

Public Service Motivation in Europe: Testing Attitudes toward Work Motives

Working Paper

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Introduction

Back in 2004, when the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) started to penetrate European Public Administration, Wouter Vandenberghe has emphasized that when comparing PSM cross-Atlantic, one should take into consideration the great difference between European and American backgrounds. Expanding his ideas, he insists that various types of governments present in Europe influence motivation of public sector employees differently. Vandenberghe (2004) complicates matters further when he writes, "although there are examples of self-interested behavior by public servants, it is certainly no universal rule" (p.6).

While Vandenberghe (2004) is right that the motivation of employees scatters on the opposite coasts of the ocean, this article proves that there are many more similarities in motivation in-between European countries than Vandenberghe (2004) would expect. Moreover, using the analytical tools of quantitative research methods, the study results suggest clear patterns of motivation across the public and private sectors in Europe.

Undertaken research examines for the differences in individual preferences for intrinsic and extrinsic job rewards across different regions in Europe. The study includes analysis of individual surveys from 26 European countries, both from the European Union (EU) and out of it. It focuses on two dependent variables, which are (1) Importance to be rich, have money and expensive things; (2) Importance to help people and care for others' well-being. The unit of analysis is a person; a sample is gathered by pooling the respondents of the European Social Survey, round 4 conducted in 2008 and round 5 conducted in 2012. A key independent variable is whether a person

works for the public or private sector. The ordinal logistic regression model is used to track the causality between dependent and independent variables, controlling for gender, age, number of people in a household, and living with partner/spouse.

The present study contributes to the research literature on public service motivation by using data from surveys that employ a multi-national sampling frame and by using multivariate statistical tools. The study introduces empirical evidence of the generalizability of public-service motivation concept, especially its intrinsic and extrinsic reward components, suggesting the universality of the concept across different countries in Europe. Moreover, the results of the study suggest statistically significant relations between intrinsic and extrinsic motivators and certain demographic variables.

Research Question

This study presents two questions basic to the progression of public-employee motivation research in Europe. The questions relate to the incidence of a public- service motivation: are there generalizable evidence that public-employee reward motivations differ from private-employee reward motivations in European countries? If yes, are there any patterns of the reward orientations in Europe? Together, the answers to these questions will interconnect and strengthen the results of public motivation research conducted in separate European countries, like the United Kingdom (Horton 2006), the Netherlands and Germany (Vandenabeele, Scheepers, and Hondeg hem 2006), Switzerland (Ritz 2009) and etc., as well as incorporate new countries in the motivational studies. Thereby, the main goal of this research is to study Europe in its broader geographical sense, expanding previous research by Central and Eastern

European countries, non-EU countries, and what is called in this study “Eastern Mediterranean”, which includes Turkey, Israel and Cyprus. The main theory behind this study is public service motivation, which assumes that the choice of a person to work for public sector is run rather by personal attitude towards helping other people than the idea of financial prosperity.

The core research questions are whether the personal wealth matter and whether it is important to help others. In this study I compare public and private sector employees and their working motivation across Europe. Two major hypotheses are tested in this study. (1) Public service employees are less likely than others to act out of a mere monetary interest or, simply put, money. Another hypothesis is that (2) Public service employees are more likely than others to perform their job responsibilities due to their will to lend a helping hand to others.

Literature review: Concept of PSM

The concept of public service motivation (PSM) has its roots in the public administration literature. A common articulation of public service motivation is that civil servants are characterized by an ethic to serve the public:

"PSM is part of a behavioral process in which public service motives lead to behaviors that benefit the public" (Sangmook Kim and Wouter Vandenberghe, 2010, p.703)

Other authors have connected a multidimensional concept of PSM on theoretical and empirical bases to the individual will to be engaged in pro-social behavior, a commitment to the public interest, service to others, and self-sacrifice (Brewer and

Selden 1998; Perry 1996; Rainey 1982). Broadly speaking, PSM is “an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (Perry 1996, 6). In his effort to devise a general measure, Perry (1996) further identified four empirical components of the PSM construct: attraction to policy making, commitment to the public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice.

All PSM studies imbued with the idea to do well for others and shape the well-being of society (Perry and Hondeghem 2008a, Kim and Vandenberg 2010). The definitions of PSM, however, vary among authors depending on the focus of a study: whether a researcher looks at different correlates to PSM, origins of concept or various types of PSM. This study looks at individual PSM in the organizational context, studying whether extrinsic and intrinsic rewards that could be obtained performing a job in the public and private sector are important for individuals. Studies show, that emphasizing intrinsic rewards over extrinsic rewards is a common phenomenon that is grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions (Houston 2000, Perry 1997). Therefore, the working definition in this piece is the one that helps to include extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions of job rewards:

"More broadly, public-service motivation can be characterized as a reliance on intrinsic rewards over extrinsic rewards“ (Crewson 1997)

Review of Relevant Research

New Public Administration movement that started in the 1960s brought resistance to prevailing rationality and associated models of human behavior redirecting research focus on differences in personalities, interests, motives, attitudes, that justify behavior

patterns of individuals. Since then, numerous studies empirically investigated differences in reward motivations between public- and private-sector employees. Most of them confirmed that public sector employees rank social/personal rewards higher than monetary rewards, whereas the opposite is true for private sector employees (Dilulio 1994, Kim 2005, Houston 2000, 2006, and Feeney 2008, Jurkiewicz, Massey, and Brown 1998; Kilpatrick, Cummings, and Jennings 1964; Rainey 1982, 1997; Schuster 1974; Wittmer 1991, Crewson 1997; Houston 2000). Other studies have found public employees to possess more altruistic attitudes than private sector workers (Rainey 1997), and possess a higher sense of civic duty (Conway 2000).

