefore, may change an individual's willingness to join and stay with a public organization" (370); they identified three theoretical bases of PSM as (1) rational, (2) norm-based, and (3) affective; and challenged scholars of public administration to examine how PSM contributes to organizational commitment and performance and how it could possibly be "instilled in potential recruits for government service" (372).

In 1996 and 1997, Perry translated the theory of PSM into a measurement scale composed of four dimensions: (1) attraction to policy making (APM), (2) commitment to the public interest and civic duty (CPI), (3) compassion (COM), and (4) self-sacrifice (SS). This new survey instrument and approach enabled scholars to dig deeper in their analyses by building on this structure. Subsequently, the concept of PSM gained further evidence of construct validity when Perry (1997) identified several antecedents of PSM—parental socialization, religious

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socialization, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics—and their correlations to dimensions of the measurement scale (Brewer et al. 2000). Since then, intellectuals have continued to refine the concept by examining antecedents (Camilleri 2006; D. H. Coursey and Pandey 2007; J. Taylor and Westover 2011) and consequences (e.g. Choi 2004; Steijn 2008; Bright 2008; Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan 2008; Park and Rainey 2008; Ritz 2009; Andersen, Heinesen, and Pedersen 2014) of PSM. Drawing on these works, this study examines several antecedents of PSM within the NLSY97 cohort.

Many scholars also began to recognize that the motivational differences often seen between public and private-sector workers were not only based on individual characteristics, but that it was also later influenced by context—the nature of the work or organizational environment itself (Wright and Christensen 2010; Wright and Grant 2010; Brewer et al. 2000; Jacobsen, Hvitved, and Andersen 2014). Therefore, some studies have infused aspects drawn from organizational behavior while examining the relationship between PSM and factors in organizational environments—such as job satisfaction, performance, absenteeism, intentions to leave, red tape, etc. (see Alonso and Lewis 2001; Wright 2004; Kim 2004; Scott and Pandey 2005; Wright 2007; Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Vandenabeele 2008; Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan 2008; Feeney and Rainey 2010; Naff 2011)—while others have continued to refine the concept of PSM by examining whether or not the Western-based construct is compatible within the framework of other cultures (Li and Wang 2014; Yung 2014) or moving toward the development of a universal concept to be applied across multiple countries (Vandenabeele, Scheepers, and Hondeghem 2006; Kim and Vandenabeele 2010; Houston 2011; Giauque et al. 2012; Jin 2013; Kim et al. 2013).

Sector differences

Before the concept of PSM formally emerged in 1990, scholars were primarily concerned with analyzing the general differences observed in work motivation and public service ethics between public and private sector managers. In 1982, Hal G. Rainey called on scholars to "contribute to the development of a concept of public service motivation," (299). In that article, Rainey (1982) questioned whether people in different categories of organizations (i.e. public vs. private) showed different patterns of reward preferences. Using a more explicit definition of public and private sectors and incorporating more control variables than past studies, Rainey (1982) surveyed 150 public middle managers and 125 private middle managers and found that public managers consistently scored higher on the items concerning meaningful public service and work that is helpful to others, but not on job involvement, which was being used as a proxy for service motivation by other scholars (e.g. Buchanan) during that time. This finding led Rainey (1982) to conclude that proxies such as job involvement were not an appropriate measure of service motivation. He, in turn, called for scholars to further develop the concept of public service motivation in order to "better clarify it, assess it, and devise incentive systems to reward and encourage it," (298).

While sector employment choice has been long understood as an antecedent which determines the extent of work motivation in the public sector (Wright 2001), soon after Perry and Wise (1990) solidified the concept of PSM, Wittmer (1991) moved beyond a simple dichotomous approach of strictly comparing public and private managers and decided, instead, to include those employed in "hybrid organizations"—which he defined as organizations which perform a mix of public, private, and nonprofit functions (e.g. hospitals and schools) rather than strictly public or private organizations. As expected, he found that public sector and "hybrid

sector" employees placed a higher premium on values such as community service and being helpful to others more than their private sector counterparts—who tended to value incentives and rewards such as higher pay and job security. Later, a study by Gabris and Simo (1995) produced mixed results—finding that perceived need for service, helping, pay, or job security did not significantly differ among public, private, and nonprofit employees. The mixed—and seemingly contradictory—results of such studies reiterated Rainey's (1982) concern over methods of measurement due to the complex nature of PSM, which was addressed when, in lieu of proxies, Perry (1996; 1997) developed the first multi-item measurement scale and further identified dimensions of PSM. He subsequently provided further evidence of construct validity by revealing several individual antecedents and their correlations with each dimension (Perry 1997). Since then, several studies, including the present study, have built upon Perry's instrument to further refine the concept of PSM (Kjeldsen 2013; Petrovsky and Ritz 2014).

While PSM research has been primarily formed within the context of public administration because it has been found more likely to characterize public servants, scholars have emphasized that PSM is an individual (rather than sector-specific) concept; it examines an individual's altruistic or prosocial behaviors regardless of setting (Brewer and Selden 1998; Brewer et al. 2000). Given the collective goals and prosocial services typically offered in public organizations, scholars have consistently found they provide a more hospitable setting for fostering PSM (Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan 2008; Pedersen 2015). In recent years, academics analyzing determinants of PSM have also started expanding the scope of analysis beyond a simple dichotomous approach of scrutinizing sectors strictly along the lines of public versus private sector employment, with interest emerging in studying other, previously ignored, sectors (i.e. nonprofit and military). Similar to classical public organizations, in that they "pursue public

missions without providing financial gains to stockholders or individual owners", nonprofit organizations are widely recognized for their unique ability to engage in public activities similar to government organizations, while operating apart from market control and the constraints of government personnel systems (Feeney and Rainey 2010, 807). The motivation of military service members along the lines of PSM was first explicitly analyzed by Corriere and Grant in 2008. Since then, only a handful of studies (e.g. Greentree 2013; Bellé and Ongaro 2014; Ngaruiya et al. 2014; Annen, Goldammer, and Szvircsev Tresch 2015; Drevs and Müller 2015; J. K. Taylor et al. 2015) have explicitly included military service members in the study of PSM. And, even fewer of these have made comparisons between military service members and other public service organizations (e.g. public and nonprofit institutions). The exceptions are Bellé and Ongaro (2014) and Ngaruiya et al. (2014). Bellé and Ongaro (2014) included military service members in a broad category of law enforcement practitioners (including police, judges, lawyers, etc.) and found that this category had the highest instances of self-reported PSM compared with other classes of Italian public service professionals (e.g. educators and health care practitioners). The latter, Ngaruiya et al. (2014), surveyed 290 undergraduate students and 104 ROTC students and found that the former exhibited higher PSM than the latter. This study takes PSM research a step further by comparing PSM across dimensions *and* different types of public service organizations.

Consistent with these recent developments, this study seeks to determine (a) whether or not young adults with public service experience tend to exhibit higher PSM than their peers who worked solely in the private, for-profit sector and (b) whether or not PSM is expressed uniformly in individuals with work experience in various types of public service organizations. Public service organizations in this study are classified in this study as organizations which have an

"other-centeredness" orientation. This includes public, nonprofit, and military organizations. While first examined as a collective group (those with public service experience versus those with experience solely in private, for-profit organizations), intra-group analyses are later run by separating individuals in to different sectors. Given the longitudinal nature of the NLSY97 and the dynamic influence between organizational environments and PSM, individuals having work experience in public service organizations are then further sorted in to sectors (public, nonprofit, and military) based on length of employment and recency in order to determine whether or not differences exist in the prosocial attitudes and altruistic behavior of individuals within these public service organizations.

Developing PSM as a dependent variable

PSM has been employed in previous studies as both a dependent and independent variable. It was primarily treated it as an independent variable during initial development, but given insight gained from longitudinal studies in recent years, evidence has been found to support the strong influence of different organizational contexts upon PSM. Moynihan and Pandey (2007), for example, found PSM was negatively related to job tenure—Kjeldsen and Jacobsen's (2013) findings confirmed this, and demonstrated that declines in PSM happen over time and at various degrees based on the organizational context. Consistent with these findings, in this study PSM is treated as a dependent variable. This is in accordance with Perry's (1996) perspective, when he developed the first PSM scale, and foresaw its use as "a dependent variable in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of bureaucratic socialization" (21). Perry (1996) also recommending using the PSM scale "to measure differences in motivational orientation among governmental, business, and nonprofit samples" (21). Two decades later, Bozeman and

Su (2014) noted that PSM was "woefully underdeveloped as a dependent variable" (7), and held that it should be treated as both a dependent and independent variable in future studies.

While the bulk of studies have examining sector experience prior to 2012 have used PSM as an independent variable, many of these studies (e.g. Wright and Christensen 2010) conceded the complexity of the dynamic relationship between sector experience and PSM is not fully known and influence is expected to be bidirectional. Findings, they cautioned, may be due to adaptation (post-employment rationalization or socialization) rather than attraction–selection processes, and scholars have been advised to consider utilizing longitudinal designs in order to better understand the complexities surrounding PSM and employment sector. When PSM was conceptualized as an independent variable, common dependent variables included organization-specific factors, such as: job attraction, commitment, performance, retention, and satisfaction (Redman-Simmons 2007).

In recent years, given the differences in PSM revealed through panel data in pre- and post-job entry subjects, scholars have become more prone to examine PSM as a dependent variable (Ward 2014). When utilized as a dependent variable, commonly used independent variables include: organizational culture, demographic characteristics, individual conceptions, organizational strategy, and public policy (Redman-Simmons 2007). Using data from the British Household Panel Survey, Georgellis and Tabvuma (2010), for example, found that an individual's level of PSM increases immediately after transitioning from the private sector to the public sector and this upsurge was still observable even five years after the change occurred, even as PSM for other groups (those switching from the public to the private sector and those switching from jobs between private sector employers) dropped to a greater extent. Since these findings, other researchers have followed suit in the development of PSM as a dependent

variable. Five recent influential empirical studies in which PSM served as a dependent variable in recent years include: Perry et al. 2008; Andersen and Pedersen 2012; Kjeldsen 2013; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013; and Ward 2014. Findings from each of these studies will briefly be recounted here in order to demonstrate PSM's value as a dependent variable and why it has been adapted as such in the present study.

In 2008, Perry, Brudney, Coursey, and Littlepage examined the relationship between PSM and antecedents previously hypothesized (e.g. parent socialization, religiosity, individual demographic characteristics to be key determinants of moral commitment), with religious activity used as the key independent variable. Drawing on 26 interviews and 525 surveys from recipients of the Daily Point of Light Award and the President's Community Volunteer Award, Perry et al. (2008) examined the role of faith in formal and informal volunteering. They found that "PSM is significantly related to family socialization, religious activity, and volunteer experiences," (454).

In a study of 845 Danish employees, Andersen and Pedersen (2012) hypothesized that professionalism related differently to different PSM dimensions. In this study, professionalism was defined as "the occupational level of specialized, theoretical knowledge combined with the existence of firm intra-occupational norms," (46). Built on the premise that "some occupations are more professionalized than others," (46), Andersen and Pendersen (2012) moved away from the status quo, who historically treated PSM as a unified concept, and compared professionalism with three PSM dimensions: attraction to policy making, commitment to the public interest, and compassion. Their study ultimately found that professionalism is negatively associated with COM, but positively related to APM. No relationship was found between professionalism and

the PSM dimension CPI. Results from this study revealed that the relationship between professionalism and PSM are more nuanced than supposed.

In 2013, Kjeldsen used pre- and post-entry panel surveys to measure changing levels of PSM among 79 certified Danish social workers. Kjeldsen (2013) noted that previous studies relying on cross-sectional data and research designs based on public/private sector personnel had a significant shortcoming in that they could not tell "whether individual differences in PSM are a cause or a consequence of choosing a certain work environment," (1). Kjeldsen (2013) sought to examine the intricate interplay between the sector and work task using pre- and post-entry measures of individuals' PSM. While examining different dimensions on PSM with different types of public service work, Kjeldsen's (2013) study surprisingly did not find PSM an accurate predictor of the sector individuals' entered for their first job, which led her to recommend "the need for a revision of PSM theory concerning the actual sorting of individuals into different public service tasks and sectors based on their PSM," (9). Rather, when scrutinizing post-entry PSM shifts, Kjeldsen (2013) found that:

> *"Social workers' compassion generally drops upon entering the labor market, whereas their policy-making PSM increases. However, these tendencies are moderated by task and sector in the sense that the drop in compassion is less pronounced among social workers entering the public sector, and policy-making PSM increases less for social workers working with service regulation," (9).*

This led her to assert that "Both the environments of the task and the sector are crucial for examining post-entry PSM dynamics and that organizations are indeed capable of having an impact on employee attitudes," (Kjeldsen 2013, 9). The finding that "post-entry changes in PSM result from complex interplay between newcomers being affected by the environment of both the

task and the organization (public or private)," (Kjeldsen 2013, 9) is supportive of the notion that sector experience is a key influence on PSM. That same year, Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2013) also conducted a panel survey of 210 Danish physical therapy students evaluated before and after entering their first job in order to sort out "whether PSM influences or is influenced by employment decisions," (899). Studying only one profession in order to strengthen internal validity by controlling for other variables which may mediate the relationship between employment sector and PSM, they found PSM to be a poor predictor of the students' attraction to the public sector or their actual sector of employment. The strongest relationships discovered were the changes in PSM made as a result of job entry. Observing that "Based on the results, we cannot confirm that public and private organizations attract individuals based on their motivational profiles, but we find that labor market entrants undergo a sizeable motivational drop after entering an organization," (901), Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2013) interpreted this drop in PSM as a "shock effect" and found it to be most pronounced in the private sector, which led them to conclude that "it therefore seems as though organizations play an active role in changing individuals' PSM once employed," (901). Given that "previous studies have shown that up to 70% of individuals' job choices can be explained by chance events more or less beyond the individual's control", based on various factors such as "personal contacts, changes in family situation, and macroeconomic fluctuations" (903), Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2013) present a strong case for using PSM as a dependent variable in light of employment sector. They concluded that "the analyses in this study have shown that it is primarily post-entry processes which shape the relationship between PSM and public/private employment sector, whereas we find no evidence of a public/private attraction-selection effect based on PSM," (920).

Finally, noting discoveries made by recent studies of the effects organizational membership, organizational environments, cultures, experiences, and tenure on individuals' levels of PSM, Ward (2014) utilized a nonrandom, quasi-experimental research design from panel data collected on AmeriCorps volunteers between 1999 and 2007 with treatment (individuals who had participated in one of 108 AmeriCorps programs in 1999) and comparison groups (individuals who had expressed an interest in joining an AmeriCorps program but decided not to) in order to ascertain the dynamic nature of PSM. Ward (2014) ultimately found evidence to confirm Kjeldsen and Jacobsen's (2013) research, which indicated that "levels of PSM drop over time but at faster rates among individuals employed in the private sector," (8). Noting the bidirectional relationship between PSM and organizational experiences, Ward's (2014) study considered how public service experience may also have a lasting impact on individuals' values.

Moving Forward

Given that the careers of NLSY97 respondents in this present study are followed over a 10-year period leading up to our assessment of their various levels of PSM, it is expected that sector influence will play a major role influencing PSM since individuals will have had more time to settle in their chosen career paths. In keeping with these findings, this study acknowledges the limitations of cross-sectional designs in making conclusions of causality and the bidirectional relationship of sector employment and PSM while focusing more on the strength of the relationship than on trying to make determinations of the direction of causality— consistent with other studies (e.g. Anderfuhren-Biget, Varone, and Giauque 2014). In examining respondents' sector experience in the 10-year period leading up to an assessment of their PSM, this study contributes to the literature by confirming the strength and direction of past findings

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regarding different variables and dimensions of PSM (e.g. gender) against a backdrop of organizational variables (e.g. job satisfaction).

