

Beyond self-interest?

A comparative study of public service motivation among Masters of Public Administration students in China, Denmark, Taiwan and the United States

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Introduction

The discipline of public administration is beginning to react against New Public Management (NPM), and one of the reactions is increased attention to public service motivation (Jørgensen & Andersen, 2011). The prevalence and dynamics of public service motivation (the orientation to do something good for others and society in the delivery of public service) among current public administrators have been studied before (e.g. Kim et al. 2010), but if we want to know more about future public administrators around the world, we should look at the students. What motivation do Masters of Public Administration students have? What are the similarities and differences in public service motivation between these students in very different cultures?

Based on presentations of the theoretical arguments behind public service motivation combined with existing knowledge about Masters of Public Administration students (e.g. Denhardt, 2001; Soto, Ophem & Tajalli, 1999), the paper will compare public service motivation of these students in four different countries. It is a ‘most different systems design’, where we investigate countries with very different cultures and forms of government to find out whether the same patterns can be identified in dissimilar contexts. The investigated countries are Mainland China (People’s Republic of China), Taiwan (Republic of China), Denmark and United States.

The main expectation is that master students in all four countries have public service motivation, but that the type of public service motivation differs. Specifically, we compare countries with varying political institutions and culture (Hofstede’s (2001) dimensions individualism and masculinity). We expect similarities in the general trends and differences in the details. Specifically, we hypothesize that the students in all the countries will have relatively high public service motivation, but that the relative weight of the dimensions—including commitment to the public interest, compassion, self-sacrifice and attraction to policy making—differs.

The paper starts with a brief overview of public service motivation theory and discusses the reasons for analyzing public service motivation patterns in very different cultures. The methods section then explains why we compare masters of public administration students and why we have chosen the four investigated countries. It also describes the empirical data which are surveys of master students in each of the mentioned countries (n=1250). After a comparison of public service motivation in the four countries, the paper concludes by discussing the central differences and similarities between the countries.

Theory: Patterns of public service motivation in different cultures

When individuals go beyond self-interest, they may do it for different reasons and with different intensity. In this paper, we therefore argue that it is relevant to look at public service motivation as a unified concept as well as consisting of different dimensions, and that there are both differences and similarities in the way public service motivation unfolds in different contexts. After a discussion of the concept and its dimensions we therefore discuss first expected differences in public service motivation and then the general trends which we expect in all the investigated countries.

Public service motivation: Concept and dimensions

Perry and Wise initially defined public service motivation (PSM) as “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations that might drive individuals to perform public service” (1990: 368). Rainey and Steinbauer emphasize that PSM is about doing something good for a larger public as opposed to egoistic motives when they define the concept as a “general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humanity” (1999: 23). Similarly, Vandenabeele sees PSM as “the belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate” (2007: 549), and Perry and Hondeghem define PSM as “an orientation to do something good for others and society in the delivery of public service” (2008: 6). Alternatively, one can simply define public service motivation as the motivation to provide public values (Rainey et al. 2008: 10). All the definitions agree that PSM is altruistic and concerns provision of public services, but it is still relevant to go a bit deeper and ask why some individuals feel motivated to provide public services, even without the material returns to themselves that comparable achievements in a profit-making activity would earn.

Perry and Wise suggest that PSM derives from three types of reasons: Rational, affective, and normative (1990: 368). However, the understanding of rational reasons as being individual and self-interested is inconsistent with the understanding of PSM as altruistic. Still, PSM can be instrumental when based on an understanding of how means and measures can be combined in order to contribute to the delivery of public services. This means that the instrumental reasons are based on an orientation to do good for others and society, for instance by working to produce public services, participate in the policy process and community activities, or participate in activities for social development (Kim & Vandenabeele, 2010: 703). Affective bonding with others can be seen

as the emotional basis for serving others (Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982). Identification is the core of affective reasons. People identify with others, especially the economically disadvantaged, and the sense of oneness with those they identify with brings a willingness to do good for ones they identify with (Kim & Vandenberg, 2010). Norm-based reasons refer to complying with values and norms. Norms and values can be internalized, and people are expected to feel satisfaction and accomplishment when they contribute to realizing these norms and values. This may be expressed as serving the public interest or a desire to make a difference for a fellow citizen (Kim & Vandenberg, 2010).