Research shows that public-sector employees have different motivations and rewards expectations than their private-sector counterparts, despite the differences in operationalizations of reward motivation in separate studies. Various qualitative and quantitative studies present similar findings, whether research was conducted through interviews (Warner et al. 1963), case studies (Rainey 1982; Hall, Schneider, and Nygren 1970), or cross-sectional surveys (Guyot 1962; Crewson 1997).

At the same time, there is a number of studies that show equal values to earnings and psychological rewards across public and private sector employees (e.g., Lyons, Duxbury, and Higgins 2006; Maidani 1991; Baldwin 1987; Gabris and Simo 1995).

A reason for the inconsistent findings in research on job motivators is the frequent use of limited research designs. Most of the results mentioned above are generalized on the observation of small probability samples, usually limited geographically to a county, a city or a state with samples that were no larger than 350 respondents (e.g.,

Baldwin 1987; Gabris and Simo 1995; Jurkiewicz, Massey, and Brown 1998; Maidani 1991; Wittmer 1991). Crewson (1997) and Houston (2000) are notable exceptions in that both analyze survey data sets with large national probability samples and estimate multivariate models with more complete sets of control variables. The findings of both Crewson (1997) and Houston (2000) confirm PSM, since they prove that motivational differences exist between public and private workers.

The majority of studies mentioned above were conducted in the United States. Although there is a substantial knowledge on PSM in North America and some highly-developed Western countries, there is a gap in both overwhelming European analysis and a separate analysis of PSM in the developing world (with an exception of couple of countries in Asia). Extension of the research on Europe, Asia, and Australia have raised issues about the dimensions and operational measures for non-U.S. contexts (Perry and Hondeghem 2008b, Sangmook Kim and Wouter Vandenabeele, 2010).

Despite the difficulties, the concept of the PSM started to spread around the globe. As the author of PSM concept, James L. Perry (2012) was surprised, when during his working trip to South Korea, where he had to evaluate some civil servants recruitment procedures, he found out that one of the seven questions on the employers' recruitment check list is public service motivation. Speaking of South Korea, Sangmook Kim (2009) from Seoul National University of Technology has recently analyzed whether PSM observed in the United States by Perry (1996) can be generalized to Korea. His starting point is that Korea and the United States represent substantially different cultures. As a result of regression analyses, he proves that rational motives are not entirely related to PSM in the Korean context, but rather could be explained by deeply rooted in Confucian

values and ideals, which has heavily influenced Korean government and Korean attitudes toward government.

Besides Korea, there are also some separate studies on PSM in the following countries: France (Chanlat, 2003; Castaing, 2006.), Great Britain (Georgellis, Iossa and Tabvuma 2011; Horton, 2006), the Netherlands (Leisink and Steijn, 2009), Switzerland (Ritz, 2009), Belgium (Vandenabeele, 2008). At the same time, although research on public service motivation has been recently conducted in different countries, these are often single-nation studies that are not able to explain the relevance of national context (Houston, 2011, p. 761). Two notable exceptions are cross-national studies of Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008), who analyze survey data from thirty-eight nations, and of Houston (2011), who compared eleven nations.

The cumulative study of Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008) confirmed variation in average public service motivation scores among nations and world regions. Houston (2011), in his turn, has restricted his research to the Western world and conducted a two-year panel study of 11 North American and Western European nations. His Western comparison was limited to the national samples from Belgium (Flanders), Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

The question remains, whether PSM observed in North America and developed Western countries can be generalized to Europe as a whole? The purpose of the present analysis is to prod scholarship toward addressing underexamined issues of PSM in Europe. A cross-sectional data from the European Social Survey round 4,

conducted in 2008 and round 5 conducted in 2012, will be analyzed. These data permit a comparison of the attitudes of workers in the public sector and in private sector in terms of the importance they assign to several work motives. Using samples from 26 European nations pooled for two rounds, the factors that may correlate with these attitudes will be controlled (e.g., sex, age, living with wife/husband/partner).

Secondary data from the ESS is used to answer two questions that relate to the theory of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, and thus, public-service motivation. To address the existence of a hypothesis difference of reward motives across sectors, this research asks two questions: (1) Do public employees rank personal wealth lower in importance than private sector employees do? (2) Do public employees rank the desire to help others higher in importance than private sector employees do?

Hypotheses

Public service motivation offers an explanation for the overshadowed desire to become wealthy and the desire to help others. It holds that: (H1) public service employees are more likely than others to perform their job responsibilities due to their will to lend a helping hand to others and (H2) not so much due to desire to accumulate wealth. These hypotheses are in line with the existing literature on public management.

H1: Helping Others

Studies of the importance to help others for public employees show universal results whether they involve specially designed projects and surveys with smaller samples or large cross-country surveys that cover general population. Rainey (1982 and 1997) used data from surveys of employees in five public and four private organizations to

show that public employees have a greater interest in altruistic or ideological goals such as helping others or doing something worthwhile for society and less interest in monetary rewards than do their private-sector counterparts. Similarly, Wittmer (1991) presented the results of Public-Private Organization Studies Project involving 210 employees in public, private, and hybrid organizations that showed public-sector employees strongly emphasize helping others and performing work that is worthwhile to society as important motivators for their performance. Crewson (1997) in his turn analyzed large surveys that cover respondents from across the United States, for instance, the General Social Survey. He also proved that public employees rate a feeling of accomplishment and performing work helpful to society and to others as more important job characteristics than do private-sector employee.

H2: Being Rich

Obviously people are unlikely to produce without some expectation that they will receive economic benefits in exchange for their effort (Porter et al. 1974), therefore financial reward is an inseparable part of most of the PSM studies. Monetary rewards as correlates to PSM have been either main focus of research or used as a control variable (e.g. Taylor 2010, Perry 1997, Houston 2000, Crewson 1997, Lewis and Frank 2002, Lewis 1991).