The purpose of this study is to examine whether young adults with work experience in public service organizations—defined as organizations within sectors which have other-centeredness orientation, such as public, nonprofit, or military institutions—express higher levels of PSM than young adults holding experience solely in the private, for-profit sector. Looking at work experience over a ten-year period (from 1997 to 2007), it is expected that young adults who have been employed by public service organizations at some point during this timeframe will exhibit higher PSM than their colleagues due to attraction-selection-attrition and/or adaptation processes (Wright 2001).

This study is unique in that it considers public service experience through the lens of cumulative work experience over young respondents' entire work history (from 1997 to 2007), instead of taking a snapshot of a single moment in time. Additionally, in order to generalize results from this study and make comparisons with previous studies which differentiated between sectors based solely on respondents' current jobs, another variable—current sector in 2007—will be analyzed in order to examine potential differences in sampling methods. Furthermore, this study does something that none of the previous studies have: it simultaneously examines differences in individuals based on work experience in public, private, nonprofit, and military organizations. In order to examine the effect of PSM before entry, three classes of antecedents (a proxy for parental socialization, religious socialization, and individual demographic characteristics) will be measured with sector experience and PSM variables.

This study further contributes to PSM literature by examining levels of PSM along four sub-scales: attraction to policy making (APM), commitment to the public interest and civic duty

(CPI), compassion (COM), and self-sacrifice (SS) in Generation Xers and Millennials through the new lens of cumulative work experience, as well as current sector employment. Investigating PSM specifically in these groups of young adults is important because they now represent the largest generational segment of the U.S. workforce. Last year Richard Fry (2015) with the Pew Research Center remarked that Millennials now constitute the largest segment of the U.S. workforce—surpassing Baby Boomers in 2014 and Generation Xers in 2015. "More than one-in-three American workers today are Millennials", (Fry 2015) reported, and, when combined with GenXers, these segments of the population (studied here) account for 68% of the participants in the U.S. labor force and are expected to continue to gain larger proportions of the labor force as Baby Boomers continue to retire and we experience an influx of immigrants and more individuals transitioning from college to the working world.

Given their significant role in the workforce, it is therefore important to examine PSM in these up-and-coming cohorts which will have the strongest influence on the U.S. labor force in years to come. Best practices developed today based on understanding factors which influence PSM will have a high potential to influence the direction and implementation of management theory for years to come. Working within the framework of a Theory Y management perspective to provide tools which cultivate PSM within these key groups is highly important in order to avoid using the same techniques (e.g. a proliferation of rules and red tape) which have been the predominant strategies of directing and controlling past generations. Furthermore, the NLSY97 data presented here has never been used in PSM research before, and therefore provides a fresh pool of respondents, as recommended by recent scholars (Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013; Petrovsky and Ritz 2014; Homberg, McCarthy, and Tabvuma 2015) with the potential for future analysis.

As described, variables will first be examined through the lens of work experience with a particular interest in analyzing differences in those who have employment experience in public service organizations and those who have worked strictly in the private sector. Although several studies widely recognize the four dimensions of PSM, some studies draw questions under each latent construct in order to create an overall measure of PSM, but they do not actually isolate them (e.g. Vandenabeele 2010; Stazyk 2012). Less frequently, others studies compare only two or three dimensions of the standard PSM scale (e.g (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey 2006; Moynihan and Pandey 2007; J. Taylor 2010; Andersen and Serritzlew 2012; Andersen and Pedersen 2012; Clerkin and Coggburn 2012; D. Coursey, Yang, and Pandey 2012; Johnson 2012; Hsieh, Yang, and Fu 2012; Wright, Moynihan, and Pandey 2012). This omission led Kim and Vandenabeele (2010) to make the following recommendation in *A Strategy for Building Public Service Motivation Research Internationally*:

"PSM needs to be defined as a formative construct because it is formed as a combination of specific dimensions. If any one of these dimensions increases, PSM would increase; conversely, if a person's PSM increases, this would not necessarily be accompanied by an increase in all dimensions. Dropping one dimension may alter the meaning of PSM because each dimension provides a unique contribution to PSM. That is, an individual's PSM is determined by his or her attraction to public participation, commitment to public values, compassion, and self-sacrifice (Wright 2008). Measuring only two or three dimensions may not be equivalent to measuring all of the dimensions of PSM, and when any two or three dimensions are included in a study, it may not be fully regarded as a study on PSM. Therefore, researchers should include all of the dimensions that form PSM in the study," (706).

Since then, only a handful of studies have separately analyzed all standard dimensions of PSM. Sangmook Kim (2012), for example, applied partial least squares (PLS) structural equation modeling (SEM) in his survey on 814 civil servants in Korea, and found evidence that PSM has not only a direct effect, but also an indirect effect on job satisfaction and organizational commitment through its influence on person-organization fit, as well as positive and significant associations between PSM overall and each of its dimensions. A second study, by Chyi-Lu Jang (2012), which used survey data from 277 public servants in Taiwan, found evidence which suggests that the Big Five personality traits (extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness) are "closely related to the four dimensions of PSM in that public employees have different rationales for pursuing careers in the public sector," (731). A third study which incorporated all standard dimensions of PSM was conducted by Giauque et al. (2012). In this study of 3,754 municipal public servants in Switzerland, Giauque et al. (2012) investigated the impact of the different PSM dimensions on work outcomes and, in addition to the key finding that red tape is the most important predictor of resignation, found that "when PSM dimensions are analyzed separately, results demonstrate that 'commitment to public interest/civic duty' and, to a lesser extent, 'attraction to policy-making' decrease resignation, whereas 'compassion' and 'self-sacrifice' increase it," (175)—thus indicating that "the different public service orientations encompassing the PSM construct do have divergent effects on employees' outcomes," (187).

While studies such as these (see also Andersen et al. 2013; L. Bright 2013; Gould-Williams, Mostafa, and Bottomley 2013; Rose 2013) have examined organizational or performance-related outcomes of PSM (e.g. job satisfaction, organizational commitment, career preferences after graduation, etc.), they have not done so across a broad spectrum of public

service organizations nor with the intent of developing PSM as a dependent variable. The few studies which have employed PSM (and its standard dimensions) as a dependent variable have typically done so by excluding other sectors; they have not investigated the effects of work experience on PSM within the context of multiple types of public service organizations (see, for example, Bellé and Ongaro 2014). A strength of this study is that, in response to Kjeldsen and Jacobsen's (2013) recent finding that PSM declined over time and at various degrees based on the organizational context, Perry's (1996) vision of PSM as "a dependent variable in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of bureaucratic socialization" as a way "to measure differences in motivational orientation among governmental, business, and nonprofit samples" (21), and Bozeman and Su's (2014) concern that PSM was "woefully underdeveloped as a dependent variable" (7), this study offers a remedy by investigating the effect of work experience over a ten-year period along with the effect of other antecedents on PSM in young adults during the 2007 round of NLSY97 surveys. In addition to considering a broader spectrum of public service organizations, the isolation of all four dimensions of PSM is a major contribution of this research. Consistent with past findings of positive associations between sector choice—primarily between public and private sectors—and PSM as a whole, the following predictions regarding PSM overall and its four dimensions regarding public service experience will be made here on the premise that if PSM is positively associated with public service, it is expected that the four constructs of which it has been comprised should also demonstrate a positive association with experience in a variety of public service organizations (see **Table 1** for a comprehensive list of hypotheses—including covariates):

H: Young adults who have had professional public service experience will have <u>higher overall PSM</u> than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H1: Young adults who have had professional public service experience will have a higher attraction to policy making than those with only private-sector experience.

H2: Young adults who have had professional public service experience will exhibit a higher commitment to the public interest and civic duty, expressed through prosocial behavior, than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H3: Young adults who have had professional public service experience will express a greater sense of compassion for helping those in need than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H4: Young adults who have had professional public service experience will be more willing to make personal sacrifices to help the community than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

[INSERT Table 1 ABOUT HERE]

Additional hypotheses of covariates

Given the dynamic nature of work motivation, scholars cannot measure work motivation directly using identifiable determinants and processes that underlie behavior, but rather must measure these constructs by inferring from "a larger theory in which the antecedents of motivation are linked to purported behavioral consequences," (Wright 2001, 560). In 1997, Perry was the first to identify five sets of plausible correlates of PSM: parental socialization, religious socialization, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics—some of which are considered in this study. In addition to the key independent variable (public service experience), additional covariates examined here include relationship to household guardian(s) in high school, gender, religiosity, education, job satisfaction, and income. Using ordinary least squares regression (OLS) in SPSS, this study analyses differences in young

adults' PSM along the lines of professional work experience in different organizational contexts: private organizations and three types of public service organizations.

In addition to the primary independent variable, this study will also examine possible relationships between PSM and other covariates: respondents' relationship to household guardians in high school, religiosity, gender, education, job satisfaction, and income. Some of the most common covariates found in PSM studies include: age, gender, income, education, religiosity, and marital status (Houston, Freeman, and Feldman 2008). Since data were derived from a cohort study, with all respondents between the ages of 22-28 (as of 2007), age and marital status for this group were deemed inappropriate and have been excluded. The remaining covariates (e.g. gender, education, religiosity, etc.) have been utilized in past studies and have generally revealed statistically significant associations with PSM, although previous studies have generally not examined these covariates across *all four* PSM dimensions. These variables are measured as antecedents in this study. Many of these variables are expected to have an association with PSM and are therefore included in the table of hypotheses and will be discussed below; no predictions are made for income (which has been used as a popular control but often failed to produce a consistent, statistically significant effect in PSM studies).

Perry's (1997) study described five sets of plausible correlates—parent socialization, religious socialization, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics. The three sets of correlates examined here are: parent socialization (using relationship to household guardian(s) in high school as a precursor), religious socialization, and individual demographic characteristics. Each of these correlates and the variables drawn from the NLSY97 to represent them will be discussed in this section. Multiple variables were found to represent each correlate except for political ideology (the NLSY97 did

not ask respondents about their political party affiliation or conservative versus liberal leanings),

and professional identification, which was excluded due to the nature of sector experience as

measured in this study over a 10 year period (surveying professional ties over a lengthy period of

time and through multiple career changes were beyond the scope of this study). A description of

all independent variables used in this study have been reviewed in previous sections and can be

found in **Table 6. Independent Variable Coding Key**.

<u>Correlate 1: Parent socialization</u>

As the first to analyze antecedents of PSM, Perry (1997) posited that "The primary

context for socialization within American society is the family, particularly parents," (183).

While there are other agents capable of influencing the socialization process (teachers, peers,

etc.), it is widely acknowledged that the family unit is the primary arena in which individuals are

most susceptible to acquiring habits, skills, values, and motives during childhood that carry

through to adulthood (Maccoby 1992). Scholars have found that family socialization plays a

significant role in the formation of children and adolescents' occupational aspirations and

expectations (Barling, Kelloway, and Bremermann 1991). For decades, organizational theorists

have recognized the significance of individuals' values during workplace entry and socialization,

and also their propensity to shape subsequent work values within an organization. Given that

most work values are "already formed prior to entering the workforce," (Gilliland, Steiner, and

Skarlicki 2003, 8) initial exposure to work values through parental messages has a strong

influence on the types of values and beliefs children cultivate about work.

Several studies have found that "children's perceptions of parental work attitudes and

experiences shape the development of their own work beliefs and attitudes," (Loughlin and

Barling 2001, 545). In many studies, this early imprint is identified as *the* strongest factor

influencing work motivation. Developmental and industrial organization scholars, for example, have compiled a large body of empirical research which finds that family socialization processes (e.g. parents' general union attitudes) strongly influence young workers' disposition towards unions (Barling and Cooper 2008)—even more so than their own assessment of job quality and personal satisfaction with co-workers and supervisors (Dekker, Greenberg, and Barling 1998).

Building on Perry's 1997 study, in 2008 Perry et al. conducted a study to examine the relationship between PSM and antecedents believed to be important determinants of moral commitment. One of these antecedents was parent socialization. Based on past findings, it is hypothesized here that:

H5: Young adults with an opportunity for a higher degree of <u>parental socialization—as measured by relationship to household guardian(s)—</u>during high school are more likely to report higher levels of PSM in adulthood than their peers.

<u>Correlate 2: Religiosity</u>

Another major influence examined by PSM studies includes an individual's religious exposure and experiences. Given that "Religion is an institution within which Americans develop beliefs about their obligations to others and are provided the opportunity to enact those beliefs," (Perry 1997, 184), there is little wonder that subsequent PSM studies, such as Houston, Freeman, and Feldman (2008) have generally found that "individuals in governmental service occupations are generally more religious and possess less secular attitudes than those in non-public service occupations," (428). Houston et al's (2008) findings were consistent with Perry et al.'s (2008) empirical study of over 500 Daily Point of Light Award and the President's Community Volunteering Award winners, which found a significant, positive direct relationship between religious activity and PSM, as well as religious activity and formal and informal

volunteering. In Perry et al.'s (2008) study, religious activity was measured by "how often the respondent attended religious services, prayed or read religious texts, practiced religious rituals at home, took part in any activities of a place of worship (other than attending services), or participated in any of the activities or groups of a religion or faith-service organization," (449-450). Surveying the frequency of religious worship service attendance has been used and found strongly significant in past studies (e.g. Houston 2006). In keeping with previous studies, it is expected that respondents with more religious exposure and experience will exhibit higher PSM than their peers with less religious exposure and experience across all dimensions.

H6: Young adults with <u>stronger religious associations</u> (measured by the frequency of church attendance) are more likely to exhibit higher levels of PSM than their peers.

Correlate 3: Individual demographic characteristics

Four individual demographic characteristics were first examined in Perry's (1997) landmark study: gender, age, level of education, and annual income. All of these variables, in addition to other covariates such as job satisfaction, will be examined in this study except for age, due to nature of this cohort study. Each variable prediction will be discussed in the following section and hypotheses discussed accordingly.

Gender

Pandey and Stazyk (2008) observed that women are often associated with the COM in PSM literature. The first PSM study to include gender as an antecedent to PSM was Perry (1997). Interestingly, Perry (1997) found that men scored higher than women on two PSM dimensions: CPI and SS. Most studies have not been able to replicate these findings. Over the subsequent decade, gender went largely ignored and underutilized as an antecedent of PSM; it was only used in a handful of studies. Naff and Crum's (1999) examination of just over 8,000

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federal employees using the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board's 1996 Merit Principles

Survey found that women had slightly higher PSM than men. Similarly, in surveying both

managerial and non-managerial public employees from a large county government in the state of

Oregon (n=349), Bright (2005) found a positive significant relationship between PSM and

gender; respondents with high levels of PSM were significantly more likely to be female than

those with lower levels of PSM. Noting the gradual change and evolution of role expectations,

Bright (2005) believed these results indicated that gender norms and role expectations are still

present and rooted in many domains; male and female individuals undergo different socialization

experiences in society, with role expectations generally casting men as competitive, aggressive,

and dominant actors while females are "expected to assume supportive caretaking roles", which

are often found in public service occupations (146).

The discussion of the role of gender as an antecedent to PSM did not move deeper

beyond these preliminary findings until it was closely examined by DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and

Pandey (2006)—nearly a decade after Perry (1997) first identified it as an antecedent. In this

study, DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey (2006) used gender as a primary independent

variable in their survey of public managers in state health and human service agencies (n=274).