If there are different reasons for being oriented towards do something good for others and society in the delivery of public service, it is possible that individuals vary in their patterns of PSM. For example, Brewer, Selden, and Facer (2000) found different PSM profiles, and this implies that it is fruitful to differentiate empirically between different dimensions of PSM. The dominating measurement instrument in the literature was developed by Perry (1996), and it includes four dimensions. "Commitment to the public interest" denotes the desire to serve society based on values and duty. "Compassion" covers the emotionally based motivation to do good for others based on identification and empathy. "Attraction to policy-making" denotes the motivation to improve decision-making concerning public services. "Self-sacrifice" measures the willingness to bypass one's own needs in order to help others and society. Commitment to the public interest, compassion, and attraction to public policy-making, respectively, correspond to the norm-based, affective, and rational/instrumental foundation of PSM. Self-sacrifice can be seen as the footing on which the other dimensions rest (Kim & Vandenberg, 2010), because doing something good for others and society in the delivery of public service often requires unselfishness, and the dimension concerns the willingness to substitute service to others for tangible personal rewards (Perry, 1996). Are individuals willing to sacrifice some private interest and accept fewer monetary rewards for themselves, because they are motivated (for affective, normative, or instrumental reasons) to do good for others and society? Self-sacrifice can therefore be seen as a form of accelerator underlying the other PSM dimensions.

Kim and Vandenberg (2010) proposed that PSM is based on self-sacrifice and associated with instrumental, value-based, and identification motives, and that the dimensions of the PSM construct be refined along the lines of attraction to public participation, commitment to public values, compassion, and self-sacrifice. Empirically, a study of public employees in 12 countries (Kim et al. 2010) indicates that the dimension 'attraction to public service', consisting of both items

from attraction to public participation and items from the traditional commitment to the public interest dimension better captures the structure of the concept. The “attraction to public service” dimension thus covers individuals’ attraction to public participation and commitment to public interest, that is, individuals’ disposition to serve the public interest through public participation. In this conceptualization, the attraction to public service dimension measures the instrumental motives of PSM, the commitment to public values dimension measures the value-based motives of PSM, the compassion dimension measures the identification motives, and self-sacrifice dimension measures self-sacrifice.

In this paper, we use Perry’s four dimensions, because this is the data available for the students of public administration. These dimensions also constitute an adequate starting point for analyzing variations in patterns of PSM, and the viability and conceptual structure of this measure have been confirmed with various samples, including respondents from different nations (Rainey et al., 2008: 11). Bangcheng et al. (2008) applied the questions in China and found that public service motivation exists in China, but that only three of the four dimensions could be found (attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest, and self-sacrifice). Still, we also used the compassion items in China, knowing that this dimension may not be as strongly supported in this country. In addition to the Perry construct, we supplement with data structured by the dimensions discussed by Kim et al. (2010).

Differences in public service motivation in different cultural contexts

As Rainey et al. (2008: 11) write there is still an open question as to how much individuals might vary in their patterns of PSM. There may be variation between occupations (as discussed by Rainey et al. 2008), but there may also be variation between different cultures. Hofstede (2001: 9) defines culture as “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another”, and it is very relevant to see whether we can find the same *patterns* (but not necessarily the same *levels*) of public service motivation in countries with very different cultures. Hofstede (2001) differentiates between five dimensions of culture, namely power distance, individualism, long-term orientation, masculinity and uncertainty avoidance. We argue that two of these dimensions, individualism and masculinity, can be expected to systematically affect public service motivation.ⁱ

Individualism is the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups. In individualist societies, the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after

him/herself and his/her immediate family. In collectivist societies, people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts and grandparents) which protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede, 2001: 225). It is important to note that the word 'collectivism' in this usage has no political meaning: it refers to the group, not to the state. The cultural degree of individualism is expected to affect the patterns of PSM; individuals in countries with a more individualistic culture are expected to have PSM based more on individual norms, i.e. more commitment to the public interest, because this dimension highlights the individualistic aspect of public service motivation with questions such as “Meaningful public service is very important to me” and “I consider public service my civic duty”. In terms of the alternative conceptualization (Kim et al. 2010), individualism is equivalently expected to affect the attraction to public service dimension which contains question both about individual commitment to the public interest and individual participation.

H1: The level of commitment to the public interest is higher in countries with a high level of individualism compared with countries with a low level of individualism

Masculinity refers to the distribution of roles between the genders. Women's values differ less among societies than men's values, but men's values vary between very assertive, tough and competitive (and maximally different from women's values) to modest and caring and similar to women's values. The assertive pole has been called 'masculine' and the modest, caring pole 'feminine'. The women in feminine countries have the same modest, caring values as the men; in the masculine countries they are somewhat assertive and competitive, but not as much as the men, so that these countries show a gap between men's values and women's values (Hofstede, 2001: 279-297). Masculinity is primarily relevant for the dimension compassion, because this dimension is found to be higher among women (Pandey & Stazyk, 2008). It is therefore possible that residents in countries with a more feminine culture have a higher level of this PSM dimension (because this is in line with the more modest and caring values in these countries).