The results of Jurkiewicz, Massey and Brown's (1998) study suggest that public and private employees are attracted to their job by different reasons. Houston (2000) examined several reward motivators such as high pay, job security, prestige of status and promotion and found that employees in the public sector place less importance on

higher pay as compared to private-sector workers. On the other hand, Gabris and Simo (1995) and Crewson (1997) found that there is no significant difference between sectors in the importance placed on high pay. At the same time, Crewson's (1997) results suggest that intrinsic rewards are more important for public employees than for private employees. Baldwin (1984) reached similar results when he found that despite the difference in payment between public and private sector there is no difference in motivation level of the employees.

Data and Methods

National and international general population surveys are frequently used in PSM studies as a secondary data-source. For example, Houston (2000, 2006, 2008) utilized data from the American General Social Survey; Park and Rainey (2008) relied on data from the American Merit Principles Survey; Vandenabeele and Van de Walle (2008) used items from the International Social Survey Programme; Crewson (1997) utilized data from the American General Social Survey and Federal Employee Attitude Survey; Taylor (2010) worked with the dataset from the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA). The main drawback of general surveys is that they are not designed to measure PSM. Despite this limitation, they remain the best data-source available that provides large enough samples enabling generalization of the findings to the population in a studied country as well as cross-nationally.

The data for this project were taken from the fourth and fifth round of European Social Survey (ESS) 2008-2012 available through the website of the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. The ESS is an academically-driven multi-country survey, which

has been administered in over 30 countries to date. Its three aims are, firstly, to monitor and interpret changing public attitudes and values within Europe and to investigate how they interact with Europe's changing institutions; secondly, to advance and consolidate improved methods of cross-national survey measurement in Europe and beyond; and thirdly, - to develop a series of European social indicators, including attitudinal indicators (Codebook, 2012).

Key independent and controlled variables used in the analysis below came from ESS socio-demographic profile and Gender, Age and Household Composition, and the dependent variables are taken from the Human Values Scale module. The survey covers persons aged 15 and over, who reside within private households, regardless of their nationality, citizenship, language or legal status, in the participating countries. At the same time, since the present study is interested in the current employees of public and private sector, the data was cleaned using an ESS question whether a respondent has been doing paid work last 7 days (or away temporarily) that helped to separate and eliminate the unemployed and retired, while focusing on active employment.

This article represents the results of a cross-sectional study based on pooling respondents from two separate years of observation. This type of putting two data sets together is possible, because ESS is based on the random sampling. The preference towards a pooled cross-sectional analysis was give due to the large number of responses (38,204), which is enough to obtain significant results. However, a panel analysis is definitely worthy to conduct in order to confirm the results of the current study. A panel analysis is left for the future research.

There are 26 countries that have participated in the fourth and fifth round of the ESS: Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, the Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Kingdom.

The first step of the analysis was to put all countries together and run a regression. However, even though the results for pooled responses from 26 countries are significant, they do not reflect the motivation variance across the regions. Therefore, the countries were grouped in clusters.

The criterion used to form groups was country's relation to the European Union. Being an EU member-state implies sharing EU fundamental values, which are the securing of a lasting peace, unity, equality, freedom, security and solidarity. The latter is directly connected to the public service motivation ideas of helping those in need. The principle of solidarity of the European Union is a fundamental principle based on sharing both the advantages, i.e. prosperity, and the burdens equally and justly among members (Eurofound 2011). Solidarity being a fundamental European value found its legal reflection in EU law (Eurofound 2011).

Thereby, six groups were created out of 26 countries:

- 1) EU Founders: Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands (N=7,271);
- 2) Joined the EU before 2004: Denmark, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom (N=12,786);

3) New EU members joined after 2004 (mainly consists of countries from the former Eastern bloc): Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia (N=9,362);

4) Eastern European countries, that are not part of the EU: the Russian Federation, Ukraine (N=2,864);

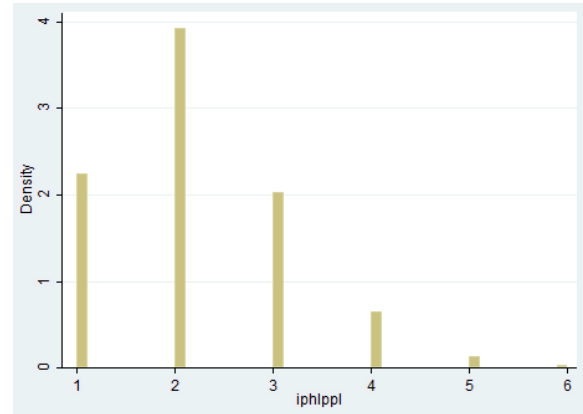
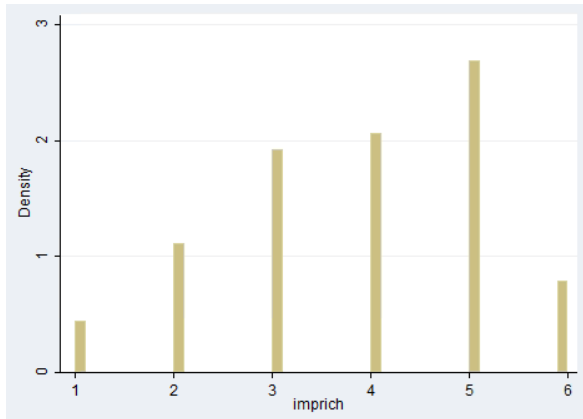
5) ETA???: Switzerland, Norway (N=3,347);

6) Eastern Mediterranean ("left-overs"): Cyprus, Turkey, Israel (N=2574)*.

*Though each country in this group is culturally and politically distinct, since the data for these three countries is available, the regression is run more for a curiosity than the significant result itself.