Using a Likert-type scale ranging from (1) "strongly disagree" to (5) "strongly agree" for

questions such as "Politics is a dirty word", "The give and take of public policy making does not

appeal to me", and "I don't care much for politicians" (the three questions designed to represent

the APM dimension), DeHart-Davis et al. (2006) argued that three aspects of PSM—APM, CPI,

and COM—have distinct gender dimensions. While they reasoned that women would exhibit

higher CPI and COM, DeHart-Davis et al. (2006) originally hypothesized that the rational-based

motive of APM would be more appealing to men, given the "game-like nature of the policy

process" which places a greater emphasis on self and individuality than the other three dimensions (875). Ultimately, results from Dehart-Davis et al.'s (2006) study could not substantiate Perry's (1997) claim that gender had any impact on CPI, but, notably, they did find that women scored higher than men on two other dimensions: APM and COM.

Likewise, using the same scale, in 2007, Moynihan and Pandey's national survey of state government health and human service managers (n=238) examined two of Perry's four dimensions of PSM utilizing gender as a demographic control along with age and income. In their study, "none of the demographic controls proved significant, with the exception that women were more attracted to policy making, counter to Perry's (1997) finding," (Moynihan and Pandey 2007, 46). Additionally, Johnson (2010) conducted a survey using Perry's (1997) exact wording for APM variables in her analysis of 141 city planners—using gender as an individual control characteristic for three PSM dimensions (APM, CPI, and COM). Johnson (2010) found that gender was only statistically significant at an alpha level of 0.10 in regards to APM; women tended to have a higher APM than men.

Taking these past findings into consideration, based in the literature it is hypothesized in this study that gender will have an influence on PSM and two of its four dimensions: APM and COM. The general finding that women exhibit greater COM than men has been largely accepted and therefore expected to hold true in this analysis. Therefore, it is hypothesized here that:

H7: <u>Women</u> are more likely than men to exhibit higher levels of PSM for dimensions grounded in norm-based (CPI) and the affective motive of COM.

Regarding APM, in which findings have deviated from theoretical predictions, it is notable that only those studies using Perry's (1997) original question wording (i.e. "Politics is a dirty word", "The give and take of public policy making does not appeal to me", and "I don't

care much for politicians"), excluding Perry's (1997), have found that women exhibit higher

APM than men—even when it was first hypothesized to have the opposite relationship (i.e. that

men would have higher APM than women). Therefore, the contradictory results of these studies

may be more attributable to the nature of the questions (*all* negatively worded) than the measure

itself. In fact, among all four PSM subscales developed in Perry's (1997) study, only the APM

dimension is drawn *exclusively* from negatively worded questions while all other dimensions

contain mostly positively worded questions. Given that questions drawn from the NLSY97 were

neutral and neither positively nor negatively worded—they were designed to directly gauge

respondents' level of interest in specific policy making activities—it is expect that the results

produced from this study will be more consistent with original hypotheses which predicted that

men, due to societal gender norms and expectations, would be more likely to exhibit higher APM

than women. Consequently, it is posited here that:

H8: <u>Men</u> are more likely than women to exhibit higher levels of PSM for dimensions

(APM) grounded in rational motives.

Education

Previous studies have found education to be an important predictor of PSM (DeHart-

Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey 2006; Moynihan and Pandey 2007). Although Perry's (1997) initial

study found a positive relationship between education and PSM overall, he could only confirm a

positive relationship between education and two dimensions: CPI and SS. Given that levels of

education among young Americans has surged in recent years (Rampell 2013) and the relative

difference in sample sizes (Perry's regression n=295), it is expected that a stronger association

will be found between respondents' level of education and PSM in this study.

H9: Respondents with <u>higher education</u> are more likely to exhibit higher levels of PSM.

Job Satisfaction

One of the most studied concepts in organizational research is job satisfaction, which has been described, simply, as "the extent to which employees like their work," (Agho, Mueller, and Price 1993, 1) or a reflection of "employees' reactions to what they receive," (Wright 2001, 562). A higher degree of job satisfaction indicates that an employee's needs are being met; ergo, "the more the work environment fulfils employees' needs or values, the greater their job satisfaction," (J. Taylor 2008, 71). While organizational theorists, such as Barnard (1938), have posited that job satisfaction is related to the motivation to join and stay with an organization, past studies have produced mixed results concerning specific elements of job satisfaction (e.g. with compensation, job security, etc.) and the direction of associations between job satisfaction and sector of employment (Wright 2001). On the other hand, several studies have found that job satisfaction has a positive, significant relationship with PSM (Brewer and Selden 1998; Naff and Crum 1999; Park and Rainey 2008; Steijn 2008; J. Taylor 2008; Teo et al. 2016). Because of the nature of this study, which examines work experience rather than selecting respondents based on a convenience sample or based on the specific organizations in which they are currently employed, no predictions were made for the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction.

Income

In his monumental study, Perry (1997) first posited that income would be positively associated with PSM, but to the contrary found that "income was significantly and negatively related to CPI, and the sign was negative in four of the five regressions," (190). In their study *Gender Dimensions of PSM*, Dehart-Davis et al. (2006) could not find any statistically significant effect between income (used as a control variable) and PSM. Although income has

been commonly used as a control in PSM studies, it has failed to produce a consistent relationship with PSM; therefore, no predictions for income are made here.

Intra-group differences

After examining whether or not differences in PSM exist between individuals with work experience in private and public service organizations as a whole, intra-group differences between different types of public service organizations will be analyzed here. It is believed that intra-group differences in PSM do exist along dimensions based on the emerging studies which have ventured in to this topic. For example, using a survey of 429 college students in 2010, Rose (2013) found that Millennials (the key demographic group of interest in this study) "expressed more interest in the private sector than in nonprofits or government, and that teaching was the least attractive of the public-oriented professions," (425). Additionally, Rose (2013) discovered evidence that these students were "more likely to view the nonprofit sector than government as the place to work if they wish to serve other people and society," (428). Rose (2013) found that among PSM dimensions, only a higher level of APM (a rational motive) was significantly related to greater interest in government; neither the CPI nor COM subscales were associated with increased interest in government work and SS did not achieve statistical significance. Conversely, APM was negatively associated with greater interest in nonprofit careers while SS and CPI were significantly associated with greater interest in nonprofit careers, leading Rose (2013) to conclude that "the normative and affective dimensions of PSM were linked to greater student interest in the nonprofit sector," (427).

While several studies have analyzed differences in PSM stemming from public-private organizations, nonprofits are less commonly studies and military experience is largely ignored. Additionally, while Rose (2013) sought to understand how various dimensions of PSM may

influence college students' idyllic interest in different sectors interest, this study is different in that it seeks to examine how actual work experience may have shaped PSM after it has occurred. To my knowledge, no study has yet simultaneously compared the work experience of individuals in these four types of organizations (i.e. private, public, nonprofit, and military), but based on scattered sectoral results published so far, it is predicted that:

H10: <u>Differences</u> in the expression of PSM also exist between young adults with experience in public, nonprofit, and military organizations.

Prior studies investigating differences in public and nonprofit employees have typically found that individuals in nonprofit organizations exhibit higher PSM than individuals employed by conventional public organizations. Houston (2006), for example, observed that:

"Nonprofit workers are more similar to public than private employees. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis derived from PSM that public employees (or public service employees in general) are more likely to engage in charitable acts than private employees," *(76).*

Among the three charitable acts that Houston (2006) considered—volunteering time, donating blood, and donating money—he found that "being a government employee increases the probability of volunteering over private workers by 12%, whereas being a nonprofit employee increases this probability by 18%," (77). This led him to spotlight the "growing importance that nonprofit organizations are assuming in public service delivery" which "highlights the necessity to consider the motives of these public service workers," (81). Similarly, Piatak's (2014) study of 10,131 government sector employees, 4,659 nonprofit sector employees, and 46,177 for-profit sector employees drawn from the Current Population Survey by the US Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that while both public and

nonprofit employees had a higher formal volunteer rate than their peers in the private, for-profit sector, nonprofit employees had the highest formal volunteer rate—nearly double that of the for-profit sector. This led Piatak (2014) to conclude that "nonprofit sector employees appear to be even more other-oriented than a majority of public servants," (20). Based on these findings, in relation to public service organizations, it is hypothesized that:

H11: Individuals with <u>experience in nonprofit organizations</u> will exhibit higher PSM than individuals with public sector work experience.

Interestingly, no other hypotheses concerning other types of intra-group differences between public service organizations have been investigated in past research. It has been recently acknowledged that "military personnel are public sector workers who have largely been ignored in PSM research," (Ngaruiya et al. 2014, 444). Ngaruiya et al. (2014) went on to note that:

"Although a significant body of PSM literature exists among government and nonprofit employees both in the United States and internationally, some gaps remain in testing the model across diverse populations of public servants," (452).

One of these "gaps" is that no studies have yet analyzed differences in PSM between military personnel and individuals employed in the public sector, or military personnel and individuals in the nonprofit sector. This study is the first to analyze all three simultaneously. Therefore, referring back to hypothesis 10, it is expected that differences will be found between individuals with work experience in these three types of public service sectors.

CHAPTER 3: Data and methodology

The study: NLSY97

The purpose of this study is to examine whether young adults with work experience in public service organizations—defined as organizations within sectors which have an other-centeredness orientation, such as public, nonprofit, or military institutions—express higher levels of PSM than young adults holding experience solely in the private, for-profit sector based on work experience. Results from this study are expected to show that young adults with professional experience in public service organizations exhibit higher PSM than their colleagues and to varying degrees based on work experience in different public service sectors (i.e. public, nonprofit, and military organizations). This study expands the scope of PSM literature by examining differences in individuals with military experience—a largely ignored segment of public service workers (Ngaruiya et al. 2014)—alongside other individuals with public and nonprofit work experience. This study further contributes to PSM literature by examining how sector experience and other covariates may lead to differences in levels of PSM along four sub-scales: attraction to policy making (APM), commitment to the public interest and civic duty (CPI), compassion (COM), and self-sacrifice (SS) in Generation Xers and Millennials through the new lens of cumulative work experience.

The data used in these analyses have been collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97), which annually followed the development of 8,984 youth whose ages ranged from 12 to 16 as of December 31, 1996. In the initial year (1997), hour-long personal interviews were administered to eligible youth respondents, as well as a parent respondent. The parent questionnaire administered in Round 1 provided unique information regarding the youths' family background and history by gathering

data on parents' "marital and employment histories; relationship with spouse or partner; ethnic and religious background; health (parents and child); household income and assets; participation in government assistance programs; youths' early child-care arrangements; custody arrangements for youth; and parent expectations about the youth," ("National Longitudinal Surveys" 2006).

The NLSY97 collected extensive information about this cohort's educational experiences and labor market behavior annually in order to document important milestones—such as the transition from school to work and into adulthood. Educational data include youths' schooling history, performance on standardized tests, course of study, the timing and types of degrees, and a detailed account of progression through post-secondary schooling. Metrics for analyzing employment data include start and stop dates of jobs, occupation, industry, hours, earnings, and benefits. Measures of work experience, tenure with an employer, and employer transitions can also be obtained. An aggregate profile of the NLSY97's population demographics in the initial survey year (1997) can be found in **Table 2**.

[INSERT Table 2 ABOUT HERE]

Sample group 4 characteristics

The purpose of this study is to analyze altruistic attitudes and prosocial behavior of respondents included in NLSY97 Sample Group 4 (n=1,848): those with work experience in public service organizations (n=859/46.8%) and those with work experience strictly in the private sector (n=975/53.2%). Survey respondent ages ranged from 22-28 in 2007 (the year that all dependent variables were introduced). Of those in this subgroup, roughly half were female (925 vs. 923 men); the majority self-identified as White/Caucasian (1,049) vs. other categories (799 in sum); most (40.4%) reported earning less than $20,000 per year in salary or household income (when applicable); and the majority (880) reported their highest degree completed was a

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high school diploma, while 167 earned a GED, 141 obtained an associates degree, 354 held a

bachelors, 261 earned a masters, and 11 held a PhD or other professional degree (see **Table 3** for

key descriptive statistics). Additionally, nearly two-thirds (71%) respondents were never married

as of 2007 while nearly one-third (24.2%) were married and the remaining (4.8%) were either

separated, divorced, or widowed.

[INSERT Table 3 ABOUT HERE]

Dependent variable

PSM is a multidimensional concept that characterizes the motivations of individuals who

engage in prosocial (Rainey 1982; Perry 1996; Brewer and Selden 1998) and altruistic behavior

(Rainey and Steinbauer 1999; LeGrand 2006; Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor 2009; Dur and

Zoutenbier 2014) regardless of setting (Perry 2000; Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan 2008).

Prosocial and altruistic inclinations will be measured in this study because they represent implicit

cornerstones of this perspective, which posits that such "other-regarding underpinnings" are

more important than variations in actual dimensions of PSM (Ward 2014, 2). Differences in

dimensions can be seen in Ward's (2013) study, for example, which found latent public service

values (which differ slightly from Perry's 1997 scale) among individuals in the sample, such as

commitment to the public interest, "civic awareness", and attraction to policy making. The most

widely established dimensions of PSM were developed by Perry (1996; 1997), and will be

employed in this study: attraction to policy making (APM), commitment to the public interest

and civic duty (CPI), compassion (COM), and self-sacrifice (SS).

The first dimension, APM, is grounded in rational motives. In the past, questions

measuring APM have asked respondents their opinions of politicians or whether or not

personally getting involved in public policymaking appeals to them. In this study, APM is

ascertained by scrutinizing respondents' attitudes and inclination to get personally involved in

policymaking—through the participatory channels offered to common citizens (e.g. voting,

reporting crimes, or keeping informed). The second dimension, CPI, typically evaluates

respondents based on behavioral patterns or attitudes of how respondents contribute to their

community or whether or not they find meaningful public service important or not. The final two

dimensions—COM and SS—are closely aligned with altruism (Perry 1997). Compassion, a key

dimension of PSM, involves "the care for others and a feeling of connectedness and other-

centeredness," (D. Coursey, Yang, and Pandey 2012, 574). Compassion, an affective motive, is

one of the two most commonly studied dimensions of PSM (Pedersen 2015). See **Table 4** for a

description of each latent construct and corresponding variables.

[INSERT Table 4 ABOUT HERE]

PSM has come to embody "a particular form of altruism or prosocial motivation that is

animated by specific dispositions and values arising from public institutions and [their]

missions," (Perry, Hondeghem, and Wise 2010, 682). Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan (2008)

note that scholars typically expect to find higher levels of PSM in public organizations because

"public organizations may provide a more hospitable setting for the fulfillment of altruistic and

prosocial motives," (92). Therefore, this study will make distinctions between individuals' work

experience in different sectors to see if there are variations in PSM overall and along each

dimension. Building upon Perry's (1997) composite measure of PSM using four subscales: (1)

APM, (2) CPI, (3) COM, and (4) SS, this study includes a PSM composite variable and separate

variables for all four PSM subscales. **Table 5** contains question descriptions and coding. In order

to create the PSM composite score based on each of the four PSM dimensions, a Multivariate

Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was conducted in SPSS 23 to find the raw, unstandardized

beta weights of each variable in order to create a composite score based on individual responses. This canonically derived super-variable represents respondents' overall PSM as derived from all four PSM dimensions. The same procedure was used to generate composite variables to represent each of the four dimensions based on the 13 identified dependent variables. While composite scores were collapsed in order to analyze nominal and ordinal variables through cross-tabulations, these scores were utilized in Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression which measured all variables (including continuous and categorical variables).