H2: The level of compassion is higher in countries with low level of masculinity compared with countries with a high level of masculinity

Similarities in public service motivation in different cultural contexts

Apart from the differences, we expect a number of similarities between the countries. Most importantly, we expect that the same dimensions can be found in all four countries. In terms of expected associations to background variables, especially age and gender are relevant. Existing studies from western countries show that PSM and age are positively correlated and that women

have higher compassion than men in this context (Perry 1997: 190; DeHart-Davis, Marlowe and Pandey 2006; Camilleri 2007; Pandey and Stazyk 2008: 102, Andersen & Serritzlew, 2010). Theoretically, the association between age and PSM can be explained by the fact that generativity increases over the life cycle (Erikson, 1959). Generativity denotes the concern for establishing and guiding the next generation, and Westermeyer (2004) has for instance found that generativity is significantly associated with altruistic behaviors. The reason why females have more compassion may be their higher level of empathy (Andersen & Serritzlew, 2010). Part of the PSM literature also argues that the industry in which an individual works (and therefore task) is important for his/her public service motivation (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007; Steinhaus & Perry, 1996). More specifically, it can be argued that respondents producing or planning to produce core welfare services will have higher public service motivation than respondents producing more technical services where the possibility to do good for other people is not as high. Given that compassion has been seen as grounded on affective reasons linked to identification, it is possible that this dimension especially differs between individuals providing welfare and technical services. If compassion is based on identify with especially economically disadvantaged people, individuals with a initial high level of compassion (and maybe also other types of PSM), they may self-select in to welfare provision job out of a willingness to do good for ones they identify with, and they may also be socialized into higher compassion and other forms of PSM when they have started working in welfare provision. In the hypothesis below, we expect that individuals working/planning to work with welfare services have higher PSM, but it would not be surprising if this difference is especially pronounced for compassion.

Categorizing tasks across different cultures is difficult, and we therefore use a simple distinction between welfare services (education and social services) and technical services (commercial services, construction and infrastructure). Respondents working with regulation (e.g. tax collection) are for example not included in these analyses, because we do not have a clear expectation to their relative PSM. We do, however, expect that respondents who provide or plan to provide welfare services have higher PSM compared to respondents within more technical fields. For all three background variables (age, gender and type of task), the argument is general and is expected to apply to individuals in different cultural contexts. If public service motivation is a general concept, we should therefore expect the same patterns in the four very different countries. The expectations concerning similarities thus are:

H3: For Denmark, China, United States and Taiwan, the items which are traditionally used to measure a given public service dimension load highly on the same component in a principal component analysis.

H4: Female students of public administration have a higher level of compassion than male students of public administration in Denmark, China, United States and Taiwan.

H5: Age and public service motivation are positively associated in Denmark, China, United States and Taiwan.

H6: In Denmark, China, United States and Taiwan, students of public administration have a higher level of public service motivation if they work in or expect to work in welfare service provision compared to technical service provision.

Methods

This section explains why we compare masters of public administration students and why we have chosen the four investigated countries. It then describes the empirical data which are surveys of master students in each of the mentioned countries.

Analyzing Masters of Public Administration students

Svara (2010) found that Public Administration students are oriented toward contributing to society. He based his investigation on a survey of Masters of Public Administration students at five universities, and more than 80 percent agreed that meaningful public service and opportunities to help others are important them (ibid.). Svara (2010: 361) further argues that generational change in government employment presents numerical, attitudinal, and organizational challenges, and more knowledge about future public administrators around the world might help us handle these challenges. This is the main reason for studying masters of public administration students, but it also played a role that they constitute a relatively comparable groups across very different contexts, and that it is practically possible to gather survey data from them as a part of their education.

Comparing mainland China, Denmark, United States, and Taiwan

As shown in table 1, China, Taiwan, the United States and Denmark have different cultures, number of inhabitants and political systems. United States and Denmark have individualistic cultures, and Mainland China and Taiwan have collectivistic cultures. China and United States have masculine cultures, while Denmark have a more feminine culture, and Taiwan is in-between. The biggest difference in governance system is between Mainland China which is a single-party state governed

by the Communist Party of China and the other three countries which are constitutional democracies. This is of course important for many things, but not necessarily, we argue, for masters of public administration's public service motivation. If China differs from the rest of the countries, this indicates that the governance system is important, but we expect that all dimensions of public service motivation can be present in multi-party democracies as well as in single-party states. Equivalently, we do not expect differences in public service motivation due to the number of inhabitants, but we will keep an eye out for eventual correlations between size of population and public service motivation. Cultural differences, political systems and number of inhabitants are not, of course, the only differences between the countries, but we argue that they capture the most relevant distinctions.