Dependent Variables - Importance of Being Rich and Importance of Helping Others

Two histograms below reflect the variation of answers on two ordinal questions for the whole sample of 38,204 observations. The histograms were created to check the dispersion of the responses within the combined sample of 26 countries. These histograms are for both public and private employees together. As could be observed, individuals across Europe tend to think better about themselves than they are in reality putting less emphasis on the importance to be rich and to stress the importance to help others. Most probably the distribution is skewed due to the social desirability bias, checking which might be another interesting study. Skewedness of the data, however, does not influence the results, since the study uses multivariate ordinal logistic regression to test the model. A normal data distribution is not required to run this type of regression.



Histogram 1. Response Distribution: Importance of being rich

Histogram 2. Response Distribution: Importance of helping others

Besides valuable demographic data, the ESS survey collects attitudinal responses toward a multitude of political and social issues and includes two questions that are related to motivations and rewards relevant for the current study. Thus, measures of importance in public service activities were developed from questions that asked how essential it is for the person to be rich and how essential it is for that person to help people and care for others well-being. The statements were formulated in the following fashion:

a) It is important to her/him to be rich. She/he wants to have a lot of money and expensive things (see Histogram 1);

b) It is very important to her/him to help the people around her/him. She/he wants to care for their well-being (see Histogram 2).

In its nature, Importance to be rich/helping others is a continuous latent variable that has certain threshold points and whose values determine what the observed ordinal variable equals. In the ESS, two observed ordinal variables have six response categories indicating to what extent an individual identifies him/herself with the person

described: (1) Very much like me (2) Like me (3) Somewhat like me (4) A little like me (5) Not like me (6) Not like me at all.

Independent Variable – Public vs. Private

It is highly likely that due to the prominent role of the public interest, public organizations are more attractive for an individual, who sees an opportunity to satisfy her/his public service motivational needs (Houston, 2011). Public sector occupations better satisfy these motives. Thus, the primary independent variable of interest is the sector in which an individual is employed.

Empirical research has yet to examine the significance of public service motivation in typically public sectors as opposed to typically private sectors across Europe. The following analysis will compare these contrasting sector groups in terms of where public service motivation is most likely to be concentrated.

The ESS has a direct question that helps to determine whether a respondent works for private or public sector: Which of the types of organization on this card do/did you work for? This question has five categories: (1) Central or local government, (2) Other public sector (such as education and health), (3) A state owned enterprise, (4) A private firm and (5) Self-employ. Since our study is interested in typically public and private employees special measurement scheme has to be created to classify respondents based on their sector of employment. Category 1 and category 2 were merged to create a new category PUBLIC (30% of observations) and category 4 was used to represent PRIVATE (70% of observations). Employees of state owed enterprises and the self-employed were eliminated. Thus, a dummy variable was created to represent whether

or not a respondent is employed in an industry which is typically considered to belong to the public sector.

Independent Variable: Public vs. Private

Public Sector (30% of observations)	Private Sector (70% of observations)
Age: 44.2	Age: 40.5
Education: 15 years	Education: 13 years
Gender: female (66%)	Gender: male (57%)
Partner: not-single (70%)	Partner: not-single (65%)
Household: you + 2 ppl	Household: you + 2 ppl
Establish. size: around 55 ppl	Establish.: around 40 ppl

Table 1. An Average European Employee

Table above presents a descriptive statistics for an average employee in public and private sector in Europe. A public employee is mainly a woman in her mid-forties with fifteen years of education, not single and living with two more members of her family. A typical private employee tends to be younger, less educated male. There are more singles among private as compared to public sector, but with the majority being not-single.

Controlled variables

The research literature on public service motivation provides guidance for the development of a multivariate model that will serve as the basis for properly testing the thesis. Testing the hypothesis related to the perception of richness and the desire to

help others implicit in PSM initially is performed in a regression analysis. To control for the influence of socio-demographic variables found to be significant in previous research on PSM, multivariate ordinal logistic regression models are to be used for the in-depth analysis.

In order to identify the net effect, which the independent variable *public* has on the dependent variables *imprich* and *imphelp*, our model includes a number of controlled variables such as gender, age, number of people in a household, years of education, a salary as a main income of a family and living with partner/spouse. As for the latter, an additional dummy variable *partner* was created to represent, whether a respondent lives with husband/wife/partner. Even though the ESS survey includes the standard dichotomous dummy variable regarding marital status, I have deliberately chosen "living with partner/spouse" variable, because I consider the fact of physically possessing a family that you have to care about and that live with you as more important than a stamp in an official document, stating your marriage status. As previous research suggests, individuals who are married and own their home are more likely to be settled into their community and feel a responsibility for their neighbors. I would stress that sharing a home with a husband/wife/partner is more important than being officially married on documents and not sharing a household at the same time. Thus, due to the high level of unregistered couples which live together in Europe, the variable chosen depicts a broader picture that better reflects to the reality. Giving preference to this variable, I will also include sexual minorities, whose marriages are not always officially recognized, depending on the law of a particular country.

Previous studies confirmed that as individuals age their propensity to volunteer increases (Reed and Selbee 2001; Tiehen 2000). However, this relationship may be curvilinear, as some research suggests that volunteering begins to decline after the age of fifty-five (Chambré 1987; Clary, Snyder, and Stukas 1996). This decline may be a function of increasing poor health and other factors that pose barriers for the elderly to civically participate. To adjust the dataset to these possible changes, age is represented in both level and squared forms to permit testing for a curvilinear effect on working motivation.