[INSERT Table 5 ABOUT HERE]

Measures for Dimension 1. Attraction to Policy Making (APM)

It is expected that in an American context, a national survey, such as the NLSY97, would find individuals exhibiting high APM to be more engaged in their communities and supportive of prosocial behavior—represented in this study by four variables, which measure respondents' propensities to follow what's going on in government and public affairs, and whether or not they place a higher importance on democratic forms community participation, such as voting in elections, reporting a crime they may have witnessed, and keeping fully informed about the news and politics. Gauging whether or not respondents keep apprised of public issues or engage in civic participation are two essential elements of the APM dimension. While most initial PSM studies, such as Perry's (1996), tended to ask respondents their opinions of politicians or asked, outright, whether or not getting involved in public policy making appeals to them personally, scrutinizing respondents' attitudes and inclination to get personally involved in policy making— through the participatory channels offered to common citizens (e.g. voting, reporting crimes, or keeping informed)—appears to be a more accurate depiction of APM because the focus is less likely to be hijacked by negative connotations to the general policymaking process in the public

square. Variables measuring this dimension commonly underlie these three forms of civic participation (voting in elections, reporting a crime witnessed, or keeping fully informed about news and public issues).

<u>Measures for Dimension 2. Commitment to Public Interest and Civic Duty (CPI)</u>

Frequency of Unpaid Volunteer Work

Volunteering has been used as a variable in several PSM studies (e.g. Perry 1997; Houston 2006; Perry et al. 2008; D. Coursey et al. 2011; Piatak 2014; Y.-J. Lee and Jeong 2015). First, it was examined as an antecedent (Perry, 1997). Since then, studies have generally found positive support for volunteerism and PSM. In 2008, for example, Perry et al. found that volunteering increases public service motivation. Ward (2014) listed volunteering among the important drivers of PSM. Positive correlations have appeared between volunteer experience and PSM change in other studies (Lee and Kim 2014). While volunteering is positively associated with most PSM dimensions, it is most closely aligned with the second dimension—CPI— because of the level of output. More than simply measuring an attitude or disposition, in order to demonstrate higher levels of engagement, respondents who volunteer must take action. It is therefore hypothesized that respondents who engage in unpaid volunteer work more frequently, attend community group meetings more often, or indicate they actively donate to charitable causes are demonstrating their commitment to public interest and civic duty by actually performing it—or "walking the walk", as Houston (2006) put it. Regarding this dimension, evaluating respondents on the basis of behavior—actions taken within the past 12 months— should provide a more accurate understanding of their levels of commitment than simply asking whether or not someone "unselfishly contributes" to their community or finds "meaningful public service very important".

<u>Measures for Dimension 3. Compassion (COM)</u>

The final two dimensions—COM and SS—are closely aligned with altruism (Perry 1997). Compassion, a key dimension of PSM, involves "the care for others and a feeling of connectedness and other-centeredness," (Coursey, Yang, and Pandey 2012, 574). Compassion, an affective motive, is one of the two most commonly studied dimensions of PSM (Pedersen 2015) and has been examined in several studies (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey 2006; Houston and Cartwright 2007; Kim and Vandenabeele 2010; Andersen and Pedersen 2012; Petrovsky and Ritz 2014; Rose 2013).

While following the transition from college to the workforce of 79 Danish social workers, Kjeldsen (2013), for example, hypothesized that individuals with higher levels of the COM are positively associated with attraction–selection into service production rather than service regulation. She found that "students with higher compassion PSM levels are significantly more likely to be attracted to service-production work," after controlling for gender and age (6). Unfortunately, Kjeldsen (2013) also found—using pre- and post-entry measures of PSM—that COM seemed to decline between the surveys when the social workers transitioned from education to employment, although, notably, this decline was less pronounced in public sector organizations.

Similar to Perry's (1996) survey instrument, which sought to measure to degree to which respondents were moved by the plight of the underprivileged by asking about personal feelings of empathy or compassion directly, or about the degree to which they support public social and welfare programs, this study is designed to measure respondents' COM levels using three variables. To minimize influence of political ideology (e.g. liberal vs. conservative), variables chosen for the COM dimension focus on broad measures, rather than ascertaining sentiments

regarding specific need-based assistance programs. It is expected that those with public service experience will demonstrate higher compassion for the needy than their for-profit counterparts.

<u>Measures for Dimension 4. Self-Sacrifice (SS)</u>

The final PSM dimension examined here is self-sacrifice, which Perry (1996; 1997) defined as "the willingness to substitute service to others for tangible personal rewards," (7). PSM has been associated with various forms of SS, such as whistle blowing in empirical studies (Rayner et al. 2011). Those with higher levels of PSM are more likely to engage in ethical (Wright, Hassan, and Park 2016) or prosocial behaviors (Houston 2006) that benefit the public— even at the expense of tangible personal rewards (Liu, Hu, and Cheng 2015), as characterized by the fourth dimension of PSM.

Found in Perry's (1996) original set, it is interesting to note that SS is highly correlated with CPI (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey 2006). In order to draw out distinctions, this study differentiates between these two dimensions on the basis of reach: the degree of proximity or direct/indirect impact on the individuals receiving a benefit from the actions. While the variables drawn from the NLSY97 were chosen to represent CPI based on civic participation primarily through collective efforts, which may or may not have a direct or singular impact on a specific person receiving benefits from the actions taken (e.g. volunteer work, attending community group meetings, and donating to charities), this study uses more personalized, specific examples of altruistic behavior to construct the PSM dimension of SS. Unlike the broad-based acts offered by an individual on behalf of a collective, the decision to engage in acts of donating blood, giving money to a homeless person, or allowing someone to cut in line is a much more personal, individual, direct form of sacrifice which implies that the person exhibiting this

prosocial behavior may even have the opportunity to come in direct contact with the specific person benefitting from their actions.

Theoretical independent variable

The theoretical independent variable of interest in this study is drawn from public service experience, which is often expressed by comparing sectors, and is widely accepted and utilized in PSM research (Wittmer 1991; Feiock and Andrew 2006; Feeney and Rainey 2010; J. Taylor 2010; Y. Lee and Wilkins 2011; Houston 2011; Y. Lee 2012; C.-A. Chen 2012). As previously mentioned, employment sector differences are important to consider because of the influential nature the organizational environment exerts on individual workers (J. Taylor 2008). Although scholars have long assumed that employees tend to seek employment through self-selection in to a sector that is consistent with their own values or motives (Perry and Wise 1990; Georgellis, Iossa, and Tabvuma 2009), several recent studies have proven that work motives, including PSM, also change as a function of employment sector choice (Wright 2001; Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013; Ward 2014).

Moynihan and Pandey (2007), for example, were instrumental in uncovering that PSM is strongly influenced by the context of organizational institutions through environmental variables such as red tape, hierarchy, reform orientation, and length of organizational membership. Likewise, Ward (2014) explained that PSM and organizational culture is bidirectional and found strong evidence that work cultures affect levels of PSM, which is why he called for additional research on the antecedent conditions of PSM, as well the effects that organizational experiences and cultures have on PSM as an important next step for the field. In response to Ward's (2014) call, this study examines how work experience in various sectors may influence individuals' PSM in concert with other antecedent variables: relationship to household guardian (a precursor

to parent socialization), religiosity, and individual demographic characteristics. See **Table 6** for a breakdown of independent variables.

[INSERT Table 6 ABOUT HERE]

Covariates

In addition to the primary independent variable, this study will also examine possible relationships between PSM and other covariates: respondents' relationship to household guardians in high school, religiosity, gender, education, job satisfaction, and income. Some of the most common covariates found in PSM studies include: age, gender, income, education, religiosity, and marital status (Houston, Freeman, and Feldman 2008). Since data were derived from a cohort study, with all respondents between the ages of 22-28 (as of 2007), age and marital status for this group were deemed inappropriate and have been excluded. The remaining covariates (e.g. gender, education, religiosity, etc.) have been utilized in past studies and have generally revealed statistically significant associations with PSM, although previous studies have generally not examined these covariates across *all four* PSM dimensions. These variables are measured as antecedents in this study. Many of these variables are expected to have an association with PSM and are therefore included in the table of hypotheses (review **Table 1**); no predictions are made for income (which has been used as a popular control but often failed to produce a consistent, statistically significant effect in PSM studies).

Perry's (1997) study described five sets of plausible correlates—parent socialization, religious socialization, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographic characteristics. The three sets of correlates examined here are: parent socialization (using relationship to household guardian(s) in high school as a precursor), religious socialization, and individual demographic characteristics. Each of these correlates and the

variables drawn from the NLSY97 to represent them will be discussed in this section. Multiple

variables were found to represent each correlate except for political ideology (the NLSY97 did

not ask respondents about their political party affiliation or conservative versus liberal leanings),

and professional identification, which was excluded due to the nature of sector experience as

measured in this study over a 10 year period (surveying professional ties over a lengthy period of

time and through multiple career changes were beyond the scope of this study). A description of

all independent variables used in this study have been reviewed in previous sections and can be

found in **Table 6.** Independent Variable Coding Key.

Correlate 1: Parent socialization

Building on Perry's 1997 study, in 2008 Perry et al. conducted a study to examine the

relationship between PSM and antecedents believed to be important determinants of moral

commitment. One of these antecedents was parent socialization. Observing a sample of 525

winners of a variety of national nonpartisan awards which recognize individuals who find

innovative ways to meet community needs, Perry et al. (2008) used an index of experiences

within the family as respondents were growing up to construct an index to represent family

socialization. The measures used to construct this index were: experiences involve exposure to

parents' volunteer activities, helping behaviors within the family, parental orientations toward

strangers in distress, and discussion of moral values. Perry et al. (2008) found that youth who

grew up in homes where parents (a) actively participated in volunteer organizations, (b) urged

their children to volunteer, and (c) transmitted moral and ethical values concerning helping

others (especially those in distress) were more likely to volunteer themselves and exhibit higher

PSM. This presented evidence that family socialization affects PSM both directly and indirectly

through volunteering. Their hypothesis that higher levels of family socialization would lead to

increased PSM was supported, and results indicated that there is a significant, positive, and direct relationship between family socialization and PSM.

Given the importance of family socialization in organizational theory and PSM literature, this study will build upon the premise by examining the impact of parent socialization by measuring NLSY97 respondents' parent-child living arrangements during the initial survey year. In 1997, nearly half of the youth respondents (47.9%) reported living with both biological parents; 604 (32.8%) lived with only one biological parent; 245 (13.3%) lived with two parents but only one was a biological parent; 28 (1.6%) were in the care of foster or adoptive parents; and 82 (4.5%) had other living arrangements (grandparents, other relatives, etc.). While a rudimentary measure of child-parent relations, gauging the degree to which a child had the opportunity for parental involvement is important in determining the potential level of influence biological parents may have had in the socialization process. It is hypothesized here that, in accordance with Perry's (1997) study, respondents with positive parental relations (i.e. closer living arrangements with biological parents), especially during high school, when the initial round of the NLSY97 was administered, will have higher levels of PSM than those who have lessor degrees of interaction with biological parents.

Correlate 2: Religiosity

Although several variables drawn from the initial round of the NLSY97 assess respondents' religious socialization (e.g. the number of days youth and their families typically did something religious, parent religiosity, the number of peers who went to church regularly, how often respondent youth attended church during adolescence, etc.), given the high intercorrelations between these variables which pose potential problems with multicollinearity, one variable was chosen to gauge respondents' level of religiosity: how often respondents

attended worship services in 2007. Justification for moving beyond high school religious experiences to examining respondents' individual, personal religiosity during a key transitional period (when the average respondent was 24.83 years old) is based on the observation that the religious practice of a child's family—and particularly the father—is the single most important factor in determining his or her own attendance or absence from church as an adult (Europe et al. 2002). Surveying the frequency of religious worship service attendance has been used and found strongly significant in past studies (e.g. Houston 2006). In keeping with previous studies, it is expected that respondents with more religious exposure and experience will exhibit higher PSM than their peers with less religious exposure and experience across all dimensions.

Correlate 3: Individual demographic characteristics

Four individual demographic characteristics were first examined in Perry's (1997) landmark study: gender, age, level of education, and annual income. All of these variables, in addition to other covariates such as job satisfaction, have been examined in this study except for age, due to nature of this cohort study. Questions ascertaining gender, education, and annual income in the NLSY97 are straightforward. In the NLSY97, the question pertaining to job satisfaction is a direct, single-item measure: "Which of the following best describes how you [feel/felt] about your job with [this employer]?" Responses are coded based on a 5-point Likert scale with numerical values assigned to answers ranging from "Like it very much" to "Dislike it very much". Because of the nature of this study, which examines work experience rather than selecting respondents based on a convenience sample or based on the specific organizations in which they are currently employed, no predictions were made for the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. A scale for income was adapted based on Perry's 1997 study; the variable (individual salary or household income when appropriate) in this study was examined through

bivariate statistics when collapsed into five categories: (1) less than $20,000; (2) $20,000 to

$29,000; (3) $30,000 to $39,999; (4) $40,000 to $49,000; and (5) $50,000. The natural log was

used to represent income in OLS regression models.

<u>Intra-group analysis of public service organizations</u>

After individuals with work experience in public service organizations were isolated from

their peers with work experience solely in private, for-profit organizations, they were then

further scrutinized to determine their predominant type of public service experience. Individuals

primarily holding work experience in public or government organizations were coded 1; those

with work experience chiefly in nonprofits were coded 3; and those with military service were

coded 5. When respondents had experience in more than one of these sectors, coding was

determined based on length of employment. In the event a respondent had equal years of service

in multiple types of public service organizations, a distinction was made based on the most

recent sector of employment. Dummy variables (coded 0 or 1) were then created to indicate

whether or not respondents were associated with a particular form of public service organization.

Results indicate that the largest group (n=456) held public sector experience, the second largest

(n=305) nonprofit experience, and the smallest group (n=98) identified with military service.

Measures and analyses

Traditionally, most PSM studies have employed quantitative methods—including

multiple analytical methods, such as univariate and descriptive statistics (utilized by 27.0% of

scholars), bivariate analyses (20.2%), factor analyses (15.5%), multiple regression analysis

(14.4%), and structural equation modeling (5.7%)—while only a handful of studies explicitly

used qualitative analytical techniques (4.3%), such as unstructured interviews (Ritz, Brewer, and

Neumann 2016) and mixed methods approaches were very rarely used (Andersen and Pedersen

2012). Given that this study is based on quantitative, secondary data drawn from a national survey (the NLSY97), multiple methods have been employed including: descriptive statistics, confirmatory factor analysis, cross-tabulation, and OLS regression.

<u>Confirmatory Factor Analysis</u>

Since a multi-item scale was used for constructing dependent variables to represent various aspects of PSM, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted, according to the process recommended by Gignac (2009), in order to examine Perry's four-factor model using variables drawn from NLSY97 data. As expected, variables loaded on the corresponding dimensions based on the following Pattern Matrix, with primary factor association for each scale bolded (see **Table 7**).

[INSERT Table 7 ABOUT HERE]

Results revealed by the Pattern Matrix were largely consistent with expectations from the PSM literature. Output using Direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization rotation indicated that the overall model passed the Goodness-of-fit test with a Chi-Square value (χ^2) of 69.491 (df=32) and p=.000. Using model results from Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (χ^2= 2031.304, df = 78) and the Goodness-of-Fit Test (χ^2= 69.491, df = 32), the three indices and the RMSEA were calculated based on the formulas provided by Gignac (2009). A four-factor solution was found to be appropriate for further testing via confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) based on the following outputs: Normative Fit Index (0.966), Comparative Fix Index (0.981), Tucker Lewis Index (0.953), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (0.025). Because the Normative Fix Index, Comparative Fix Index, and Tucker Lewis Index results were greater than 0.95 and the RMSEA was less than 0.06, this supports that the model examined here is, indeed, significant and therefore valid for further testing.

$$RMSEA = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2_{\text{Implied}} - df_{\text{Implied}}}{(N-1) * df_{\text{Implied}}}}$$

$$NFI = \frac{(\chi^2_{\text{Null}} - \chi^2_{\text{Implied}})}{\chi^2_{\text{Null}}}$$

$$TLI = \frac{(\chi^2_{\text{Null}}/df_{\text{Null}}) - (\chi^2_{\text{Implied}}/df_{\text{Implied}})}{\left[(\chi^2_{\text{Null}}/df_{\text{Null}}) - 1\right]}$$

$$CFI = 1 - \frac{(\chi^2_{\text{Implied}} - df_{\text{Implied}})}{(\chi^2_{\text{Null}} - df_{\text{Null}})}$$

Component results were sorted by effect size. Variables which loaded in to the first factor, with the strongest effect, represent dimension 2 (CPI): frequency of unpaid volunteer work, how often respondents attended community group meetings, and whether or not respondents donated to a cause within the last 12 months. The four variables which loaded in to the second strongest factor represent the first of Perry's (1996) dimensions (APM): interest in government and public affairs and attitudes associated with community participation regarding specific behaviors (i.e. voting, reporting a crime, and keeping informed). The next set of variables which loaded in to factor 3 represent the third dimension (COM): questions ascertaining individual attitudes towards personal responsibility, such as whether or not respondents agree or disagree that "people should be willing to help people who are less fortunate", "personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me", and "these days people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about others" (reverse). A final set of three variables which loaded in to the forth factor constitute the fourth and final dimension (SS): whether or not respondents have donated blood, given to the homeless, or allowed someone to cut in line within the past twelve months.