[TABLE 1 HERE]

Data

The data consist of surveys of Public Administration students in the four countries. The number of respondents in each of the countries can be seen in table 1. We used an adapted version of Perry's (1996) instrument to measure public service motivation (see table 2 below for exact questions). This is supplemented by data on civil servants at local governments in Australia, Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Italy, Korea, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States (n=2868). This data will only be used on the aggregated level to test whether the cultural differences identified between Denmark, China, Taiwan and the United States are consistent when tested in a larger sample of countries.

The comparison between the questionnaire answers in different countries should be done carefully because of the known difference in cross-cultural response behavior. "Response set" means the general tendencies to systematically agree more (or less) with all questions, and it is known to vary between countries (e.g. Hofstede and Bond, 1984). This is one of the reasons for focusing more on the composition of public service motivation rather than on the absolute level. Given that it is an exploratory study, trying to identify patterns which may be similar, we use factor analysis. This technique, particular the principal components extraction method used here, is most useful for exploration, and further work (using for example Structural Equation Modelling) may be needed to better understand the differences in the patterns of public service motivation.

Results

The paper does, as mentioned, investigate similarities and differences in public service motivation between Public Administration students in four countries with very different cultures and political systems. The structure of the analysis is as follows: First, we develop and discuss measures of public service motivation followed by a comparison of the public service motivation dimensions. We then link these findings to the differences in culture. In our interpretation of these findings, we utilize the mentioned study of public service motivation among public servants at local governments in 12 countries. Finally, we test whether the same patterns on the individual level can be identified in the four countries (regarding age, gender and task).

As can be seen in table 2, the items intended to measure the public service motivation dimensions generally show the expected patterns in all the countries (the items meant to measure a given dimension generally load high on this dimension and only on this dimension). In addition to the items shown in table 2 and 3, we used the “attraction to policy making”-item “I generally associate politics with something positive” which worked differently in the different countries, maybe because its direction is different from the other “attraction to policy making”-items. We also used another item for the compassion dimension (“it is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress”) which seriously reduced the reliability for especially Taiwan, but also for China. It seems that this items works differently in countries such as Taiwan and China where it is a big problem to lose face. Still, the main finding is the similarity in component structure in table 2 for such different countries. Based on a joint principal component analysis (table 3) we calculated factor scores for each of the dimensions and the sum of these dimensions constitutes the PSM measure. We also calculate sum indexes to make sure that the differences between the countries (if any) are not only due to the way in which the measures are calculated. Using these indexes in the analyses gives exactly the same results as for the measures based on factor scores. The results using the sum indexes are accordingly not shown. As will be shown later, the results in this paper strongly suggest that it is also relevant to measure the dimensions separately as there is interesting variation in the relative scores between the countries. We therefore show results on both PSM and its dimensions.

[TABLE 2 and 3 HERE]

Table 4 shows the average scores on PSM and the PSM dimensions for the respondents from the different countries, while table 5 shows whether there are significant differences between the countries (with a Scheffe post hoc test). Absolute differences should, as mentioned, be interpreted very carefully because of differences in response set. The most important result is that there are differences in the relative composition of the respondents' PSM. As table 6 sums up, Danish respondents have a relatively low score on self-sacrifice, compassion and attraction to policy making and a relatively high score on commitment to the public interest. This country can, in other words, be said to have a 'commitment to the public interest' PSM profile. In contrast, respondents from China are low on commitment to the public interest and relatively high on compassion. Respondents from the United States have high scores on all the PSM dimensions, especially attraction to policy making. Finally, the respondents from Taiwan generally have lower scores on the PSM dimensions, except for self-sacrifice. In sum, respondents from the different countries seem to have different compositions of PSM, but they have almost the same dimensional structure.

[TABLE 4, 5 and 6 HERE]

The question is whether there are some general trends in these findings. The most important result is that hypothesis 1 is supported. The level of commitment to the public interest is actually significantly higher Denmark and United States (which have high individualism) compared with China and Taiwan (which have low individualism). Furthermore, an association between attraction to public service and cultural individualism can also be found for the 12 countries investigated in the Kim et al. (2010) study (see figure 1).