As for the variable gender, Perry's (1997) results indicate that the scores for interest/civic duty and self-sacrifice were likely to be higher for men than for women. At the same time, Chusmir (1986) found no gender effect on commitment to the goals of organization, while Rosenthal (1982) finding males more committed than females, and summaries of other research suggesting females are more committed than males (Mowday, Porter, and Steers 1982). Moreover, previous research has proved that women are more likely to volunteer than men (Caro and Bass 1995; Villancourt 1994). Houston (2000) found that Individuals who are male are less likely to value meaningful work as compared to women. For this study, I assume that women put greater emphasis on helping others than on earnings.

Since the educational systems vary across European countries, an educational level is operationalized by the total number of years completed. Naff and Crum (1999) found that employees with less formal education tended to be more satisfied than employees who had worked for the government and had completed more formal education. This can be explained with the results from Steer's (1982) study. The researcher found that

highly educated people have greater expectation and thus, they are more difficult to satisfy. College-educated worker has a greater commitment to a profession or trade than to the organization. Greater commitment can be explained by giving greater importance of the meaningful work, which comes with the educational advancement (Houston 2000). Results of Houston's (2000) also suggest that the more years of education that an individual has, the less important are high income and job security.

Another research conducted by Houston (2006) found the number of children seventeen years of age and younger in the household that influence PSM to be significant. Expanding his approach, in this study I use a count variable "Number of people living regularly as member of household". Building on a standard "number of children" variable, I assume that in a large family, there is the same set of responsibilities and obligations either one takes care of small children or elder members of the family, like parents, that live with a person in his/her household. Thus, the "number of people in a household" variable again is broader than mere "number of children".

Including a variable "salary as a main source of income" in the model I control for possible volunteering work or any other type of work based on pure altruism behavior. Having salary as a main income implies a certain fulfilled level of basic extrinsic motivation as a core underline motivator for any employment.

The model also includes dummy variables for each country that reflect a special set of the individual circumstances for each country. Thus, I control for factors among the respondents within a country, that do not depend on an individual like gender, age,

years of education, number of people in a household, living with partner/spouse or salary as a main source of income.

Model

Two causal models presented below are tested in this study. In accordance with the research question, the first model assumes that being a public employee will have a negative result on the importance of being rich. The second model assumes a positive sign of the causal relations between being a public employee and the importance to help others.

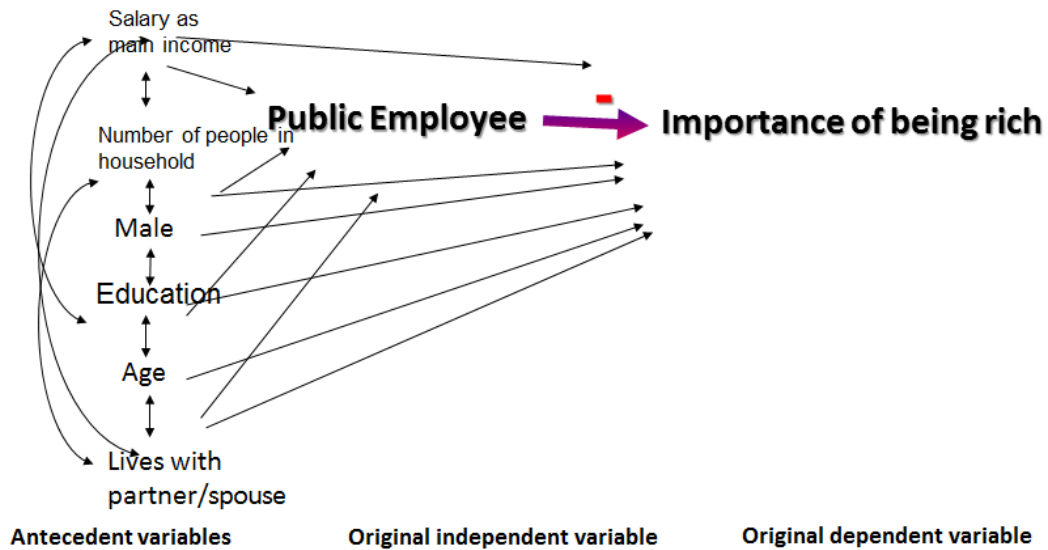


Figure 1. Causal Model 1

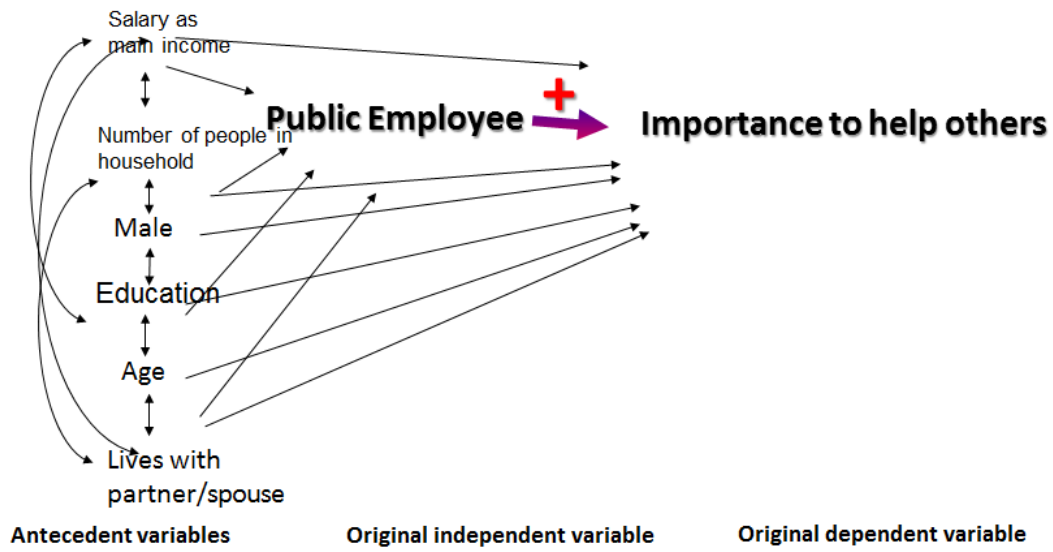


Figure 1. Causal Model 2

These are two regression models for each dependent variable:

$$(a) \text{ ImpRich} = \text{Public} + \text{Age} + \text{AgeSqr} + \text{Male} + \text{Partner} + \text{YearsEducation} + \text{MemberHousehold} + \text{SalaryMainIncome} + \text{Cntry1} + \text{Cntry2} + \dots + \text{CntryN}$$

$$(b) \text{ ImpHelp} = \text{Public} + \text{Age} + \text{AgeSqr} + \text{Male} + \text{Partner} + \text{YearsEducation} + \text{MemberHousehold} + \text{SalaryMainIncome} + \text{Cntry1} + \text{Cntry2} + \dots + \text{CntryN}$$

Results and Discussion

Table 2 below represents a general summary for the total number of observations. An average respondent in our study is forty years old individual with thirteen years of education, working for private sector that lives with a partner and another person. This average individual feels her/himself a little like a person that values importance to her/him to be rich and that wants to have a lot of money and expensive things and feels

somewhat like important to her/him to help the people around her/him and wants to care for their well-being.

An interesting observation is the great variance of the number of household members, which ranges from 1 to 13. However, the mean for this variable is 3 individuals per household. An age has an interesting range as well, which is from 15 years old through 91 keeping in mind that the sample consists of the people currently employed.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Observations</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
public	38929	0.293	0.455	0	1
mubr hshld	38922	2.917	1.358	1	13
male	38921	0.501	0.500	0	1
years edu	38739	13.593	3.637	0	48
age	38864	41.61	12.142	15	91
partner	38791	0.664	0.472	0	1
imp rich	38929	3.866	1.334	1	6
imp help	38929	2.689	1.25	1	6

Table 3. Summary of the Variables

A fuller comparison of employee attitudes involves the use of multivariate analysis. Overall, the signs of the coefficients indicate that public employees are more likely to place a higher value on the intrinsic reward of helping others and a lower value in extrinsic reward of being rich than their private counterparts. Table 2 shows the results for different groups country groups as well as the result of the regression run for the whole sample pooled together. The first column of Table 2 depicts the number of observations in each group. Column 2 and 3 reflects the summary of the results of

ordinary logistic regressions run for each group of countries. Both pooled observation results and the results for regions considered separately proved two hypothesis of this study.

	Number of observations	Important to be rich	Important to help others
Group 1 EU Founders	7 271	-0.246*	0.185*
Group 2 EU Joined before 2004	12 786	-0.284 *	0.248*
Group 3 New EU joined after 2004	9 362	-0.269*	0.248*
Group 4 Eastern Europe	2 864	-0.347*	0.296*
Group 5 Single Market with EU	3 347	-0.348 *	0.220*
Group 6 Eastern Mediterranean	2 574	-0,177**	0.160***
Total	38 204	-0.271 *	0.198 *
* p<0.01, **p<0.05, *** p<0.10			

Since ordered logistic regression is used to estimate the model, a chi-square test is used instead of R2 to indicate how well the logistic regression model fits the data. We look at the Likelihood Ratio (LR) Chi-Square test that at least one of the predictors' regression coefficients is not equal to zero in the model. In the current study, the model LR chi-squares are highly significant, and tell us that affiliation with the private or public sector has a significant relation with the individual perception of the importance to help others and to be rich and possess expensive goods.

The signs of all the coefficients received as the result of the regressions confirm the main hypotheses. As for the estimated value of coefficients, the way to interpret results of the table is to look at the ordered log-odds estimates. The numbers in the table are not percentage values, but the ordered log-odds estimates with the sign of causality direction.

The estimates in the table allow us to compare public service employees to private on expected response variable (importance of being rich/helping others) given the other variables are held constant in the model. For example, for the importance of being rich in Group 1 EU Founders, the ordered logit for public employees being in a higher response category is -0.246 less than employees in private sectors when the other variables in the model are held constant. This means it is less likely for public employee to emphasize the importance to be rich as compared to private sector employee. The coefficients for the importance to help are interpreted in the same manner. Below are the detailed analyses of the results obtained for the independent and control variables as well as tables representing these results.

Helping Others

In general, the results show that public employees find it more important helping others than their private counterparts across all European countries, while controlling for gender, age years of education, number of people sharing household, having a partner and having salary as a main income. For the importance to help others, the results are very similar with the exception of the lowest results for the EU founders, which in this study are represented by Belgium, France, Germany and Netherlands. The EU

founders have the smallest difference between public and private employees in their desire to help, which is equally less important in and outside public sector. Moreover, the EU founders have the smallest difference between public and private employees in their desire to help. Being a public employee in these countries has the weakest additional effect on desire to help keeping other factors constant. Possible explanations could be found in the origins of individuals employed in the public sector in Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands. The qualitative research is required at this point to create a broad picture of who becomes a civil servant in these countries.

County Groups	public	male	partner	salary as main income	age	years of education	nubr of ppl in hhold
<i>Group 1 EU Founders</i>	0.185*	-0.568*	0.036	0.190**	-0.037*	-0.012**	0.09
<i>Group 2 EU Joined before 2004</i>	0.248*	-0.423*	-0.038	-0.117**	-0.006	0.004	0.031**
<i>Group 3 New EU joined after 2004</i>	0.248*	-0.474*	0.110**	0.037	-0.023**	0.024*	0.026 (0.109)
<i>Group 4 Eastern Europe</i>	0.296*	-0.230*	0.017	0.041	-0.018	0.041*	0.110*
<i>Group 5 Single Market with EU</i>	0.220*	-0.627*	-0.047	-0.255***	0.005	-0.026*	0.064**
<i>Group 6 Eastern Mediterranean</i>	0.160***	-0.430*	-0.030	-0.104	-0.001	0.018 (0.101)	0.031

* p<0.01, **p<0.05, *** p<0.10

Table 3. Importance to Help Others: Results for Ordered Logistic Regression

Eastern Europe, namely in Russia and Ukraine, has the largest difference between sectors in their attitude to help, which supports the findings of the comparative study of Vandenaabeele and de Walle (2008). In that region, the public employees differ from their private counterparts more than anywhere else in Europe, with being a public employee meaning greater feeling of importance to help and care about others. People

working on the positions that were hired back in USSR, where working for public administration increased having connection and networking as well as a chance to actively participate in policy making in community life. Churches did not exist or were not able to do perform and community or social work on the great scale. If a person had a desire to participate in actions that benefit community, s/he would look for a position in the public sector, while in Western European countries such people will work for the nonprofit/private sector. Low paid jobs that are more volunteering work than place to increase capital. Public employees in these countries are way more willing to help than individuals working for the private companies.

Thus, public employee in Eastern Europe, namely in Russia and Ukraine, is the most willing to help as compared to public employees in other country groups. It can also be explained that being a public employee required stronger feeling of the community imposed through the political party. The explanation of the results can be developed further emphasizing some other cultural factors such as the overreliance of communal over individualistic culture in post-soviet countries and stronger attachment to the parents/family members. The findings indeed show that for this group number of individuals in household have a significant positive relation on the desire to help others.

Being a male is significantly negatively related with the importance to help others keeping other factors constant, meaning in simple words that women despite becoming more independent and earning more/businesslike all across Europe are still more willing to help others than men. This finding goes in line with current research of Kim (in process), where he finds higher PSM level among women **IN WHAT COUNTRIES??**

“The least caring” men are in Norway and Switzerland (2.5 times less than, for instance, men in Eastern Europe), while Eastern European men and women have the smallest difference in their attitude to help. Being a man in Eastern Europe is the least negatively related to the importance to help others than in any other region.

Regression of the importance to help and years of education brings the most fascinating results. The sign of the causality depends on the region. Countries with the overall high level of education, total years of education completed are negatively correlated with the importance to help keeping other factors constant. In simple words, the more educated you are the less it is important for you to help people around, more individualistic the person becomes. The results of the regression suggest that it is true for France, Germany, Belgium and Netherlands as well as for Switzerland and Norway, where the expected relation is two times stronger. Countries that joined EU after 2004 (mostly Central and Eastern European) and non-EU Eastern European Russia and Ukraine increase in the total years studied has a significant positive relation with the feelings of importance to help. The relation is two times stronger in Eastern Europe.

Number of people in household was found statistically significantly related with the feeling of importance to help in EU joined before 2004, after 2004 as well as Eastern Europe and EU-single market.

Age was found negatively related with the importance to help others with the significant results for EU founders and Countries that joined EU after 2004. Number of people in household found to be positively related with the feeling of the importance to help across all countries with the exception of EU Founders and with the relation in

Eastern Europe. This means that with each additional member of household people got stronger feeling of helping and caring, which supports previous theories.

Being Rich

Findings for the relation of being a public employee and the importance to be rich and possess expensive things support the proposed hypothesis. On average, public employees across all European countries, indeed, value wealth less than individuals employed in private sectors keeping other factors constant. The relation is found to be similar for EU countries, while it is stronger in Eastern European countries and non-EU Western countries, which are Switzerland and Norway. The least important wealth is in Eastern European countries and Switzerland and Norway. However, there are different reasons behind this finding. As for the latter coefficient, an explanation could be that the difference in salaries between public and private sector in Norway and Switzerland are insignificant, and, thus, the public service motivation becomes a key factor to choose between whether a person is looking for a job in public or private sector. At the same time, the differences between salaries in the public and private sector in Eastern Europe are enormous. The finding that Eastern European public employees value wealth and possessing expensive things much less than private employees can be explained by public service motivation that attracts these people to work for the public sector. They are aware of the low salaries but being strongly motivated nevertheless choose to proceed/set?? their career the public service and administration.

County Groups	public	male	partner	salary as main income	age	years of education	nمبر of ppl in hhold
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<i>Group 1 EU Founders</i>	-0.246*	0.377*	0.060	-0.154**	-0.074*	0.005	-0.023
<i>Group 2 EU Joined before 2004</i>	-0.284 *	0.428*	0.095**	0.003	-0.060*	0.020*	-0.003
<i>Group 3 New EU joined after 2004</i>	-0.269*	0.368*	0.039	-0.196*	-0.050*	0.019*	-0.047*
<i>Group 4 Eastern Europe</i>	-0.347*	0.219*	-0.044	-0.323**	-0.015	0.073*	-0.025
<i>Group 5 Single Market with EU</i>	-0.348 *	0.453*	-0.047	0.023	-0.080*	0.001	0.011
<i>Group 6 Eastern Mediterranean</i>	-	0,177**	0.264*	0.049	-0.027	-0.062*	0.004

* p<0.01, **p<0.05, *** p<0.10

Analyses of the control variables also lead to interesting results. In all studied countries across Europe, being a man is positively related to have the higher feeling of importance to be rich with the strongest in Western-European countries (Group 2 EU Joined before 2004) and countries with single market, Switzerland and Norway. The weakest gender effect on importance to be rich is found in Eastern-European countries that in our case are Russia and Ukraine. This means that Eastern-European countries have the smallest gender difference on the questions of importance to be rich.