Factor loadings are symbolized by lambdas (λ). In practice, researchers retain items that clearly and strongly load onto one component while showing small to minimal loadings on other

components (Matsunaga 2010). Factors in this model had minimal issues with cross-loading with one exception; the only circumspect item was regarding attitudes towards the importance of reporting a crime witnessed (CPIλ=.286, COMλ=-.227). Noting this irregularity, the item was retained in the factor in which it loaded highest in the pattern matrix (CPI).

Variables with higher numbers account for more model variance than those with lower numbers; therefore first-factor variables, how often someone attended a community group meeting, for example, had the strongest explanatory power (λ=.761) while recent donations had a relatively low impact (λ=.290) within the first factor. The weakest factor, SS, had loading values of λ=.478, .231, and .179 for items measuring direct, prosocial behavior: whether or not respondents had given to the homeless, allowed cuts in line, or donated blood within the past 12 months. Given that studies have equating the prosocial behavior of blood donation with PSM in the literature (Houston 2006; Houston 2008), it is most surprising that this factor loaded with the weakest effect (λ=.179) in this study. Despite this inconsistency, the item was retained because of its theoretical importance and strong centrality in PSM literature; in a recent systematic review of PSM literature, Houston's (2006) article—which firstly equated blood donation as a prosocial component of PSM—was identified as the 13th most important work among PSM literature (Ritz, Brewer, and Neumann 2016).

Given that literature on statistical methodology has not produced a consensus on specific factor loading cut-off thresholds, researchers are left with general recommendations to consider (Matsunaga 2010). Initially, five items were considered for each PSM dimension scale. The top three items in each scale were retained due to their prominence in the literature, significant groupings in this study, and the guidelines set forth by Diamantopoulos et al. (2012) that multi-item scales contain a minimum of three items. The purpose of this confirmatory factor analysis,

therefore, is to ensure that composite scores are created to represent key dimensions identified by Perry's (1997) study, variables with the highest explanatory power are retained, and to differentiate between strong and weak factor loadings when interpreting results. Because the Normative Fix Index, Comparative Fix Index, and Tucker Lewis Index of this four-factor solution were greater than 0.95 and the RMSEA was less than 0.06, the model has been deemed significant and valid for further testing.

<u>Correlation Matrix</u>

Table 8 presents means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for all PSM dimensions and independent variables. Researchers warn that issues with multicollinearity may arise if independent variables are too highly correlated. The threshold for determining an appropriate correlation cutoff point is typically placed at .60 or higher (Rubin 2012). The highest inter-correlation of independent variables in this study is -.27 (regarding the relationship between respondents' education in 2007 and parental socialization during youth). Since this correlation value is far below the .60 threshold, problems arising from multicollinearity are considered to be minimal or absent from this study.

[INSERT Table 8 ABOUT HERE]

<u>Crosstabulation</u>

Next, crosstabulations and Chi-square (χ^2) statistics were calculated for nominal and ordinal independent variables to surmise general associations and patterns across all five models of PSM. While an assortment of variables had been used prior to this point, continuous variables were collapsed into categorical variables when performing bivariate crosstabulation. Results from these analyses can be found in **Table 9**. Afterwards, OLS regression analyses were run along dimensions with ALL independent variables (including continuous variables) in their

original form to determine if the association and strength of variable relationships were held constant or had been diluted when other explanatory variables were taken into consideration. Differences found across samples will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[INSERT Table 9 ABOUT HERE]

MANOVA and OLS Regression

Thirteen dependent variables were chosen to represent the four dimensions of PSM in this study. It has been demonstrated that "under most conditions typically encountered in practical applications, multi-item scales clearly outperform single items in terms of predictive validity" in empirical research (Diamantopoulos et al. 2012, 434). Therefore, these 13 dependent variables were collapsed into composite score indices consistent with factor loadings as described in the confirmatory factor analysis section. Consequently, a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was conducted in SPSS 23 in order to create a composite PSM variable derived from the 13 dependent PSM variables. This was done by separating dependent variables by latent constructs and then multiplying each variable value by their raw, unstandardized beta weights, which resulted in a canonically derived super-variable revealing composite scores for each respondent in Sample Group 4. This procedure also was used separately to create composite variables to represent each of the four dimensions. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was then conducted to generate five models for each of these variables. Regression results examining the new variable public service experience based on cumulative work experience (1997-2007) can be found in **Table 10**; for theoretical comparison, regression results based on current sector experience (2007) can be found in **Table 11.** It is noteworthy that the significance of relationships are consistent across both tables. Regression results are discussed next.

[INSERT Table 10 AND Table 11 ABOUT HERE]

Subsequently, additional OLS regressions were conducted to examine potential differences among individuals with professional experience in various forms of public service organizations. For the first regression, three dummy variables were created to separate effects of each public service organization type: public, nonprofit, and military. Looking at effects for individuals with experience in each sector relative to other sectors will make it possible to tease out differences in the size and interactions between individuals with experience in each sector and PSM. Results for this analysis can be found in **Table 12**.

[INSERT Table 12 ABOUT HERE]

Finally, a last round of regression analyses was conducted to dive deeper in to the effects seen in previous regressions in order to determine whether differences along the lines of PSM dimension and *each* of the three types of public service organizations exist (see **Table 13**). By examining respondents more narrowly, based on primary sector of public service experience, a greater degree of inferences can be made for organizational influence based on variances observed in independent variables across dimensions *and* work experience.

[INSERT Table 13 ABOUT HERE]

CHAPTER 4: Findings

Analysis 1: Comparing cross-tabulations with OLS regression models

Cross-tabulations were calculated to compare results with OLS regression output in order to determine if the introduction of additional explanatory variables may have influenced the strength of a particular variable's relationship to the dependent variable. Overall, most relationships observed in cross-tabulations maintained the same level of significance when analyzed on OLS. In this study, a standard of α=.90 was adopted, whereby p-values under .10 are considered statistically significant to varying degrees; p<0.01 offers overwhelming evidence in favor of a hypothesis, p-values between 0.01 and 0.05 offer strong evidence in favor of a hypothesis, p-values between 0.05 and 0.10 offer weak evidence in favor of a hypotheses, and p-values greater than 0.10 offer no evidence in favor of a hypothesis. In cases where p-values are less than 0.10, the null hypothesis will be rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis.

In the PSM composite model, all independent variables (public service experience, relationship to parents/household guardian(s), religiosity, education, and job satisfaction) except two: gender and income were not found to be statistically significant when cross-tabulated (review **Table 9**). When run as an OLS regression, income joined the list of other variables which exhibited a statistically significant relationship—albeit the strength of the relationship was only marginally significant (at the p<.10 level). In the APM cross-tabulation model, public service experience, relationship to household guardian(s), religiosity, gender, education, and income were statistically significant (job satisfaction was the exception); in the OLS regression, the relationship between income and APM no longer showed statistical significance. In the CPI analyses, all independent variables maintained identical levels of significance in both crosstabulations and OLS regression. In the COM analyses, crosstabulations revealed that public

service experience, religiosity, gender, and education were statistically significant. The largest

set of differences was observed when analyzing the final dimension, SS, where crosstabulations

held that all variables except for relationship to household guardians were strongly significant;

OLS regression dropped gender and job satisfaction as significant explanatory variables (review

Table 10). Interpretations of changes in variable observations via different methods will be

incorporated in the next section for each variable when interpreting regression output.

Analysis 2: Comparing current sector with cumulative work experience

The primary independent variable, public service experience—which measured whether

or not respondents had work experience in public, nonprofit, or military organizations over a 10-

year period (1997-2007)—demonstrated a positive, statistically significant association with PSM

in all five models, thus confirming all five key hypotheses (H, H1, H2, H3, and H4). It is

important to note that substituting current sector for public service experience produced nearly

identical results (review **Table 11**); all five hypotheses were confirmed in either case—revealing

that results from this model do not differ significantly from findings from previous studies which

conducted convenience samples or selected respondents based on current jobs they held. Given

that scholars often look at individuals' current sector of employment, these similarities indicate

that public service experience is an appropriate measure for sector experience and, as indicated

by higher correlation coefficient values, may even hold higher explanatory power than simply

looking at current sector of employment; consequently, all further analyses in this study will

examine cumulative public service experience. Table 14 includes a summary table of hypotheses

and results.

[INSERT **Table 14** ABOUT HERE]

The second independent variable in this study—relationship to household guardian(s) (a precursor to parental socialization)—measured the potential degree of influence respondents' parents may have had in their lives during high school. This was determined based on living arrangements during the initial survey year (1997), when respondents were ages 12 to 16. Respondents were asked to identify their relationship with adults in the household. This study predicted that youth living with both biological parents would have the opportunity for a greater degree of parental socialization than respondents who lived with only one biological parent or in the custody of other adults (e.g. foster parents, grandparents, etc.). OLS regression results indicate that this covariate has a statistically significant impact on overall PSM and the APM subscale; youth living with one or more biological parents during high school were more likely to exhibit greater PSM than those in other household living arrangements. No relationship was established between parental socialization and CPI, COM, or SS in crosstabulations or OLS regression; therefore H5 received mixed support based on different dimensions of PSM.

Next, this study found a positive relationship between the frequency of respondents' self-reported religiosity (as designated by church involvement) and PSM across all five models. This demonstrates that the more frequently respondents attended church, the more likely they were to score higher in all measures of PSM. These findings overwhelmingly support H6, which posits that young adults with stronger religious associations are more likely to exhibit higher levels of PSM than their peers.

According to OLS regression results, gender was not a significant factor in overall PSM, CPI, or SS, but it was statistically significant in two other models: APM and COM. OLS regression analyses reveal that men are more likely to have higher APM than women (consistent with the findings of Perry, 1997), but that women are more likely to score higher on the COM

subscale than men. Thus, there is mixed evidence to support H7 (women scored higher on the affective motive of COM, but not SS or the norm-based motive of CPI); H8 is supported.

Consistent with previous studies, this study found education to be strongly and positively associated with PSM in all models ($\rho<.01$). Respondents with higher levels of education were more likely to score higher on PSM overall, APM, CPI, COM, and SS. These results confirm hypothesis 9 and are consistent with Perry's (1997) prediction that education would have a strong positive association with PSM.

Because of the nature of this study, which examines work experience rather than selecting respondents based on a convenience sample or using the organizations in which respondents are currently employed as a unit of analysis, no predictions were made for the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. Results from OLS regression indicate that job satisfaction significantly corresponds with PSM along two dimensions: CPI and SS. Job satisfaction and CPI were positively associated, indicating that individuals with public service experience tend to exhibit higher CPI than those without. Surprisingly, job satisfaction and SS were negatively associated. Therefore, while no hypotheses were presented, there is some evidence to indicate that the interplay between job satisfaction and PSM need further investigation.

Since income has garnered mixed results in past studies, no predictions were made for income. Although largely anticipated to hold a positive association, mixed or insignificant results have been the chief characterization of this covariate. Income was positively associated with PSM across four of the five models (COM was negative), but only overall PSM and SS were statistically significant when associated with income.

Analysis 3: Intra-group analysis of public service organizations

In examining general differences among young adults with experience in public service organizations, a difference in sample size is noted; the largest group (n=456) held public sector experience, the second largest (n=305) nonprofit experience, and the smallest group (n=98) indicated military service. In an intra-group analysis of public service organizations, dummy variables were created for each of type of public service organization (review **Table 12**). Public sector experience was a significant factor across all models, while nonprofit and military experience were significant in most (four of five) models. In comparing Betas (β) among different types of public service organizations, military service had the greatest effect across all models—with Betas typically twice as large as public sector when significant. In the composite model, for example, individuals with a record of military service typically scored .640 points higher on overall PSM, while individuals who have been employed nonprofit organizations or in the public sector tended to score .323 and .228 points higher in PSM than the rest of their peers in Sample Group 4.

Further analyses were conducted by effectively running multiple regression models differentiating along the lines of PSM dimension and *each* of the three types of public service organizations (review **Table 13**). By examining respondents more closely based on primary sector of public service experience, a greater degree of inferences can be made based on variances observed in independent variables across dimensions *and* work experience. In this analysis, overall PSM was only positive and significant for individuals with public and nonprofit work experience; military experience was not significantly related to PSM. Interestingly, individuals with experience in public organizations or military service were more likely to exhibit higher APM, but individuals with nonprofit experience had no significant relation. Only

public or military service was strongly associated with individuals' CPI, while only public sector and nonprofit work experience was associated with higher COM. When broken down in to smaller subgroups (n=456, 305, and 98), none of the public service groups individually accounted for the strong, positive association between professional public service experience and SS seen in previous regression models.

Aside from public service experience, two independent variables which consistently demonstrated strong, positive associations with PSM in past analyses were still strong and significant across all dimensions and sectors—but with slight aberrations. It was found in this analysis that religiosity always held a strong, positive association with in individuals with public sector experience across all dimensions except for APM; individuals with work experience in the public sector were more likely to identify as more spiritual than their peers who did not. Likewise, individuals with nonprofit experience also showed a strong, positive association with religiosity across most dimensions—with the exception of APM and SS. Conversely, we see from these analyses that military experience has no significant association with religiosity whatsoever; individuals with military service are neither more nor less likely to be religious.

When affiliation with public service organizations was broken down in to smaller subgroups, the only group which seemed to be influenced along gender dimensions were individuals with public sector experience in relation to compassion; there was strong evidence to indicate that women with public sector experience exhibit higher COM than men. Interestingly, individuals with nonprofit experience exhibited a negative, but insignificant, association with COM while the military model was not significant enough to include in this analysis. In relation to APM (the other dimension in which gender demonstrated a significant role), there was evidence to support that men typically score higher than women across all public service sectors

individually (as previously related), but when broken down in to smaller sample sizes the statistical significance of this association is lost; therefore, this relationship is only manifested when taken in sum or with a larger sample size.

Relationship to household guardian(s), a precursor to parent socialization, was found significant in the overall and APM models, although only one subgroup in each model demonstrated statistical significance when examined separately. Individuals with experience in all three public service types of public service organizations who lived with biological parents in high school demonstrated higher overall PSM than their peers with other kinds of living arrangements, but only those with military experience had a statistically strong, direct tendency to exhibit higher overall PSM with regarding to this antecedent; other models were insignificant when sample sizes were reduced. Similarly, only one group—those with public sector experience—achieved a clear, statistically significant association with relationship to household guardian(s) when separated from other types of public service organizations in the APM model.