In contrast, the findings definitely does not support hypothesis 2, which expects that compassion is higher in countries with low level of masculinity compared with countries with a high level of masculinity. As can be seen from table 4 and 5, Denmark, which has the most feminine culture, also has the lowest average level of compassion, and United States and China, which have very masculine cultures, have high levels of compassion. The association is, in other words, totally opposite to the expectations, and hypothesis 2 is falsified.

[FIGURE 1 HERE]

The next step is to look at similarities and differences in terms of relationships at the individual level. Table 7 tests whether age and PSM are positively correlated as expected in hypothesis 5. It analyzes public service motivation as a composite concept and contains two models for each country and for all respondents. These models differ in that half includes only gender and age, while the other half also includes task. In the last-mentioned, the number of respondents is lower, because not all respondents can be unambiguously categorized as either working/planning to work in welfare service or in technical services. Welfare services include education and social services, while technical services include commercial services, construction and infrastructure. Table 7 shows that there are significant correlations between age and PSM for all countries except the United States. The relationship has the correct sign, and given that other studies from the United States finds positive associations between age and PSM (see Pandey & Stazyk 2008 for an overview), our interpretation is that the lacking significance may be due to the low number of respondents. There is partial support to hypothesis 6 in table 7. The expected positive association between PSM and having/planning to work within welfare provision rather than technical service provision is found for Denmark and Taiwan, but not for the United States and China. The same pattern is found in table 8 which is OLS regressions of compassion. This table shows that there is a positive association between compassion and welfare provision for the same two countries (Denmark and Taiwan). It is hard to know why this association does not exist in the United States and China, but here we must also remember that the lack of significant relationship can be due to the low number of respondents. Hypothesis 6 is therefore only partially falsified.

[TABLE 7 HERE]

Table 8 also tests whether females as expected have higher levels of compassion controlled for age and task. It shows the expected pattern in Denmark, United States and Taiwan, but female public administration students in China actually have less compassion (although not significantly lower). Similar to for PSM in general, we find a positive association between compassion and age for Denmark, United States and Taiwan. Hypothesis 4 thus receives some, although not unambiguous, support.

[TABLE 8 HERE]

We thus find the same broad patterns in public service motivation in very different countries, but that there is also significant variation in the detail. Most importantly, the respondents in the different countries have a different composition of their PSM.

Discussion and conclusion

The principal component analysis showed that it was possible to construct comparable measures for the PSM dimensions and therefore also for PSM as a composite measure. Despite some small differences in the patterns, the level of similarity between four such different countries as Denmark, United States, Taiwan and China is remarkable, and (with the exception of two items) this supports hypothesis 3 which expects that the factor structure for the PSM items will be approximately the same for Denmark, China, United States and Taiwan.

Using measures based on this analysis, we compared public service motivation between the countries and found (as expected in hypothesis 1) that the level of commitment to the public interest is higher in Denmark and United States (which have a high level of individualism, i.e. the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups) compared to Taiwan and China (which have low level of individualism). Hypothesis 1 was also supported by data from Kim et al. (2010). Individuals in individualistic countries (United States and Denmark) thus have PSM based relatively more on (individual) norms compared to countries with a collectivist culture (China and Taiwan). In contrast, the other expectation about cultural differences in PSM (hypothesis 2 which says that the level of compassion is higher in countries with low level of masculinity compared with countries with low level of masculinity) was falsified as the level of compassion was highest in the two countries with highest level of masculinity. Denmark, which has the most feminine culture, has master students with less compassion than in the other three countries, and United States, which has a rather masculine culture, has master students with a very high level of compassion. The unintuitive finding is thus that cultural masculinity and compassion seems to be positively correlated.

Still, when we look at the individuals students, we find the expected (hypothesis 4) tendency for female students of public administration to have a higher level of compassion than male students of public administration in Denmark, United States and Taiwan. The association is neither strong nor especially robust for different specifications, but we still find significant associations for the three mentioned countries. The positive relationship between age and compassion is more robust although we did not have a specific expectation about age for that

dimension. It is, however, noteworthy that we do not find any relationship between the background variables and compassion for the Chinese students, indication that Bangcheng et al. (2008) may be correct in concluding that this dimension is at best weakly supported in China. The existence of a relationship between age and public service motivation (hypothesis 5) is supported for all the countries, but the association is not significant for the United States. Finally, we find that students of public administration have a higher level of public service motivation if they work in or expect to work in welfare service provision compared to commercial service provision or construction in Denmark and Taiwan (hypothesis 6). This expectation is not, however, supported for United States and Taiwan.