Years of education were found to be positively related to the importance to be rich with the significant results in Group 2 EU Joined before 2004, in Group 3 New EU joined after 2004 and Group 4 Eastern Europe. The more educated you are in these countries the more important for you is to be rich and possess expensive objects with the strongest effect in Eastern European Russia and Ukraine. Other control variable age showed significant results in all countries with the exception of Eastern Europe. In the remaining European countries the findings suggest a statistically significant resembling trend: the elder you are the less important you find the material wealth. The least

important wealth is for the elder people in the richest countries in Europe (Group 1 EU Founders and Group 5 Single Market with EU).

Generalizability of the Results and Conclusion

Empirical research has addressed the question of whether public service motivation is a universal concept that characterizes public employees across European countries. Utilizing data from the European Social Survey, public- and private-sector workers are compared with regard to the incentives they value most highly. That is, do public employees across Europe focus on intrinsic motivations such as helping others and caring for their well-being more than private-sector employees do? Do public employees across Europe focus less on extrinsic motivations such as becoming rich and possess expensive things than private-sector employees do? In another words, this comparative research on employee motivation has examined the importance of being rich and the importance to help others.

Using descriptive and multivariate statistics, the analyses conclude that there are generalizable and stable differences in the reward motivations of public- and private-sector employees across Europe. This study contributes to the research literature on the difference between public and private employees by providing a multivariate analysis of survey data collected in 26 European countries. Intrinsic rewards are, indeed, more important for public employees in European countries than for private employees. Public employees find wealth less important than private counterparts. As expected, results indicate that public employees are less likely than are private

employees to rate a high income as highly important and are more likely than private employees to rate helping others as highly important.

Hypothesis 1 of the study that assumes money is less important for public employees than for private was confirmed for all groups of the EU countries as well as the EU single market group. However, public employees put less stress on being rich in different countries for different reasons. For example, the strongest negative relation between being a public sector employee and the importance of being rich is observed in Eastern Europe and non-EU Western European countries, which are Switzerland and Norway. For the latter countries, the possible explanation is that the salary of public service employees is high enough to be compared with the private sector, and thus individuals in these countries do not consider salary as a factor when choosing to work for the public or for private sector. Thus, the gap between individuals in private and public is not that great. However, the question why public employees in Eastern Europe consider wealth less important than private counterparts remains a question for further investigation. Moreover, Eastern European countries show the most extreme results for both questions that opposes Vandenabeele and de Walle (2008) results of the low PSM level in Eastern Europe, which they explain by the least exposure to democracy. This should be left for further investigation through the field trips and comparative studies of historical and cultural tendencies that determine which type of individuals work for public sector.

Hypothesis 2 that public service employees want to help other people was confirmed for all the country groups with the strongest effect in Eastern Europe represented in current study by Russia and Ukraine. The possible explanation for these two countries might be that, in general, the societies in both groups are more of a collective culture, as

compared to strong individualistic societies of Western Europe. Though hard to measure, the degree of post-modernism and post-materialism among the population of a country might be a useful controlled variable for follow-up studies. In the light of the abovementioned degrees of post-modernism and post-materialism among the population of a country as a controlled variable for follow-up studies, I would suggest that self-actualization might be another interesting dependent variable to look at in the context of public service motivation theories.

Another factor that is worth studying in the follow-up research is the percentage of religious practitioners among the population in the considered countries, which from view of superficial analysis tend to be higher in new EU countries and countries from the Eastern Mediterranean group. In the further studies, the religion should be added as another dummy variable.

In general, the importance of helping others for a public sector employee tends to be the same across Europe with the positive relation between being a public employee and grading the importance higher. As for the importance of being rich, the study also proves the negative sign of causality between being a public sector employee and the probability to grade the importance to be rich higher. However, the strength of this relation differs across considered country groups.

Despite the improvement of the situation with equal pay for men and women and contrary to feminist ideologies that equal men and women personalities, the findings show that in Europe men are the ones who care about money and women are the one who care about others. Age has a negative effect on stressing the importance to be rich,

which comes with the wealth accumulation and saturation in time and/or change of values while a person matures.

This study should be considered as a pilot project aimed to fill out the research gap in comparative studies of PSM across Europe, especially ones that include Central and Eastern Europe and Non-EU countries. Even though there are studies on public service motivation in separate countries in Europe, North America and a couple of Asian countries, and there are some comparative studies in-between the U.S. states and North America and Western Europe, the focus of academia should be turned in the direction of less-studied regions. PSM has significant implications in the field of public administration, and its scale needs to be fully explored and examined in different contexts and in different samples, including adjustments to fit the model in some contexts (Kim 2009). As suggested by (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010, p.704), further international research should devote a particular attention to cultural meaning and connotations, that can distort comparative findings. Thus, in order to evaluate items for their cultural sensitivity, it is necessary to involve local public administration experts to evaluate the items.

The study of motivation rewards has close relation to the international public administration practice. It is equally important across all countries that the organizational opportunity structure allows to fulfill individual predispositions before action is initiated (Crewson 1997). Stating the differences in the reward system between public and private sector suggests that the public sector requires its own reward system based on different from private sector values. Knowledge on proper adjustment of the rewards system helps public managers fighting the alienation of the cadre described by Romzek

(1990). The impact of hiring economic-oriented employees can be especially detrimental to any organization that offers stronger intrinsic motivation rewards. The conflict of rewards will exist till the moment when an organization switch for improvement of economic rewards. As explained by Crewson (1997), radical change in rewards system is highly unlikely due to the special nature of public employment and inherent budget restrictions. Thus, the way to fight alienation on working places caused by the mismatch of extrinsically motivated individuals put on the positions that provide mainly intrinsic motivation is to increase the accuracy during to the recruitment process. The hiring preferences of Human Resources departments in public organizations should lean towards individuals with high level of intrinsic motivation, which can be measured up using the numerous tools designed by the scholars who study public service motivation.

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