The statistical significance of the first of the final two covariates—job satisfaction—was weakened when the sample sizes were reduced; only those with nonprofit experience maintained statistical significance in the overall and CPI models. Results for the final covariate—income— were the most volatile (in terms of positive and negative associations) and in achieving statistical significance across groups. Consistent with all previous analyses in this study, income held a strong, positive association with public servants in SS, but the only intra-group model considered here (on the basis of model significance) was the public sector; results clearly show that individuals with public sector experience who receive higher earnings tend to exhibit stronger SS. The Beta for income in the public servant SS model was, in fact, the highest among all covariates—indicating that, among the factors presented in that analysis, income demonstrates

the strongest link with SS among young adults with public sector experience. Uniquely, two previously insignificant findings regarding income were uncovered when public service groups were further divided; there is evidence to support that individuals with nonprofit experience who report higher earnings tend to score higher on APM, while individuals with military experience who report higher earnings are more likely than their peers to score higher on CPI. Additionally, income demonstrated a negative association (albeit never significant) with each sector and across the various forms of PSM across roughly half of the models tested here. Given the high volatility of income, as demonstrated by these results, there is little wonder why it has produced so few hypotheses and few significant findings in PSM studies over the past two-and-a-half decades.

CHAPTER 5: Fostering PSM in a Broad Spectrum of Organizational Environments

This study went beyond a strictly dichotomous approach by examining motivational differences in individuals in a variety of organizational settings. First, it explored whether young adults with work experience in public service organizations, as a whole, express higher levels of PSM than their peers who held experience solely in the private, for-profit sector. Strong evidence was found that differences do, indeed, exist; young public service professionals were more likely to exhibit higher PSM, across all dimensions, than their private sector counterparts. Second, this study contributed to the literature by exploring whether or not young adults with experience in public, nonprofit, and military organizations express similar levels of PSM across dimensions. Although military service indisputably embodies the nature of public service, individuals working in this type of organizational setting had largely been ignored in past PSM studies (Ngaruiya et al. 2014); until now, individuals with military experience had never been compared alongside those with public and nonprofit work experience. Results from this study indicate that differences in PSM do exist in different types of public service organizations—as well as in relation to several covariates. Discussion about key findings are presented here.

In addition to offering strong support through a new source of data drawn from a national survey which confirms that individuals with public service experience tend to exhibit higher PSM (hypotheses H-H4 were confirmed), this study's crucial contribution to the literature is that it uncovered intra-group differences in levels of PSM among different types of public service organizations; not all public service organizations foster the same dimensions of PSM equally. Overall, individuals with predominant work experience in public organizations exhibit higher-than-average PSM along all dimensions when compared with their peers in the regular sample, but to a lesser degree than those with work experience in nonprofit and military organizations.

Young adults with professional experience in nonprofits exhibited a positive proclivity towards greater expressions of overall PSM, CPI, COM, and SS than the general sample, but they did not exhibit a greater or lesser degree of APM than their peers—indicating that individuals with experience in nonprofit organizations do not exhibit a stronger attraction to policymaking. Similarly, individuals with military experience displayed strong, positive expressions of PSM across all dimensions except COM—indicating that individuals with public service experience in military organizations are neither more or less likely to exhibit greater levels of compassion than their peers in the private sector or those in other public service professions.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the order of predominant effects along dimensions varied based on organizational experience. Referencing **Table 12**, GenXers and Millennials in this survey with public sector experience tended to exhibit PSM firstly through the dimension of CPI (β=.191), followed by COM (β=.123), SS (β=.116), and finally APM (β=.111). On the other hand, the dimension chiefly expressed by those with nonprofit experience was SS (β=.290), followed by CPI (β=.235) and COM (β=.190). Finally, individuals with military service were most likely to exhibit greater SS (β=.502) followed by CPI (β=.420) and lastly APM (β=.418). This indicates that the superlative manifestation of PSM varies based on organizational environment; those with public sector experience tend to express PSM firstly through greater CPI, while those with nonprofit and military experience have a greater proclivity to towards exhibiting SS followed by other dimensions.

Moreover, based on effect size, this study uncovers that in all instances of statistical significance individuals with military service are most likely to have higher overall PSM and three of its four dimensions (excluding COM) across-the-board, followed by individuals with

experience in nonprofit organizations, and finally public sector organizations—all of which, have a propensity to exhibit higher PSM than young adults with professional experience solely in private organizations. Even still, PSM is also present in individuals with private-sector experience, though often to a lesser degree. The permeating presence of PSM in a wide array of individuals and organizational environments should motivate scholars to encourage, enhance, and enable the expression of this "value or attitude that motivates individuals to engage in behaviors that benefit society," (Gould-Williams, Mostafa, and Bottomley 2013, 3) within each organizational context so that it can spread to the community at-large.

This makes PSM an important consideration given the difference in generational overtones of this rising segment of the U.S. labor force: the workplace doesn't define Millennials to the degree that it did previous generations (Moore 2014). Millennials are constantly seeking purpose and place utmost supremacy on leading a balanced life. "They want to be happy at home and happy on the job—money is somewhat secondary," (Moore 2014). Millennials long to be part of something bigger than themselves, and they're not afraid to walk away from an organization that doesn't deliver. It is therefore important that employers—and particularly those providing public goods and services—functioning within the context of this dominant labor market segment seek to motivate beyond pay and benefits to afford more opportunities for helping these young professionals realize their purpose within the organizational environment. PSM also plays an essential role within the framework of democratic societies; in order for a democracy to function effectively, citizens at-large must be willing to exhibit prosocial attitudes and engage in altruistic behavior to some extent.

Using data from Phase IV of the National Administrative Studies Project, Coursey, Yang, and Pandey (2012) found evidence to suggest a direct, positive relationship exists between PSM

and citizen participation evaluation. A key finding under this study was that managers with low PSM have values that are not very compatible with citizen participation. This is an often overlooked role of PSM: strengthening democratic civilization through the individuals and public service institutions which maintain it.

Relationship to household guardian(s)

The second independent variable in this study was relationship to parents or household guardian(s). This was designed as a precursor to parental socialization. It measured the potential degree of influence respondents' parents may have had in their lives during formative years in high school based on living arrangements during the initial survey year (1997), when respondents were teenagers. This study predicted that youth living with biological parents would have a greater opportunity for influence via parent socialization than respondents in some other type of living arrangements. As predicted, youth living with one or more biological parents during high school were more likely to exhibit greater overall PSM. No relationship was established between parental socialization and CPI, COM, or SS in cross-tabulations or OLS regression. In the intra-group analysis, it was further revealed that, concerning PSM overall, relationship to household guardian was only significant for individuals with military experience and regarding APM: only young adults with public sector experience had a positive, statistically significant association with this antecedent. Therefore, hypothesis 5 received only partial support. A more precise measure of parent socialization which captures parental modeling of altruistic behavior would be preferable, and would be more likely to find greater levels of significance across models of PSM in future studies, if, indeed, there are more to be found. Otherwise, it may be inferred that parental socialization may not be as strong an influence as supposed when studied in the young adults of today.

Religiosity

Among covariates, findings of a strong, positive association between PSM and religiosity were largely consistent with past expectations; hypothesis 6 was supported in the public service versus private sector analysis. When mapping out antecedents, Perry (1997) initially expected such a relationship, but was surprised when his study produced a negative association between church involvement and PSM. Since then, relatively few studies have tried to examine this relationship. An absence of scrutinizing the role of religion within public administration has been noted by PSM scholars, who also underscore the uneasiness of postmodernists concerning the inclusion of religion (Houston, Freeman, and Feldman 2008).

Using a straight forward question—how often respondents attended worship services in 2007, which was also used in a study by Perry et al. (2008)—this study analyzes religion simply on the basis of frequency of attendance, which is a form of behavior. In this study a positive effect was observed between religiosity and all PSM models, indicating that more research is needed to better understand the effect of this variable, especially given the complicated relationship between religious activity and PSM and its identification as "one of the strongest PSM predictors in the structural equations," (Perry et al. 2008, 453). Given that many nonprofits organizations (not including in other studies, but included in this study) are affiliated with religious institutions, there is little wonder that this association had the largest visibility in individuals with nonprofit work experience. An auxiliary level of analysis may also be undertaken to consider whether or not there are differences in the expression of PSM in individuals employed in religious and secular nonprofits.

Gender

Regarding gender: results from this study offer mixed support for hypothesis 7 and further support the findings of DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey (2006), whose survey of 274 public managers in state health and human service agencies revealed that gender had no association with CPI, while they found that women scored higher on the COM subscale. It is important to note that this study also offers support for hypothesis 8, which diverges from the findings of DeHart-Davis and colleagues (2006) on the APM subscale. This is unsurprising, considering that DeHart-Davis et al. first hypothesized that this rational-based motive would be more appealing to men, given the "game-like nature of the policy process" which places a greater emphasis on self and individuality than the other three dimensions (875). Although Johnson (2010) and DeHart-Davis et al (2006) found seemingly conflicting results (i.e. that women have a stronger APM than men) from the findings of this study (i.e. that men have a stronger APM than women), these differences may be attributable to the nature of the questions; both studies used the same negatively worded items to measure respondents' attraction to policy making (i.e. "Politics is a dirty word", "The give and take of public policy making does not appeal to me", and "I don't care much for politicians"), whereas questions drawn from the NLSY97 were neither positive or negative—they were designed to directly gauge respondents' level of interest in specific policy making activities.

Education

Most, if not all, studies that have used education as a control variable have predicted it to have a positive association with PSM (e.g. Moynihan and Pandey 2007). Similarly, Lee and Kim (2014) found that PSM increased for respondents with education above the graduate school level. No instances have been found where education has a negative association with PSM, therefore it

is largely unsurprising that hypothesis 9 was supported; education demonstrated the single most important influence among covariates across PSM dimensions and organizational contexts. It is interesting to note that in the intra-group analysis, the relationship between education and APM was positive and significant across all three types of public service organizations, whereas no other variable in that model demonstrated such high consistency and explanatory power. This leads one to reason that education may be the single most relevant predictor of an individual's APM—regardless of organizational setting.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction has been one of the most intensively studied workplace attitudes and job dissatisfaction has been linked with many negative consequences (Liu, Tang, and Yang 2015). No direct relationship between sector of employment and job satisfaction has been observed in past studies (e.g. Wright 2001), but scholars have generally found evidence that job satisfaction and public service motivation have a positive, significant relationship (Brewer and Selden 1998; Naff and Crum 1999; Park and Rainey 2008; Steijn 2008; J. Taylor 2008; Teo et al. 2016). Given the likelihood of the potential influence of other, moderating factors (such as the extent to which individuals view their organization, work, or activity) on behaviors and attitudes, the assumption of a simple direct relationship between PSM and job satisfaction may be too trite (Liu, Tang, and Yang 2015), but is generally presupposed nonetheless. Because of the nature of this study, which examines work experience rather than selecting respondents based on a convenience sample or based on the specific organizations in which they are currently employed, no predictions were made for the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. Given that the dynamic nature of the relationship between job satisfaction and PSM has produced nuanced results, this

entanglement would be best sorted out in a longitudinal study which can determine to what degree changes in one variable influence the other.

Income

Income consistently demonstrated a strong, positive association with SS in every model of every analysis (bivariate and regression). Other dimensions produced mixed findings when different variables were introduced in regression models. These mixed findings are generally expected given the overall mixed results scholars have had when using income as a control variable over the years. DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey (2006) found income (coded 1 = less than $50,000 per year; 2 = $50,000 – $75,000 per year; 3 = $75,000 – $100,000 per year; 4 = $100,000 – $150,000 per year; or 5 = $150,000 or more per year) had no statistical significance on any of the three dimensions they examined: APM, CPI, and COM. In a survey of 1,393 Korean civil servants, C. Lee and Kim (2014) found their control variable for income (coded into 5 categories: (1) Below 299 MW; (2) 300-499; (3) Above 500 MW; and (4) More than 500 MW) "had significantly negative relationships with three dimensions of PSM change, namely overall PSM, CPI and SS," (120). Given the difference in income scales and the difficulty to applying an income scale in any multi-national scale of PSM, it is recommended here that future studies forgo using income as a covariate in lieu of other career achievement measures, such as management level, organizational tenure, or industry and workforce experience.

Strengths

This study is brings several major contributions to the discussion of PSM. First, it makes a strong case in acknowledging the influential role key antecedents and sector experience have on PSM when considered as a dependent variable as uncovered by Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2013) and Schott and Pronk (2014) through the lens of cumulative work experience. Second, it includes

a composite score as well as multi-item scales used to represent all of the four dimensions

developed in Perry's (1996; 1997) foundational concept, while studies which do undertake these

dimensions typically do not include all four. Third, it helps to alleviate concerns of data

dependency (Homberg, McCarthy, and Tabvuma 2015), by introducing a new source of national

data—the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997

(NLSY97), as suggested (Boyne 2002; Petrovsky and Ritz 2014). Forth, this study includes the

overlooked—but important—segments of military and nonprofit workers in its examination of

public service organizations (Lyons, Duxbury, and Higgins 2006; Pandey, Wright, and

Moynihan 2008; Grant 2008; J. Taylor 2010; Y. Lee and Wilkins 2011; C.-A. Chen 2012; Y. Lee

2012; Rose 2013) and advances the literature by comparing them side-by-side. Fifth, it takes

respondents' work history into account by looking at respondents' public service experience

instead of classifying them simply based on a convenience sample or their *current sector* of

employment—examples of the few studies which do this to a lesser degree include DeHart-

Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey 2006a; Feeney 2008; Bozeman and Ponomariov 2009; Georgellis

and Tabvuma 2010). Sixth, it helps academics investigate key motivational characteristics of a

rising generation of public service professionals (Gen-Xers and Millennials) who now constitute

more than half (68%) of the U.S. labor force (R. Fry 2015) and are expected to continue to grow

in number as they continue replacing retiring Baby Boomers (Lewis and Frank 2002; Perry and

Buckwalter 2010; Brewer and Brewer 2011; Rose 2013). Next, the wide spectrum of

organizations (public service and otherwise) which were surveyed nationally offers results with

high generalizability to multiple professions within predominant organizational frameworks,

instead of focusing on aspects of one profession (e.g. state auditors) in one or two geographical

locations which may act within a tightly constructed social code or culture incongruent with

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other public service professions. Finally, this study has a larger sample size (n=1,848) than most PSM studies—while equally representing both those with and without public service experience.

[INSERT Table 15 ABOUT HERE]

Limitations

With that said, it is important to note possible limitations of this method of evaluation (see **Table 15** for an abridged list). First, it is assumed that all respondents have an equal opportunity to engage in the same types of prosocial behavior; whereas this may not be true for a single mom, for example, who, due to time constraints, differences in socio-economic status or family responsibilities, may have high prosocial attitudes but may not always be able to express it through altruistic behavior as defined in this study (e.g. volunteering or donating blood). Next, while Perry, Hondeghem, and Wise (2010) found survey-based measures for PSM research to be "useful for facilitating comparisons across disparate services and national settings, informing research in other disciplines, and creating foundations for cumulating results" (683), they also warned that the results of empirical analyses may not be fully comparable across studies. While Perry, Hondeghem, and Wise's (2010) first concern should be lessened because of the large sample size (n=1,848) drawn from a national survey (the NLSY97), their assertion that secondary data not as equipped to capture all components of PSM is recognized. The unit of analysis in the NLSY97 is the individual, which restricts the ability to further analyze additional variables drawn from the organizational environment. Despite this concern, other scholars have justified the explanatory power of secondary data. Noting that nearly half of published studies used "a single item measure asking about the individual's interest in social service or helping others" to measure PSM, Wright and Christensen (2010, 163) justified using pre-existing panel studies because "it is consistent with both the general conceptualization of PSM and one of its

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most commonly used operationalizations" (164). Despite such limitations, rather than discouraging the use of secondary data, respected PSM scholars, such as Perry, Hondeghem, and Wise (2010), are united in advising scholars to "pursue efforts to achieve converging meanings and recognize differences in measurement and definition when interpreting findings," (683). Finally, given that some studies have found prosocial inclinations to decline with tenure (Buurman et al. 2012), another round of PSM questions will need to be repeated in future NLSY97 surveys in order to further scrutinized this nuanced relationship over time. Despite this limitation, the empirical insight offered into the motivational characteristics of this escalating generation of workers will provide valuable insight in to PSM's connection with employment interest, which can aid public service recruitment, selection, and retention efforts of young-and-rising public service professionals (Paarlberg and Lavigna 2010; Kernaghan 2011; Buurman and Dur 2012; Rose 2013).

Conclusion

By investigating motivational differences in individuals in a variety of organizational settings, this study goes beyond strictly a dichotomous approach in examining PSM. This study raised the question: "Do young adults with work experience in public service organizations express higher levels of PSM than young adults holding experience solely in the private, for-profit sector?" and found evidence that it did. Subsequently, this study contributed to the literature by asking: "Do young adults with experience in public, nonprofit, and military organizations express similar levels of PSM across dimensions?" and uncovered evidence that differences in PSM exist in different types of public service organizations—as well as in relation to several covariates.

Recommendations for future research

Based on the findings of this study, future recommendations are offered here. First, the important finding that individuals with military experience were most likely to have higher overall PSM should be eminent. Rarely studied or analyzed in light of influences by other types of public service institutions—the omission of this group of individuals has been a blind spot in PSM research which should no longer be overlooked. Given that respondents with military service typically scored higher across all PSM dimensions than other individuals (including those with experience in nonprofit organizations and those traditionally scrutinized in public sector organizations), inclusion of this segment of the workforce population is important when formalizing a construct of PSM which can apply to a broader base of individuals—both domestically and internationally. Given that only a handful of PSM studies have ever included military service members in their analyses, and especially alongside other public service professionals (exceptions include Bellé and Ongaro 2014; Ngaruiya et al. 2014), these findings offer evidence to solidify the assertion that future studies should include military service members in a broader spectrum of public service organizations. It would also be appropriate, given the findings, to consider military service the highest form of public service, which is consistent with the characterization which casts on public service as a calling (Lyons, Duxbury, and Higgins 2006). By recognizing differences in public service organizations, PSM offers a unique perspective to understand work performance and effective motivational penchants (Houston 2006) through the lens of a Theory Y managerial perspective.

Asserting that PSM is "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," (Vandenabeele 2007, 547), a deeper

understanding of how to foster PSM against the backdrop of a variety of organizational contexts and types of individuals is an important next step. Understanding, for example, that women in public sector organizations tend to have a stronger sense of compassion should help focus strategic resources and activities within such organizations on designing feedback loops which ensure that such individuals have a plethora of opportunities to interact with public service recipients and engage in acts of compassion through service delivery mechanisms.

An example of how this can be applied practically within an organizational environment is Bakker's (2015) job demands-resources approach to PSM. His model proposes that "daily experiences of exhaustion and work engagement influence overall levels of PSM," (7)—resulting in cross-level main effects in which daily experiences accumulate over a period time and influence individuals' PSM in the long-run. Bakker (2015) posited that public servants are influenced by their own performance: those performing well and delivering good service, are more likely to stay motivated, whereas employees with consistently high job demands and insufficient resources may initially enter the public service profession with a sense of calling and highly motivated in the beginning, but this gap will deplete their psychological resources on a daily basis, thus resulting in lower PSM over time. Consequently, a decrease in PSM may in turn reinforce the loss cycle of job demands, exhaustion, and self-undermining—thus weakening the gain cycle of job resources, engagement, and proactive behavior. To avoid this, a connection should be made between routine occupational tasks and good performance, which, in turn, can signal that things went well and may act as feedback that further fuels motivation. In addition to recommending that managers pay attention to employees' daily levels of job demands and resources through the lens of performance feedback, transformational leadership, and task significance rather than simply relying on annual measures such as performance appraisals,

Bakker (2015) recommended that managers ascertain which specific job resources are offered to employees on a daily basis. This regular interaction can help ensure that jobs are designed to offer multiple channels of support, task variety, performance feedback, and sufficient job control in order to offer public service professionals daily autonomy to craft their own jobs.

Building on this, it is suggested here that public service professionals—and especially those serving in organizations which provide a public good or service designed to improve the health or wellbeing of a vulnerable population (e.g. recipients of Medicare, Medicaid, SNAP, etc.)—openly cultivate channels for direct two-way communication between public service professionals and recipients whenever possible. The significant relationship between compassion and women found here is consistent, for example, with findings of a recent report from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2014): women represent the majority of workers in most U.S. health occupations (27 of 32)—accounting for more than 80 percent of workers in nearly half (15 of 32) of the occupations which were identified to represent the health workforce. Because the essence of healthcare is built on the core value of compassion, allowing those responsible for providing public goods and services which are compassionate by nature more opportunities to positively engage recipients may forge a connection between daily tasks which bolsters PSM through the dimension of compassion, whereas keeping such tasks in isolation may cause public service professionals to become bogged down in routine, seemingly monotonous tasks—leading them to feel disconnected from the mission of the organization. By designing meaningful feedback loops to foster forms of PSM which are highly congruent within particular organizational contexts (e.g. compassion in healthcare administration organizations), public service professionals are empowered to engage in more meaningful work experiences—a key intent of McGregor's (1957) Theory Y managerial approach. As a result, using strategic steps to

complement PSM in different organizational settings can help alleviate the burden of administrative constraints while increasing performance and promoting community-minded behavior.

PSM has been touted as an alternative to New Public Management (NPM) in dealing with perceived problems associated with principal-agent models under rational choice theory (Pratchett and Wingfield 1996; Lyons, Duxbury, and Higgins 2006; Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007; Perry and Buckwalter 2010; Stensöta 2010; Bellé and Ongaro 2014). Unlike PSM, which seeks to identify and nurture individuals' intrinsic motivation for performing public service, prescriptions made under NPM typically call for methods of measurement or control consistent with the Theory X managerial perspective which can further constrain the actions of public servants via explicit pay-for-performance incentives, threats, or other external controls (Paarlberg and Lavigna 2010; Bakker 2015; Lavigna 2015; Mostafa, Gould-Williams, and Bottomley 2015)—raising the possibility of potentially crowding out intrinsic work motivation (Georgellis, Iossa, and Tabvuma 2011). Behn (1995) pointed to a proliferation of rules and regulations enacted by legislative and executive branches designed to constrain inappropriate individual behavior within public organizations as a result of a lack of understanding over how civil servants could be effectively motivated to "do something right" (321). A better understanding of PSM, he believed, would curtail the tendency of legislative, executive, and politically-appointed actors to micromanage.

Recently, scholars have used findings pertaining to PSM when identifying tools (e.g. high-performance human resource practices) designed to foster intrinsic motivation in order to guide behavior within public service organizations. Consistent with past studies (Scott and Pandey 2005; Mostafa, Gould-Williams, and Bottomley 2015), this study has found evidence

that an individual's organizational environment is associated with different levels of PSM—also within the context of public service organizations. If PSM can be influenced by on-the-job factors, then the degree to which these factors hold sway becomes a matter of importance in determining effective administrative frameworks and managerial practices within the context of different public service environments.

It is also recommended that future studies recognize that not all public service jobs offer the same opportunity to satisfy the different types of intrinsic and extrinsic motivational needs individuals may have, and therefore future studies, if possible, which take both occupational locus (sectors) and occupational focus (occupations based on similar tasks performed—as described by Houston 2011) would be able to make specific recommendations for improving job designs to better cultivate PSM within individuals striving to better service the public interest.

In order to move the discussion forward, it is important that future studies adopt a more involved form of observation and measurement—preferably a nonrandom, quasi-experimental research design, with treatment and control groups, across the wide array of organizational environments examined here. Building on the findings presented in this study, which have uncovered differences in PSM characteristics as well as forms of expression based in a variety of organizational contexts, practical extrapolations on how to go about harnessing strategic resources and activities which will best augment the principal expressions of PSM found within each type of organizational setting (e.g. SS in nonprofit workers and military personnel) can be made based on observations under a quasi-experimental research design. In one of the handful of quasi-experimental studies conducted in PSM literature Grant (2008) hired 45 students to act as fundraising callers to university alumni on behalf of a large public university; callers in the intervention group (n=23) met with a fellowship recipient who spoke with them about how the

work they were doing had made a difference in her life while callers in the control group (n=22) did not have this inspirational talk. A month later, Grant (2008) reported that the amount of financial pledges obtained by the callers in the intervention group increased significantly, whereas levels of financial support obtained by callers in the control group did not. This led Grant (2008) to propose that public service jobs should be redesigned in order to provide more opportunities for contact with beneficiaries of their work—which, in turn, he proposed would lead to an increase in motivation.

In light of the findings presented here, it is interesting to consider which dimensions of PSM may be most affected by job design elements like the one Grant (2008) tested (e.g. opportunities for direct contact with beneficiaries)—SS or COM? If so, to what degree would this impact a wide spectrum of professionals (beyond the scope of college students) in the different organizational contexts studied here? While such answers are beyond the scope of this this study, it is certainly important that, in moving forward, researchers focus on gaining practical utility by helping construct feedback loops which ensure that individuals who tend to have higher expression of SS—in nonprofits, for example—have channels built in to the organization overall, as well as in key job designs, to provide a greater opportunity for cultivating this important expression of PSM. Giving professionals—especially in public service organizations—a plethora of opportunities to cultivate PSM through service delivery mechanisms and routine interactions would enable the creation of more meaningful work experience thus resulting in higher PSM.

Finally, studying a broad base of individuals which are not formally tied to traditional public administration is important in order to further recognize that (a) PSM is an individual attribute and therefore "it should have utility for studying the service motivations of people in a

variety of settings, not just public organizations" and (b) "a better understanding of PSM among citizens could be beneficial for conceptualizing how public responsibilities are devolved" across our democratic society (Perry et al. 2008, 446). In order for a democratic society to function effectively, citizens at-large must be willing to engage in the type of prosocial attitudes and altruistic behavior examined here to some extent. This underscores an often overlooked role of PSM: strengthening democratic civilization as well as the public service institutions which uphold it.

Figures

Antecedents	**Public Service Motivation**
(1) Parental socialization	(1) Attraction to public policymaking
(2) Religious socialization	(2) Commitment to the public interest and civic duty
(3) Professional identification	(3) Compassion
(4) Political ideology	(4) Self-sacrifice
(5) Individual demographic characteristics	
	Professional Work Experience
	(1) Public
	(2) Private
	(3) Nonprofit
	(4) Farm or Family Business
	(5) Military

Figure 1. Relationships Studied
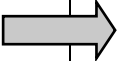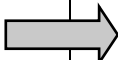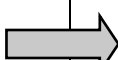
Motives	Dimensions
Rational →	• Attraction to public policymaking
Norm-based →	• Commitment to the public interest and civic duty
Affective →	• Compassion
	• Self-sacrifice

Figure 2. Types of Motives and PSM Dimensions

Tables

Table 1. Hypotheses

H   Young adults who have had professional public service experience will have <u>higher overall PSM</u> than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H1   Young adults who have had professional public service experience will have a <u>higher attraction to policy making</u> than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H2   Young adults who have had professional public service experience will exhibit a <u>higher commitment to the public interest and civic duty,</u> expressed through pro-social behavior, than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H3   Young adults who have had professional public service experience will express a <u>greater sense of compassion</u> for helping those in need than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H4   Young adults who have had professional public service experience will be <u>more willing to make personal sacrifices</u> to help the community than those who have only been employed in the private sector.

H5   Young adults who report <u>positive parental socialization during high school</u> are more likely to report higher levels of PSM across all dimensions than their peers.

H6   Young adults with <u>stronger religious associations</u> are more likely to exhibit higher levels of PSM than their peers.

H7   <u>Women</u> are more likely than men to exhibit higher levels of PSM for dimensions grounded in norm-based (commitment to the public interest and civic duty) and affective motives (compassion and self-sacrifice).

H8   <u>Men</u> are more likely than women to exhibit higher levels of PSM for dimensions (attraction to policy making) grounded in rational motives.

H9   Respondents with higher education are more likely to exhibit higher levels of PSM.

H10   Differences in the expression of PSM also exist between young adults with experience in public, nonprofit, and military organizations.

H11   Individuals with experience in nonprofit organizations will exhibit higher PSM than individuals with public sector work experience.

**Table 2. Population Characteristics of
NLSY97 in Initial Survey Year (1997)**

	Variable	Population
Gender	*Male*	51.2%
	Female	48.8%
Race	*White*	58.2%
	Black	26.6%
	Asian or Pacific Islander	11.8%
	American Indian	1.8%
	Hispanic	0.7%
Density	*Urban*	73.2%
	Rural	22.6%
Region	*Southern States*	37.4%
	North Central States	22.8%
	Western States	22.2%
	New England States	17.6%

Table 3. Sample Group by Independent Variables

Characteristic	Categories	Respondents
Public Service Experience	Private Sector Only	1293 (77.4%)
	Public Service Exp.	377 (22.6%)
Relationship of the Parent Figure(S)/ Guardian(S) in Household	No biological parents	110 (6.0%)
	One biological parent	849 (46.1%)
	Both biological parents	881 (47.9%)
How Often Attend Worship Service	Never	634 (35.2%)
	Once or twice	445 (24.7%)
	Less than once a month	201 (11.2%)
	About once a month	116 (6.4%)
	About twice a month	131 (7.3%)
	About once a week	187 (10.4%)
	Several times a week	81 (4.5%)
	Everyday	7 (.4%)
Gender	Male	925 (50.1%)
	Female	923 (49.9%)
Highest Degree Received	None	268 (14.5%)
	GED	167 (9.0%)
	High School Diploma	880 (47.6%)
	AA	141 (7.6%)
	BA, BS	354 (19.2%)
	MA, MS	26 (1.4%)
	PhD	1 (.1%)
	DDS, JD, MD	10 (.5%)
Income	Less than 20,000	689 (40.4%)
	$20,000 to $29,999	363 (21.3%)
	$30,000 to $39,999	292 (17.1%)
	$40,000 to $49,999	121 (7.1%)
	$50,000 or higher	241 (14.1%)

Table 4. PSM Latent Constructs and Corresponding Variables		
Latent Construct	**Variable**	**Label**
Attraction to Policy Making	S8645400	Interest in Government and Public Affairs
	T1069200	Community Participation: Voting
	T1069202	Community Participation: Reporting a Crime
	T1069203	Community Participation: Keeping Informed
Commitment to Public Interest & Civic Duty	T0739700	Frequency of Unpaid Volunteer Work
	T0739900	How Often Attend Community Group Meeting
	T0740000	Donated To A Cause In Last 12 Months?
Compassion	T1069100	People Should Help Less Fortunate
	T1069102	Helping People is Important To R
	T1069103	People Need to Look After Themselves
Self-Sacrifice	T1069000	Events of Past 12 Months - Donate Blood
	T1069001	Events of Past 12 Months - Give To Homeless
	T1069003	Events of Past 12 Months - Allow Cuts in Line

Table 5. Dependent Variables—PSM Dimensions and Variable Questions

Attraction to public policymaking

1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

(0) Hardly at All
(1) Only Now and Then
(2) Some of the Time
(3) Most of the Time

2. Here are some ways that we can participate in our society. Please tell me if you think it is very important to do these things, somewhat important to do these things, or not at all important to do these things:
a. Vote in elections?
b. Report a crime you may have witnessed?
c. Keep fully informed about news and public issues?

(0) Not at all Important
(1) Somewhat Important
(2) Very Important

Commitment to Public Interest and Civic Duty

1. In the last 12 months, how often did you do any unpaid volunteer work, including activities aimed at changing social conditions, such as work with educational groups, environmental groups, landlord/tenant groups, or other consumer groups, women's groups or minority groups?

(0) Never
(1) 1-4 times
(2) 5-11 times
(3) 12 times or more

2. In the last 12 months, how often have you attended a meeting or event for a political, environmental, or community group?

(0) Never
(1) 1-4 times
(2) 5-11 times
(3) 12 times or more

3. In the last 12 months, have you donated money to a political, environmental, or community cause?

(0) No
(1) Yes

Compassion for Others

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:
a. "People should be willing to help others who are less fortunate."
b. "Personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me."
c. "These days people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about others."

(0) Strongly Disagree
(1) Disagree
(2) Neither Agree/Disagree
(3) Agree
(4) Strongly Agree

Self-Sacrifice

During the past 12 months, have you even once…
a. Donated blood?
b. Given food or money to a homeless person?
c. Allowed a stranger to go ahead of you in line?

(0) No
(1) Yes

Table 6. Independent Variable Coding Key

Work Experience

At [this employer] [are/were] you employed by government, by a PRIVATE company, a nonprofit organization or [are/were] you working WITHOUT pay in a family business or farm or [are/were] you a member of the Armed Forces?	*(1) Government* *(2) Private for-profit company* *(3) Nonprofit organizations* *(4) Working WITHOUT PAY in a family business or farm* *(5) Member of the Armed Forces*

Relationship to Parents or Household Guardian(s)

Relationship of the parent figure(s)/guardian(s) in household to the youth as of the survey date (1997).	*(1) No biological parents* *(2) One biological parent* *(3) Both biological parents*

Religiosity

In the past 12 months, how often have you attended a worship service like a church or synagogue service, or a service at a mosque?	*(1) Never* *(2) Once or twice* *(3) Less than once a month* *(4) About once a month* *(5) About twice a month* *(6) About once a week* *(7) Several times a week* *(8) Everyday*

Individual Demographic Characteristics

Gender	*(1) Male* *(2) Female*
What is the highest educational degree you have ever received? (2007)	*(1) None* *(2) GED* *(3) High school diploma* *(4) Associate/Junior college* *(5) Bachelor's degree* *(6) Master's degree* *(7) PhD* *(8) Professional degree*
Which of the following best describes how you [feel/felt] about your job with [this employer]? (Coding reversed for this study)	*(1) Like it very much* *(2) Like it fairly well* *(3) Think it is OK* *(4) Dislike it somewhat* *(5) Dislike it very much*
Income (2007)	*(1) Less than $20,000* *(2) $20,000-$29,999* *(3) $30,000-$39,999* *(4) $40,000-$49,999* *(5) $50,000 or greater*

Table 7. Confirmatory Factory Analysis Pattern Matrix

Variables (2007)	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
How Often Attend Community Group Meeting	**.761**	-.020	-.046	-.048
Frequency Of Unpaid Volunteer Work	**.653**	.075	.109	-.032
Donated To A Cause In Last 12 Months?	**.290**	-.054	.025	.150
Community Participation - Voting	-.013	**.658**	.050	.048
Community Participation - Keeping Informed	.060	**.509**	-.083	-.086
Interest In Gov't And Pub Affairs *(2006)*	-.117	**.435**	.081	-.215
Community Participation - Reporting A Crime	-.016	**.286**	-.227	.203
Helping People Is Important To R	.034	-.002	**.573**	.024
People Should Help Less Fortunate	-.020	.017	**.556**	.131
People Need To Look After Themselves	-.088	.026	**-.322**	.002
Events Of Past 12 Months - Give To Homeless	.000	-.005	.148	**.478**
Events Of Past 12 Months - Allow Cuts In Line	.006	-.037	.144	**.231**
Events Of Past 12 Months - Don Blood	.084	-.062	-.025	**.179**

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations: ALL Variables

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. PSM Composite	3.19	1.04	0.38	6.99	1											
2. D1: Attraction to Policy Making	2.85	1.02	0.00	4.42	.61	1										
3. D2: Commitment to Public Interest	0.76	1.09	0.00	4.73	.73	.26	1									
4. D3: Compassion	4.45	1.01	1.01	6.42	.55	.24	.23	1								
5. D4: Self-Sacrifice	1.55	1.01	0.00	4.01	.63	.20	.20	.70	1							
6. Public Service Experience	0.47	0.50	0.00	1.00	.26	.16	.20	.13	.17	1						
7. Relation to HH Adults	1.58	.60	1.00	3.00	-.18	-.18	-.10	-.08	-.05	-.08	1					
8. How Often Attend Worship Serv.	2.77	1.93	1.00	8.00	.24	.11	.25	.18	.07	.14	-.05	1				
9. Gender	1.50	0.50	1.00	2.00	.04	-.00	.04	.10	-.01	.08	.03	.10	1			
10. Education	3.15	1.33	1.00	8.00	.36	.30	.25	.20	.19	.26	-.27	.11	.12	1		
11. Job Satisfaction	3.62	1.16	1.00	5.00	.06	.04	.10	.03	-.03	.03	-.018	.10	-.03	.03	1	
12. Income	9.87	1.11	2.40	12.54	.09	.07	.06	.02	.11	-.10	-.10	.01	-.10	.16	.06	1

	PSM Composite Score	D1: APM	D2: CPI	D3: COM	D4: SS
	χ^2, df n	χ^2, df n	χ^2, df n	χ^2, df n	χ^2, df n
Public Service Experience	**108.619, 13*** 1534**	**45.437, 8*** 1674**	**75.040, 9*** 1752**	**36.534, 10*** 1792**	**51.675, 6*** 1813**
Relationship to Parents/Household Guardian(s)	**186.776, 117*** 1536**	**134.680, 72*** 1679**	76.455, 81 1755	100.904, 90 1796	51.640, 54 1819
Religiosity	**208.492, 91*** 1526**	**89.881, 56*** 1649**	**206.796, 63*** 1744**	**153.717, 70*** 1758**	**71.194, 42*** 1784**
Gender	15.360, 13 1542	**21.950, 8** 1685**	13.522, 9 1763	**25.189, 10*** 1804**	**16.907, 6** 1827**
Education	**299.213, 91*** 1542**	**208.226, 56*** 1685**	**191.979, 63*** 1762**	**156.497, 70*** 1803**	**114.450, 42*** 1827**
Job Satisfaction	**255.189, 180*** 1353**	132.265, 120 1470	**214.173, 153*** 1540**	146.183, 170 1575	**137.637, 102** 1592**
Income	58.452, 52 1432	**47.984, 32** 1558**	33.967, 36 1635	33.092, 40 1666	**38.574, 24** 1686**

Table 9. Bivariate Statistics / Crosstabulations

Table 10. OLS Analysis of PSM Dimensions with Public Service Experience (1997-2007)

	PSM Composite Score	D1: Attraction to Policy Making	D2: Commitment to the Public Interest and Civic Duty	D3: Compassion	D4: Self-Sacrifice
	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)
Constant	1.842*** (.305)	2.300*** (.307)	-.545* (.299)	3.709*** (.298)	.521* (.300)
Public Service Experience	.315*** (.054)	.143*** (.054)	.236*** (.053)	.131** (.054)	.230*** (.054)
Relationship to Parents/Household Guardian(s)	.103** (.047)	.147*** (.046)	-.023 (.617)	-.032 (.045)	.028 (.045)
Religiosity	.119*** (.014)	.030** (.014)	.128*** (.014)	.086*** (.014)	.042*** (.014)
Gender	-.049 (.053)	-.129** (.054)	-.026 (.053)	.148*** (.053)	-.060 (.053)
Education	.185*** (.022)	.171*** (.022)	.124*** (.022)	.103*** (.022)	.081*** (.022)
Job Satisfaction	.023 (.023)	.022 (.023)	.067*** (.022)	-.008 (.022)	-.042* (.023)
Income	.045* (.027)	.023 (.027)	.030 (.026)	-.002 (.026)	.079*** (.026)
N	1271	1346	1421	1431	1448
R	.433	.303	.362	.271	.221
Adj. R-Squared	.183	.087	.127	.069	.044

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

	PSM Composite Score	D1: Attraction to Policy Making	D2: Commitment to the Public Interest and Civic Duty	D3: Compassion	D4: Self-Sacrifice
	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)
Constant	1.850*** (.309)	2.326*** (.309)	-.525* (.301)	3.718*** (.300)	.591* (.304)
Public Service Job	.303*** (.064)	.143** (.064)	.243*** (.063)	.162** (.063)	.178*** (.064)
Relationship to Parents/Household Guardian(s)	.103** (.047)	.151*** (.046)	-.027 (.046)	-.33 (.045)	.022 (.046)
Religiosity	.119*** (.014)	.032** (.014)	.126*** (.014)	.085*** (.014)	.043*** (.014)
Gender	-.045 (.054)	-.128** (.054)	-.015 (.053)	.148*** (.053)	-.055 (.054)
Education	.197*** (.022)	.175*** (.022)	.131*** (.022)	.108*** (.022)	.093*** (.022)
Job Satisfaction	.019 (.023)	.020 (.023)	.062*** (.023)	-.011 (.022)	-.043* (.023)
Income	.050* (.027)	.024 (.027)	.032 (.218)	-.001 (.026)	-.075*** (.027)
N	1259	1334	1408	1418	1435
R	.424	.302	.356	.275	.204
Adj. R-Squared	.175	.086	.122	.071	.037

Table 11. OLS Analysis of PSM Dimensions with Current Sector Employment (2007)

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

	PSM Composite Score	D1: Attraction to Policy Making	D2: Commitment to the Public Interest and Civic Duty	D3: Compassion	D4: Self-Sacrifice
	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)
Constant	1.424*** (.307)	1.704*** (.309)	-.639** (.298)	3.692*** (.297)	.643** (.299)
Public Sector	.228*** (.065)	.111* (.065)	.191*** (.065)	.123* (.064)	.116* (.065)
Nonprofit	.323*** (.074)	.077 (.075)	.235*** (.073)	.190** (.074)	.290*** (.075)
Military	.640*** (.114)	.418*** (.112)	.420*** (.111)	.026 (.112)	.502*** (.112)
Rel. to HH Guardian	.101** (.047)	.149*** (.046)	.024 (.046)	.032 (.045)	-.025 (.045)
Religiosity	.118*** (.014)	.031** (.014)	.127*** (.014)	.085*** (.014)	.042*** (.014)
Gender	-.028 (.054)	-.105* (.054)	-.013 (.053)	.137** (.053)	-.040 (.054)
Education	.191*** (.022)	.177*** (.022)	.128*** (.022)	.101*** (.022)	.085*** (.022)
Job Satisfaction	.021 (.023)	.021 (.023)	.065*** (.022)	-.008 (.022)	-.044* (.022)
Income	.042 (.027)	.018 (.027)	.028 (.026)	-.001 (.026)	.074*** (.022)
N	1272	1347	1423	1433	1450
R	.441	.312	.365	.273	.239
Adj. R-Squared	.188	.091	.128	.069	.051

Table 12. OLS Analysis of PSM Dimensions with Sector Dummy Variables

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 13. Differences in Independent Variables based on Type of Public Service Organization

	PSM Composite			Model 1: APM			Model 2: CPI			Model 3: COM		Model 4: SS
	PS	NP	MIL	PS	NP	MIL	PS	NP	MIL	PS	NP	PS
Constant	**1.503****	**2.032****	.164	**2.247*****	1.006	**2.333***	-.138	-.967	**-3.611****	**3.594*****	**3.748*****	.040
	(.640)	**(.870)**	(1.439)	**(.620)**	(.789)	**(1.394)**	(.459)	(.828)	**(1.459)**	**(.601)**	**(.661)**	(.580)
Rel. to HH Guardian	.070	.039	**.553*****	**.197****	-.025	.290	.012	-.058	.271	.064	.123	-.056
	(.100)	(.137)	**(.203)**	**(.096)**	(.123)	(.187)	(.111)	(.131)	(.205)	(.099)	(.105)	(.096)
Religiosity	**.118*****	**.140*****	.056	.007	.037	.051	**.123*****	**.172*****	.028	**.073*****	**.116*****	**.064****
	(.027)	**(.035)**	(.062)	(.027)	(.032)	(.059)	**(.030)**	**(.034)**	(.066)	**(.027)**	**(.028)**	**(.026)**
Gender	.026	-.143	-.047	-.136	-.036	-.252	.050	-.017	.246	**.273****	-.016	-.099
	(.108)	(.153)	(.281)	(.105)	(.142)	(.272)	(.119)	(.147)	(.303)	**(.108)**	(.121)	(.105)
Education	**.242*****	**.173*****	.023	**.185*****	**.127****	**.415*****	**.166*****	**.126****	.027	**.119*****	**.120****	**.122*****
	(.042)	**(.059)**	(.175)	**(.041)**	**(.055)**	**(.143)**	**(.046)**	**(.057)**	(.171)	**(.042)**	**(.048)**	**(.041)**
Job Satisfaction	.026	**.103***	-.068	.005	.074	.012	.072	**.110***	.117	.040	.053	-.029
	(.045)	**(.059)**	(.098)	(.044)	(.055)	(.094)	(.049)	**(.057)**	(.103)	(.044)	(.047)	(.044)
Income	.036	.018	.222	-.023	**.128***	-.095	-.026	.076	**.310*****	-.039	-.035	**.138*****
	(.055)	(.080)	(.114)	(.053)	**(.072)**	(.112)	(.056)	(.076)	**(.114)**	(.052)	(.061)	**(.050)**
N	**320**	**222**	**73**	**335**	**243**	**81**	**346**	**248**	**84**	**350**	**247**	**353**
R	**.421**	**.377**	**.411**	**.301**	**.260**	**.419**	**.321**	**.379**	**.361**	**.291**	**.346**	**.267**
Adj. R^2	**.162**	**.118**	**.095**	**.074**	**.043**	**.110**	**.087**	**.122**	**.063**	**.068**	**.098**	**.055**

*$p < 0.1$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$

PS = Public Sector, NP = Nonprofit, MIL = Military

Only models with significance (p<.10) reported

Table 14. Summary of Hypotheses and Results

Hypothesis	Decision	Outcome
H	Supported	Young adults with PSE will have higher overall PSM…
H1	Supported	Young adults with PSE will have higher APM…
H2	Supported	Young adults with PSE will have higher CPI…
H3	Supported	Young adults with PSE will have higher COM…
H4	Supported	Young adults with PSE will have higher SS…
H5	Mixed Support	Parental socialization (proxy = Rel. to Household Guardians), niche
H6	Supported	Religiosity
H7	Mixed Support	Gender: women score higher in norm-based and affective motives
H8	Supported	Gender: APM
H9	Supported	Education
H10	Supported	Differences in PSM exist based on experience in different types of PSOs
H11	Supported	Individuals with experience in nonprofit organizations will exhibit higher PSM than individuals with public sector work experience

Table 15. Strengths & Limitations

Strengths

► Develops PSM as a dependent variable

► Multi-item instrument; all four key PSM dimensions included with a composite score

► Fresh source of data; potential to analyze future rounds

► Includes military and nonprofit public experience

► More accuracy; takes respondent entire work history into account

► Investigates public service characteristics of ascending young workers

► High generalizability of results across professions

► Larger sample size; more individuals with public service experience (n=1,848/859)

Limitations

► Assumes individuals with prosocial attitudes have equal opportunity to engage in altruistic behavior

► Secondary data: empirical analysis may not be fully comparable across studies

► Secondary data: unable to use the recommended 24-point measure of PSM

► Currently unable to utilize longitudinal capacity of survey to measure changes in PSM over time

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