In sum, we expected and found similarities in the general patterns in public service motivation among Masters of Public Administration students in China, Denmark, Taiwan and United States and differences in the details. The students in all the countries had relatively high public service motivation, but the relative weight of the PSM dimensions—including commitment to the public interest, compassion, self-sacrifice and attraction to policy making—differed. Culture is clearly relevant for PSM: Individualism seems to be positively correlated with commitment to public interest, while masculinity seems to be positively correlated with compassion. The last finding is highly puzzling, and we hope that future research will go deeper into the mechanisms behind this.

The most different systems design (with many variables differing between the countries) makes the similarities most interesting. It is noteworthy that we can find similar patterns of public service motivation in such different contexts, and that the background variables (at least to some extent) show similar trends. This suggests that although there are differences in the specific ways, in which altruism in public service provision unfold, there are also similarities. Given that we study master students in public administration, it would be interesting to compare them to ordinary public employees in the investigated countries and to study how the findings relate to difference in education of these students, and how their public service motivation develop over time. Still, the most important step is to acknowledge that public employees in general and public administrators in particular are not purely self-interested.

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Table 1: Investigated countries after inhabitants and scores on dimension of culture

Country	Inhabitants	Hofstede's individualism score	Hofstede's masculinity score	Political system	Number of respondents
China	1,341m	20	66	Single-party state governed by the Communist Party of China	307
Taiwan	23m	17	45	Multi-party democracy with a semi-presidential system of government	223
United States	310m	91	62	Multi-party federal presidential democracy	265
Denmark	6m	74	16	Multi-party unitary parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy	455

Sources: www.geerthofstede.nl/research--vsm/dimension-data-matrix.aspx and <http://www.clearlycultural.com/geert-hofstede-cultural-dimensions/individualism> (both accessed February 1st 2011).

Table 2: Principal component analyses of public service motivation items (separately for each country)

	Denmark				United States				China				Taiwan			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Items intended to measure compassion																
It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.	.018	-.012	-.141	.762	.006	.098	.726	-.224	-.094	-.035	.089	.858	.202	-.006	-.162	.683
I am often reminded by daily events about how dep. we are on one another	-.058	-.002	.021	.750	.032	-.037	.900	.136	.153	.075	-.091	.755	-.051	.065	.057	.955
Items intended to measure commitment to the public interest																
Meaningful public service is very important to me	.603	-.016	.248	.373	.014	-.100	.251	-.723	.675	-.095	.045	.280	.860	.042	.116	.157
I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community	.884	-.006	-.055	-.164	.018	.087	-.163	-.883	.928	.049	.019	-.156	.737	.109	-.202	-.133
I consider public service my civic duty.	.714	.015	-.202	-.001	.274	-.089	.136	-.585	.528	.043	.119	.377	.719	.011	-.117	.157
Items intended to measure attraction to public policy making																
The give and take of public policy making doesn't appeal to me	.055	.841	.100	.073	.084	.850	-.053	.019	-.098	.883	-.008	.106	-.153	.925	-.099	.084
I do not care much for politicians	-.066	.819	-.048	-.110	-.058	.892	.090	-.012	.090	.872	.019	-.086	.263	.826	.076	-.040
Items intended to measure self sacrifice																
Making a difference in society means more to me than pers. achievements	.086	.275	-.528	.212	.845	.034	-.012	-.006	-.089	-.028	.852	.062	.305	-.017	-.451	.286
I feel people should give back to society more than they get from it	.125	-.049	-.750	-.041	.818	-.046	.026	-.069	-.003	.038	.839	-.026	.250	.000	-.682	.148
I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society	-.050	-.070	-.858	.044	.875	.029	-.009	.045	.131	-.001	.815	-.058	-.073	.074	-.961	-.060

Notes: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. Lightly shaded cells shows deviations from the expected pattern. Darkly shaded cells show loadings, which as expected are high (>0.4), while non-shaded cells show loadings which as expected are low.

Table 3: Principal component analyses of public service motivation items (all four countries together)

	All respondents			
	1	2	3	4
Items intended to measure compassion				
It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.	.191	.000	-.131	.632
I am often reminded by daily events about how dep. we are on one another	-.039	.025	.078	.917
Items intended to measure commitment to the public interest				
Meaningful public service is very important to me	.774	-.043	.047	.230
I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community	.860	.072	-.093	-.153
I consider public service my civic duty.	.584	-.009	-.225	.219
Items intended to measure attraction to public policy making				
The give and take of public policy making doesn't appeal to me	.222	.845	.146	-.102
I do not care much for politicians	-.217	.805	-.175	.142
Items intended to measure self sacrifice				
Making a difference in society means more to me than pers. achievements	.055	.057	-.738	.076
I feel people should give back to society more than they get from it	.094	-.030	-.801	.001
I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society	-.046	-.013	-.893	-.079
Cronbach's alpha for index consisting of shaded cells in column	0.55	0.77	0.53	0.77

Note: Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization

Table 4: Comparison of PSM dimensions between countries

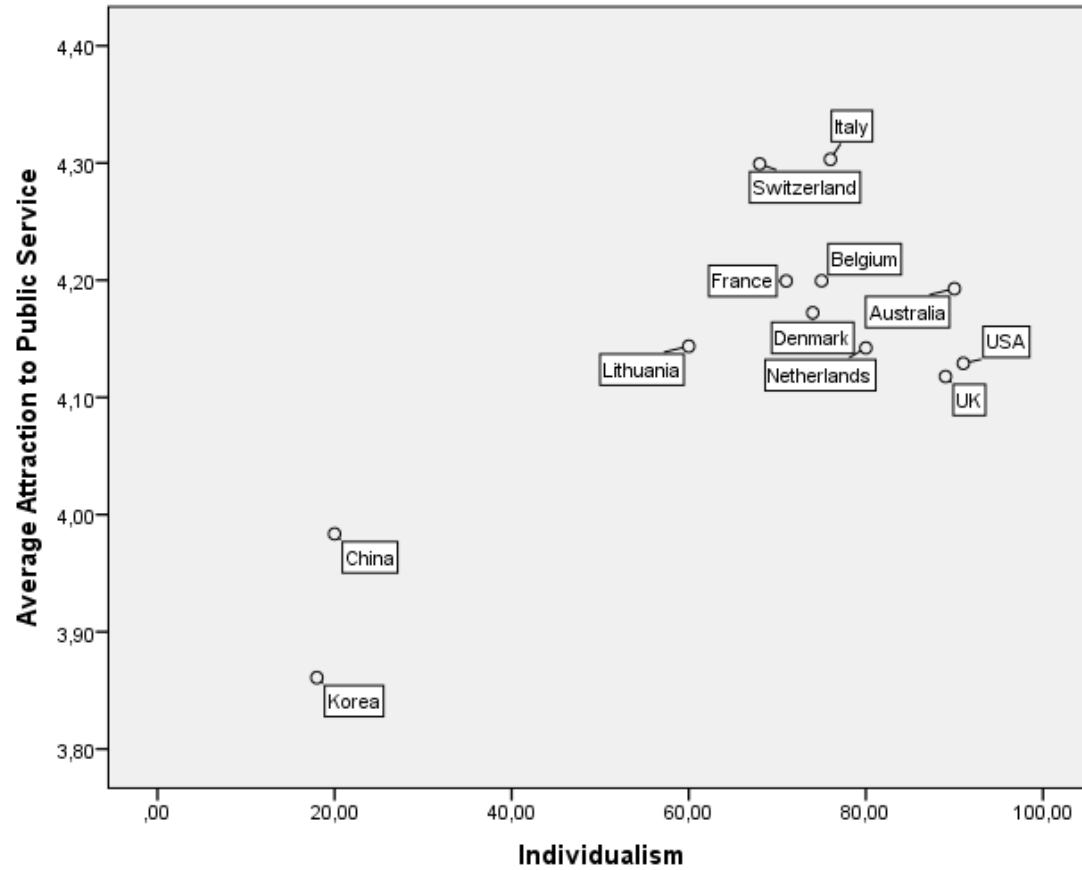
Country		Compassion	Attraction to policy making	Commitment to the public interest	Self-sacrifice	Public service motivation
Denmark	Mean	-0.2381	-0.0760	0.3876	-0.3154	-0.2419
	N	370	370	370	370	370
	Std. Deviation	0.8735	0.9127	0.8162	0.8377	1.8181
China	Mean	0.2453	0.1499	-0.2249	0.0552	0.2255
	N	270	270	270	270	270
	Std. Deviation	0.9820	1.0563	0.9522	1.0038	2.3413
The United States	Mean	0.1556	0.1901	0.2186	0.3462	0.9104
	N	242	242	242	242	242
	Std. Deviation	0.9521	0.9979	0.8148	0.9825	2.3250
Taiwan	Mean	-0.0770	-0.2846	-0.6614	0.0878	-0.9352
	N	205	205	205	205	205
	Std. Deviation	1.1763	1.0022	1.1415	1.1185	2.5991

Table 5. Statistical significance of multiple comparisons (Scheffe)

		Denmark	China	United States
<i>Compassion</i>	China United States Taiwan	China highest *** United States highest *** No difference	No difference China highest ***	No difference
<i>Attraction to policy making</i>	China United States Taiwan	China highest ** United States highest ** No difference	No difference China highest ***	United States highest ***
<i>Commitment to public interest</i>	China United States Taiwan	Denmark highest *** No difference Denmark highest ***	United States highest *** China highest ***	United States highest ***
<i>Self-sacrifice</i>	China United States Taiwan	China highest *** United States highest *** Taiwan highest ***	United States highest *** No difference	United States highest **
<i>Public service motivation</i>	China United States Taiwan	China highest * United States highest *** Denmark highest ***	United States highest *** China highest ***	United States highest ***

Note: * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Figure 1: Countries after their individualism (Hofstede, 2001) and average attraction to public service (Kim et al. 2010)



Source: Data from Kim et al. (2010) and from Hofstede's web data bases (see note to table 1).

Table 6: Summary of country public service motivation profiles

Country	Compassion	Attraction to policy making	Self-sacrifice	Commitment to the public interest	Profile
Denmark	Low	Low	Low	Very high	Commitment to the public interest profile
Taiwan	Low	Low	Medium	Very low	Self-sacrifice profile (low PSM)
China	Very high	High	Medium	Low	Compassion profile
United States	High	Very high	High	High	Attraction to policy-making profile (high PSM)

Table 7. OLS regressions of public service motivation. Unstandardized regression coefficients.

	Denmark		China		United States		Taiwan		All respondents	
	Model 7.1	Model 7.2	Model 7.3	Model 7.4	Model 7.5	Model 7.6	Model 7.7	Model 7.8	Model 7.9	Model 7.10
Constant	-1.060 *	-2.421 **	-1.676	-2.059	0.019	1.274	-4.543 ***	-6.611 ***	-2.026 ***	-3.787 ***
age	0.022	0.036 *	0.067 **	0.085 *	0.021	0.002	0.097 ***	0.124 ***	0.042 ***	0.065 ***
female	-0.224	-0.314	-0.343	-0.489	0.428	0.220	0.500	0.623	-0.011	-0.097
Welfare service		1.041 **		0.129		-0.158		1.726***		1.004 ***
China									0.984 ***	1.813 ***
United States									1.622 ***	2.289***
Taiwan									-0.330	0.022
N	368	157	250	104	235	82	200	133	1053	476
Adj. R ²	0.004	0.038	0.014	0.015	0.006	0.000	0.091	0.27	0.088	0.173

Note: All PSM measures are factor scores from the principal component analysis in table 3. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Reference country in model 7.9 and 7.10 is Denmark.

Table 8. OLS regressions of compassion. Unstandardized regression coefficients.

	Denmark		China		United States		Taiwan		All respondents	
	Model 8.1	Model 8.2	Model 8.3	Model 8.4	Model 8.5	Model 8.6	Model 8.7	Model 8.8	Model 8.9	Model 8.10
Constant	-0.948	-1.271 **	0.151	-0.383	-0.574 **	-0.759	-1.243 ***	-2.136 ***	-1.065***	-1.728***
Age	0.014 **	0.012	0.007	0.029	0.016 **	0.021 *	0.029 ***	0.035 ***	0.017 ***	0.025***
Female	0.173 *	-0.002	-0.206	-0.166	0.420 **	0.364 *	0.246	0.388 *	0.142 **	0.098
Welfare service		0.632 ***		-0.251		0.289		0.883***	0.715 ***	0.436***
China									0.587 ***	1.049***
United States									0.300 ***	0.875***
Taiwan										0.353***
N	368	157	250	104	225	82	200	133	1053	476
Adj. R ²	0.019	0.039	0.004	0.017	0.060	0.056	0.038	0.217	0.059	0.121

Note: All PSM measures are factor scores from the principal component analysis in table 3. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Reference country in model 8.9 and 8.10 is Denmark.

ⁱ The other cultural dimensions are not expected to affect public service motivation. The *Power Distance Index* concerns the extent institutions (like the family) accept and expect to which the less powerful members of organizations and that power is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 2001: 98). This represents inequality defined from below, measuring whether a society's level of inequality is endorsed by the citizens. The dimension called *long-term orientation* (versus short-term orientation) differentiates future-oriented questionnaire questions and past- and present-oriented items. Values associated with long-term orientation are thrift and perseverance; values associated with short-term orientation are respect for tradition and fulfilling social obligations. *Uncertainty avoidance* concerns the extent the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations. It indicates to what extent a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations.