THE CHANGING FACE OF PUBLIC SERVICE: UNDERSTANDING

THE DEDICATION, ALTRUISM, AND CAREER CHOICES

OF GOVERNMENT AND NONPROFIT EMPLOYEES

By

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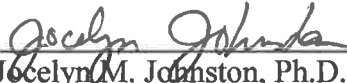
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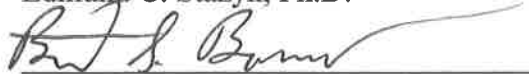In

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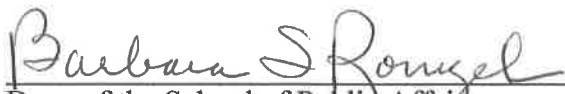
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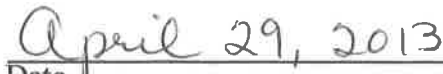George Washington University

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ABSTRACT

In recent decades, government has increasingly contracted out the delivery of public goods and services to the nonprofit and for-profit sectors. As a result, the face of public service continues to evolve as employees carrying out the public's work can now be found across all three sectors—government, nonprofit, and for-profit. The blurring of the boundaries across sectors, increased mobility of employees, and declining social capital raises numerous questions about the motivations and behavior of today's public servants. This dissertation examines how the growing use of nonprofit and for-profit providers to deliver public services has changed how individuals view their options for a career in public service, a question that has important implications for human resource managers tasked with recruiting and retaining talented employees.

This dissertation examines what it means to be a public servant in several ways. First, I describe the current climate of public service, explore what we mean by "public", and provide an overview of theories on motivation and sector choice or dedication. Next, I present three studies that each addresses a different research question that explores the meaning of public service.

The first study, presented in Chapter 2, examines how the altruism of government and nonprofit employees compares to for-profit sector workers. Employing data from the 2011 Volunteer Supplement of the Current Population Survey, I examine the association between

employment sector and whether one volunteers, using separate models for formal volunteering, informal volunteering, and the number of hours that volunteers devote to volunteering.

The second study, presented in Chapter 3, examines sector switching among government, nonprofit, and for-profit sector employees using data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). I use hazard models to determine the probability of employees switching job sectors during both a stable economy using panels from the 2004 SIPP and the recent recession using panels from the 2008 SIPP.

The third study, presented in Chapter 4, explores the career goals of a sample of Master in Public Administration and Master in Public Policy students in the Washington, DC area using data from an original survey. I use logistic regression to explore the factors associated with graduate students' decisions to make charitable donations and volunteer, as well as their desire to work in public service, government, and nonprofit organizations.

Across studies, I find important distinctions between sectors as well as across levels of government that shed light on the dedication, prosocial behaviors, and sector choice of individuals today with the rise of privatization and increased employee mobility. I am hopeful that this study will help reignite attention to public sector distinctiveness and raise interest in developing contemporary management, recruitment, and retention strategies in the context of the changing environment.

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INTRODUCTION

"Most lectures about public service … quote Mother Theresa and urge people to join the Peace Corps, that personally ambitious people need not apply. My message to you this afternoon is a little bit different. I urge you to see public service as a means of self-fulfillment and not self-denial."

<div align="right">

– Madeline Albright
Former Secretary of State
From a speech made at Yale University
March 21, 2006

</div>

The face of public service continues to evolve as government becomes increasingly reliant on nonprofit and for-profit providers to deliver public goods and services using contracts, collaborations and networks to cope with today's complex problems. Employees carrying out the public's work are no longer exclusively government employees, but rather can be found across all three sectors—government, nonprofit, and for-profit. As a result, today's individuals may see their options for a career in public service differently than in the past, and today's public managers are often tasked to manage programs that not only cut across organizational boundaries, but also sectoral boundaries. To complicate matters further, employees are more mobile than they have been in past generations where employees no longer feel the need to dedicate their entire career to one organization or even one sector. This blurring of the boundaries across sectors coupled with the increased mobility of employees and declining social capital in society raises many questions about the motivations and behavior of contemporary public servants and creates new management and human resource challenges for public and nonprofit managers tasked to recruit and retain talented employees.

Light (1999, 2008) argues that government is falling behind in hiring new employees as the workforce is more mobile and those interested in public service will move to where they can make the most difference regardless of sector. Meanwhile Denhardt and Denhardt (2003) focus solely on government as public service in their call for a return to the values of democracy, citizenship, and the public interest. Confronting new challenges and an evolving world, what does it mean to be a public servant today?

While there has been much work on public sector distinctiveness, we still know very little about the employees themselves. What draws individuals to public service? What factors are associated with decisions to stay or leave jobs in the public realm? How do tough economic times like the Great Recession influence job mobility decisions? How do public servants behave outside of the workplace in society? Do intrinsic motivation theories for employment decisions transcend into the public square? What factors attract public affair students to public service careers? Besides the binary distinction between the public and for-profit sector, how do the motivations and behaviors of government and nonprofit sector employees compare? Much research in public administration focuses on government as a whole or one level of government, but do employees within government differ across federal, state, and local government levels?

This study attempts to address these questions and more in examining what it means to be a public servant through three standalone manuscripts that each explores a different aspect of the dedication, altruism, and career choices of government and nonprofit employees. This introduction is the foundation for the chapters ahead. First, I will discuss the increase in privatization in the United States that has led to a blurring of the boundaries between sectors. Next, I will provide an overview of theories of public sector distinctiveness. I will then discuss the changing role of government, in terms of administrative reforms, calls to public service,

devolution, and trends in government employment by levels of government. Next, I will discuss

the growth of the nonprofit sector as well as its unique characteristics. I then will provide an

overview of theories of work motivation and discuss how they relate to sector choice and

dedication as well as prosocial behaviors. Lastly, I will present the approach of this study.

Blurring of the Boundaries

The 1980s marked a shift towards privatization in which the boundaries between the

sectors became even more blurry and the differences between public and for-profit became even

more of a gray area with the rise of "third party government" (Salamon 1981) or the "hollowing"

of the state (Milward and Provan 2000). Privatization is often undertaken in hopes of reducing

costs through competition among providers and by producing government services while

reducing the size the government (Savas 1987), but raises numerous concerns for public

managers, the providers, and the public interest. Government determines whether an activity is

"inherently governmental," which the Office of Management and Budget provides little clarity in

defining and the definition has evolved, and if not then whether the for-profit sector can provide

the service as a lower cost. One of the major warnings in public administration is the threat

privatization may pose to political legitimacy. As Moe (1987) writes:

> A line must separate that which is public, or governmental (while other meanings of
> public are important, these terms are used here interchange-ably), and that which is
> private. The configuration of the line may vary over time and with circumstances, but it is
> a vital line nonetheless and the fundamental basis of this line is to be found in public law,
> not in economic or behavioral theories. (454)

Much research has examined and documented the issues associated with contracting out for

government services (e.g. Kettl 2002; Milward and Provan 2000; Salamon 1981; Romzek and

Johnston 1999; Van Slyke 2003), but few have examined how this impacts individuals'

employment decisions as the distinctions between sectors become less concrete. This is an

important question as the use of nonprofit and for-profit providers to deliver public services continues to be on the rise.

The government and nonprofit sectors are linked in several ways: "in the legal framework under which nonprofits operate, in the role they play in the delivery of a wide range of valued services, and the efforts they make to influence the agenda for government action" (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, 221). Government collaborates with nonprofit organizations through a number of means and across levels of government—federal, state, and local. The complex and multidirectional partnerships between government and nonprofits are illustrated by a recent report from the U.S. Government Accountability Office. The GAO (2009) describes the various mechanisms the government uses to collaborate with nonprofit organizations:

> The most direct mechanisms are grants to, cooperative agreements with, and contracts for nonprofit organizations to provide particular services, such as research or services to particular beneficiaries. In fiscal year 2006, grants were provided to nonprofit organizations directly under almost 700 different programs. Federal grants and contracts may also reach nonprofit organizations by passing through levels of government as intermediaries, particularly with grant funds provided to states or other government levels that are often passed through to nonprofit organizations that provide services. Federal funds paid to nonprofit organizations as fees for services follow a somewhat more complex path, as exemplified by federal health insurance programs that reimburse nonprofit organizations for services they provide to individuals. Federal loans facilitate nonprofit organizations' access to capital by, for example, financing the construction of systems to improve electric service in rural areas. Further, other mechanisms, such as loan guarantees, while not directly providing federal funds to nonprofit organizations, increase access to other sources of funds for nonprofit organizations. (1)

Therefore, the relationship between government, or governments with the incorporation of government levels, and nonprofit organizations is far from clear and simple. The partnering mechanisms are complex, the data is incomplete and the funds can be difficult to track. All these factors contribute to the blurring of boundaries across sectors and raise significant public and nonprofit management questions, especially with contracting on the rise. Government contract

spending rose 141 percent in a decade from fiscal year 2001 to 2011. Trends in contracting for

government services are below in Figure 1.
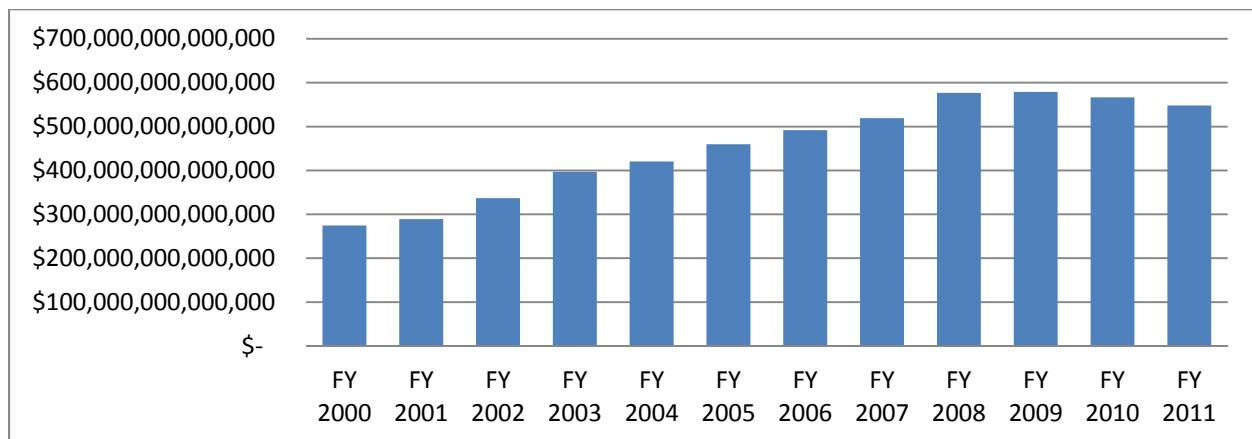
Figure 1: Trends in Government Contracting in Constant 2011 Dollars

Source: Center for Effective Government, 2013

   While the proper role of government and the uniqueness of the public sector have been

debated throughout the history of the United States, it is generally agreed that "public and

private management are at least as different as they are similar, and that the differences are more

important than the similarities" (Allison 1980, 400). Scholars in public administration have long

examined differences between the public sector and private or for-profit sector (for reviews, see

Boyne 2002; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey, Backoff and Levine 1976; Rainey and Bozeman

2000; Rainey 2009). However, much less attention has been paid to potential differences

between the employees themselves in what draws them to such work and their subsequent

behavior, both in and outside the formal confines of the workplace. In addition, how does the

evolving role of government in society with the increased use of for-profit and nonprofit

providers influence employment decisions and employee behaviors across all three sectors as

well as levels of government?

Public Sector Distinctiveness

The first question that arises in examining public sector distinctiveness, especially in an era of fuzzy boundaries, is "what *is* public?" The definitions of "public" are varied, ranging from simple normative definitions, such as organizations that work for the public interest (Dewey 1927), to multifaceted continuums. While some argue that basic normative definitions cannot adequately capture the nuances needed to differentiate between public and private in a world of hybrid organizations and privatization, there continues to be discussion over the most appropriate characteristics to use to categorize organizations as decidedly more public or more private.

Pesch (2008) identifies five approaches to examining the public-private distinction. First is the *generic* approach, which assumes that there are no significant differences between the two sectors. Second, the *economist core* approach distinguishes between the two sectors in terms of the state and the market. Third, the *political core* approach claims that public organizations have political influence. Fourth, the *normative* approach asserts that public organizations are not necessarily political, but act on behalf of the public interest. Fifth, the *dimensional* approach employs both the economic and political approach.

A majority of the theories on public sector distinctiveness explore the dimensions of publicness. Dahl and Lindbloom (1953) posit that publicness is a continuum ranging from agencies, which are government-owned, to enterprises, which are market controlled. In the realm of organizational theory, Blau and Scott (1962) identify four types of organizations, which they categorize by beneficiary: first, mutual-benefit associations that benefit the membership; second, business concerns that benefit owners; third, service organizations that benefit the clients; and commonweal organizations that benefit the public at large. Building upon the work of Dahl and Lindbloom (1953), Wamsley and Zald (1973) define public by examining political

and economic factors, both internal and external, and Bozeman (1987) explores a continuum of political and economic authority. Benn and Gaus (1983) argue that three dimensions are key in defining public, which are access, the interests affected, and agency. Haque (2001) explores five dimensions of the publicness of public services: the public-private distinction, the composition of service recipients, the nature of the role it plays in society, public accountability, and public trust. Antonsen and Jørgensen (1997) use a values approach as they define publicness as an organization's attachment to public sector values such as due process, accountability, and welfare provision.

Overall, three dimensions of publicness are prominent: ownership, funding, and control (Bozeman 1987), but ownership is the most common definition in the field (Bozeman and Bretsneider 1994; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey 2009; Rainey, Backoff, Levine 1976). In addition, Bozeman and Bretsneider (1994) find that ownership has important independent effects and Meier and O'Toole (2011) argue that the various definitions measure "an underlying concept—whether the program or activity has a public purpose" (i283). Therefore, I use the prominent defining factor of ownership throughout this study to differentiate between the employees in each of the three sectors.

<center>Changing Role of Federal, State and Local Government Agencies</center>

The role of public administration has evolved significantly throughout the history of the United States. Frederick Mosher (1968) examines the changing nature of the civil service during the development of the administrative state. First, the guardian period, from 1789 to 1829, marked by the inauguration of President Washington, is classified as government by gentlemen. Second, the spoils period, from 1829 to 1883, during Jackson's presidency is government by the common. The reform period or Progressive Era from 1883 to 1906 is marked as government by

<center>7</center>

the good with the passage of the Pendleton Act, which created the federal civil service system based on merit. Mosher (1968) classifies the next wave of government as government by the efficient during the scientific management period from 1906 to 1937. With President Franklin Delano Roosevelt submitting the Brownlow Committee Report to Congress in 1937, Mosher (1968) considers the next phase to be government by managers followed by government by professionals with the rise of knowledge and university training.

In general, the study of public administration and debates concerning the administrative role of government in society begin with Woodrow Wilson's (1887) seminal essay, where he called for administration to be a field of study and argued that there should be a separation between politics and administration with his theory of neutral competence. The strict dichotomy of politics and administration dominated the field throughout the Progressive Era until after World War II and the New Deal when the connection between politics and administration became evident. Casting the dichotomy aside, Appleby (1945) describes key characteristics of public servants that are distinct from business, where government employees should first, have an interest in government and second, a feeling for action and ability to organize resources for action. While the latter is an attribute that may be similar for for-profit employees, Appleby argues that public managers require a broad view and must consider the public interest.

Aside from the debate over the proper role of administration and the establishment of civil service and government administration, the government and its employees face challenges of public perceptions over the years. Government employment received a particularly poor reputation following the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. In addition to the rise of privatization discussed previously, the 1980s saw a steady decline in public trust and the proliferation of government employee stereotypes, such as that they are all lazy bureaucrats. The

government employment issues culminated when the Volcker Commission released their first report in 1989 announcing a "quiet crises" in government due to the loss of quality employees. This report called upon universities and government to engage and train young individuals and foster commitment to public service. In 2003, the Volcker Commission released a follow-up report, entitled *Urgent Business for America: Revitalizing the Federal Government for the 21st Century*, that states:

> The notion of public service, once a noble calling proudly pursued by the most talented Americans of every generation, draws an indifferent response from today's young people and repels many of the country's leading private citizens. Those with policy responsibility find their decisionmaking frustrated by overlapping jurisdictions, competing special interests, and sluggish administrative response. Those who enter the civil service often find themselves trapped in a maze of rules and regulations that thwart their personal development and stifle their creativity. The best are underpaid; the worst, overpaid. Too many of the most talented leave the public service too early; too many of the least talented stay too long. (1)

Therefore, twelve years later, the recruitment and retention issues identified in the initial report remain. The call to public service, the needed interest in government prescribed by Appleby (1945), seems to be lacking in today's society, at least when it comes to seeking federal government employment (Volcker Comission 1989, 2003). In addition, employees who may be devoted to serving the public and drawn to government work are met with frustrations once they enter government employment, such as red tape and slow movement, which may deter them from staying in the job or even the sector. This environment also makes it difficult for government to recruit effective employees from other sectors, especially when people can help carry out the government's work in the private or nonprofit sectors (Light 1999, 2008).

In addition to employment issues at the federal level, the federal government began to delegate authority over many of the nation's social programs to the states since the 1970s. Following the President Lynden B. Johnson's federal Great Society programs in the 1960s, President Richard Nixon called for New Federalism to turn over control of some federal

programs to state and local governments through the use of block grants and revenue sharing. Within a decade, this decentralization of social service programs accelerated into devolution of responsibilities from the federal government level to the state government level (Sosin 2012). Wright (1990) describes how decentralization began in order to combat concerns with declining federal support, loss of public confidence and budget concerns. However, decentralization turned into devolution in the 1980s due to the increase in federal mandates to the states with inadequate funds to support such efforts.

Proponents of decentralization argue that shifting authority from the federal to state level grants states the flexibility to meet their local needs effectively and efficiently (Goldsmith and Eggers 2004). However, states that gain autonomy may not meet their needs and may let politics or financial constraints dictate the implementation of statewide programs, or states may not obtain adequate discretion to control program parameters (Sosin 2012). Thompson (1998) argues that states may either "race to the bottom" (Peterson 1995) for fear of losing business or citizenry to nearby jurisdictions by raising local taxes to finance social programs, or such decentralization may lead to "compensatory federalism," whereby states will compensate for reduced federal support through efficiency gains and the use of state funds. In addition to the rise of privatization at the federal government level, this devolution of authority to the states often gives states the flexibility to privatize the social welfare programs (Johnston and Romzek 1999) or further delegate responsibility to the local government level. With regard to the increase in contracting out, Ott and Dicke (2012) posit that "today, almost all decisions about the allocation of public resources to nonprofit organizations are made through local government and private funding structures and decision processes" (84).

While little research has examined potential differences that may exist *within* the government sector across federal, state, and local government employees, there have been efforts to obtain public opinions about each level of government. Perhaps most notably, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) reported public opinions on a number of intergovernmental issues on an annual basis from 1972 to 1994. These reports provided information and trend data on public attitudes towards each level of government. Figure 2 below shows the trends in public attitudes about which level of government citizens believe they get the most for their tax dollars. Interestingly, when the survey first began in 1972, the federal government had the highest percentage with 39 percent of the public surveyed feeling that they received the most for their money from the federal government, followed by the local government level (26%) and the state government level having the lowest percentage (18%). However, public opinion has changed drastically over the years, which many contribute in part to privatization and devolution in the 1980s along with major national events, such as the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. In the update of the survey conducted by Cole and Kincaid (2000), the local government level has the highest percentage with 31 percent of the respondents feeling that the local government provides the most for their tax dollars, compared to 29 percent for the state government level and 23 percent for the federal government level in 1999. Over the past few decades, public opinion has shifted from feeling the federal government provides the most to feeling that the local government level provides the most.
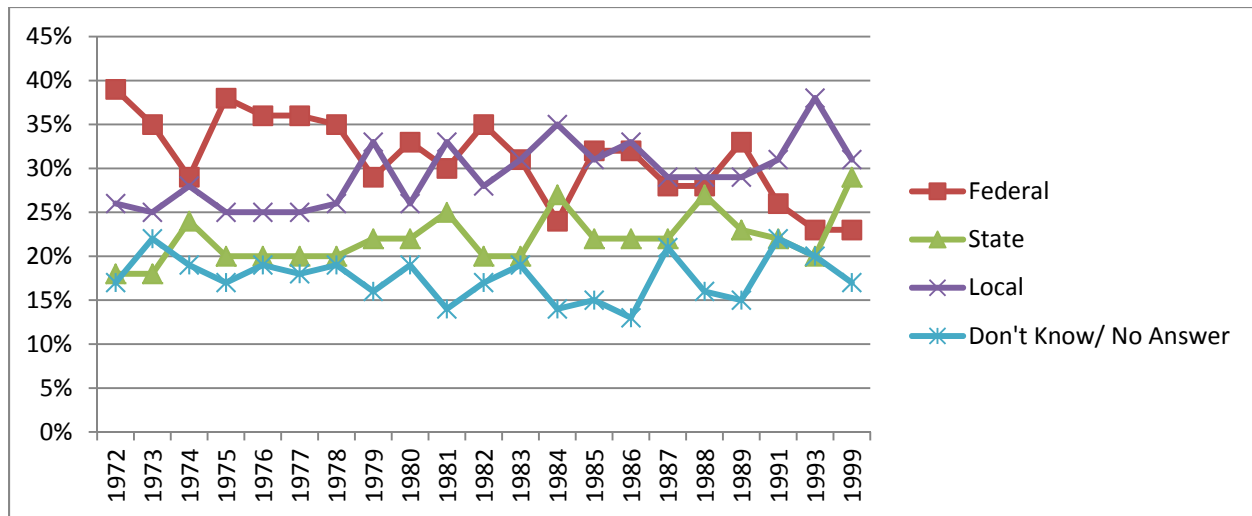
Figure 2: Which Level of Government Do You Feel You Get the Most for Your Money?

Source: Cole and Kincaid (2000) and U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (1972-1993)

In addition to questions about taxes and intergovernmental issues, the ACIR also asked directly about trust and confidence in government by levels of government. The results of the ACIR surveys in 1987 and 1992 along with Cole and Kincaid's (2000) update with 1999 data are below in Table 1. As shown and as much of the research on public trust reports (Cooper, Knotts and Brennan 2008), public trust tends to be highest at the local government level and lowest at the federal government level with state government often being somewhere in between. In 1999, public trust was the highest at the local level with 69 percent of respondents reporting a "great deal" or "fair amount" of trust, compared to 67 percent at the state government level and 56 percent at the federal government level. In addition to trust, the ACIR has gleamed insights into public opinions of government performance by level of government. According to a 1990 ACIR survey, 29 percent of respondents grade the performance of government at the federal and state level as "good" or "excellent", compared to 32 percent of respondents grading local government performance as "good" or "excellent." Across public opinion polls, it appears as though the local government level is more trusted, is thought to make the best use of taxpayer dollars, and

performs well. In light of the public attitudes, it seems as though the local government stands

out as the most favorable level of government, at least in recent years.

Table 1: Trust in Government by Levels of Government, 1987, 1992, 1999

Trust Level	Federal			State			Local		
	1987	1992	1999	1987	1992	1999	1987	1992	1999
Great Deal	9%	4%	9%	11%	5%	10%	16%	6%	14%
Fair amount	59%	38%	47%	62%	46%	57%	57%	54%	55%
Not Very Much	24%	41%	30%	19%	36%	23%	16%	26%	20%
None at All	4%	13%	12%	4%	8%	7%	7%	9%	8%
Don't Know/N.A.	4%	4%	2%	4%	5%	3%	4%	5%	3%

Source: Cole and Kincaid (2000) and U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (1972-1993)

As a result of privatization and devolution, the size of the federal government has been

stagnant, hovering around 2 million employees for the past 30 years, but declining in proportion

to the rest of the nation's workforce. In 1980, federal employees accounted for 2.3 percent of the

nation's workforce, which decreased to just 1.7 percent of the workforce in 2010. Over the same

30-year period, employment in the for-profit sector and state and local government levels have

been growing. In 1980, about 79 million people worked in the for-profit sector and 13 million

worked for state or local governments, which increased to 111 employees in the for-profit sector

and 20 million employees in state and local governments in 2010 (Congressional Budget Office

2012). In contrast to the federal government, the size of state and local government has been

expanding. Over a ten-year period from 1997 to 2007, local government employment grew by

18 percent from 12 million workers to over 14 million workers and state government

employment grew by 10 percent from about 4.7 million to 5.2 million (Census Bureau 1997,

2007). The current distribution of government employment for 2011 is below in Figure 3. Local

government employees are the largest proportion of government employment with 63 percent,

followed by state government employees with 24 percent and federal government employees

with 13 percent. With such variation in the number of employees, trends in employment, and policy trends in privatization and devolution, employees at the federal, state and local level are bound to work in very different environments, with different management issues and different organizational cultures. Yet little attention has been paid to differences that may exist within the government sector itself across federal, state, and local government employees. This study hopes to shed light on potential differences across levels of government, especially in terms of employee motivations, behaviors, and sector dedication.
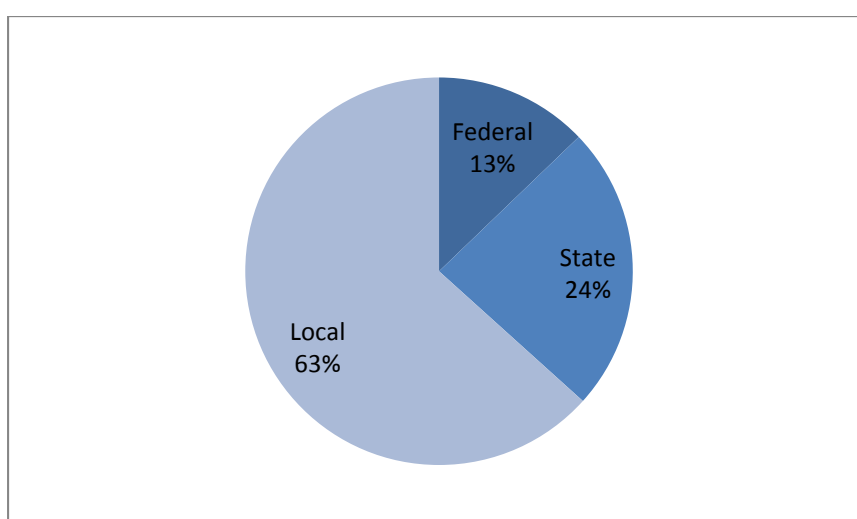
Figure 3: Distribution of Government Employment, 2011

Source: Census Bureau, 2011 Annual Survey of Public Employment and Payroll

<u>Growth of the Nonprofit Sector</u>

While privatization and devolution have left federal government employment stagnant, the nonprofit sector has been growing in recent decades, in part through government contracts to deliver public services, and especially in terms of employment. The overall workforce in the United States has been declining since 2008 and has seen an increase in discouraged workers, but employment in the nonprofit sector continues to rise in spite of the recent recession. According to Roeger and colleagues (2012), from 2000 to 2010, for-profit employment and wages decreased, by 6 and 1 percent respectively, whereas government and nonprofit sector

employment and wages increased. Government employment increased by 8 percent with a 23

percent increase in wages, while nonprofit employment increased by 17 percent with a 29

percent increase in wages over the 10 year period from 2000 to 2010 (Roeger et al. 2012). In

2012, an estimated 2.3 million nonprofit organizations are operating in the United States (Roeger

et al. 2012). Despite the growth in the nonprofit sector and growing employment, little attention

is paid to the third sector in public administration literature, which tends to focus on the binary

distinction between public and for-profit sectors, especially in terms of public sector

distinctiveness. This may be due to the fact that the nonprofit sector is difficult to classify—is it

more like the for-profit sector due to its autonomy or is it more like government due to its

mission-serving purpose?

Nonprofits are therefore distinct and cannot wholly be categorized as either public or for-

profit. "Nonprofit and voluntary action expresses a complex and at times conflicting desire to

defend the pursuit of private individual aspirations, while at the same time affirming the idea of a

public sphere shaped by shared goals and values" (Frumpkin 2002, 1). Therefore, nonprofits

tend to occupy the gray area between public and for-profit, which only further complicates the

blurring of the boundaries between sectors. Boris (2006) explains, "Nonprofits in the United

States are defined and regulated primarily under the federal tax code. They are self-governing

organizations that do not distribute profits to those who control them and are exempt from

federal income taxes by virtue of being organized for public purposes" (3). Frumpkin (2002)

discusses three distinct characteristics of nonprofits: they do not coerce participation, they

operate without distributing a profit to stakeholders, and they exist without clear lines of

ownership and accountability. More specifically, Salamon and Anheier (1996) describe the key

characteristics that nonprofits share; they are "formally constituted; organizationally separate

from government; non-profit-seeking; self-government; and voluntary to some degree" (xvii).

Overall, the nonprofit sector is distinct, and the unique nature of the nonprofit sector may influence individuals' decisions to work in the sector as well as employee behaviors and decisions. The employment decisions of nonprofit sector employees are especially relevant with the growth of the sector and the increasing use of nonprofit organizations to deliver public services.

<div align="center">Motivation, Sector Choice/Dedication, and Prosocial Behaviors</div>

Much research has examined the needs and values of employees, both in the areas of generic work motivation and sector-related motivational theories. Rainey (2001) defines work motivation as "how much a person tries to work hard and well—to the arousal, direction, and persistence of effort in work settings" (20). Steers and colleagues (2004) contend that all definitions of work motivation are "principally concerned with factors or events that energize, channel, and sustain human behavior over time" (379). Motivation is important as knowledge about the motivation of employees can help managers develop incentives to direct employee behavior and motivational theories are often fundamental in developing effective management theories and practices.

Motivation research stems largely from early works, such as Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs. Maslow (1943) found that some needs take precedence over others, which has often been used to explain why employees respond differently to different motivations, and introduced the idea of non-monetary rewards to management with his recognition of social, esteem, and self-actualizing needs. Building upon the idea that different employees may have different motivations, McGregor (1960) developed Theory X and Theory Y. In Theory X, management assumes that employees are inherently lazy and that employees must be closely supervised

<div align="center">16</div>

through a comprehensive system of controls. In Theory Y, management assumes that employees are ambitious, self-motivated and willing to exercise self-direction and autonomy. Lewin's (1947) change process of unfreezing, moving, and freezing can be used to unfreeze bureaucratic rigidity in order to empower individuals to achieve their potential. Hackman and Lawler's (1971) work on task significance found four core job characteristics – variety, autonomy, task identity, and feedback – to be vital to motivation, job satisfaction, work attendance, and views of supervisors. McClelland (1961) describes three motivational needs for achievement, authority, and affiliation; this work emphasizes the importance of person-environment fit. Additional theories of motivation include motivation-hygiene theory (Herzberg 1968), expectancy theory (Vroom 1964; Porter and Lawler 1968), and goal-setting theory (Locke and Latham 2002).

This study draws largely upon two sector-specific theories of work motivation. The first is public service motivation, which was first conceptualized by Perry and Wise (1990) as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (368). More recently, Perry and Hondgehem (2008) describe public service motivation as "an individual's orientation to delivering services to people with a purpose to do good for others and society" (vii). The second theory is donative labor theory, whereby "nonprofit workers derive utility from the nature of the good produced and are thus willing to accept a lower (compensating) wage" (Leete 2001, 137). Both of these sector-related theories imply that there are unique values associated with public and nonprofit work that attracts employees. The following chapters expand upon these theories and explore how they relate to employees' sector choice, dedication, and prosocial behaviors. More specifically, in light of the unique characteristics of the government and nonprofit sectors, are employees in these sectors more dedicated to their sectors and less likely to sector switch than for-profit employees? In

addition, does public service motivation predict sector choice, in particular career ambitions for government or nonprofit work? Lastly, are government and nonprofit sector employees more likely to exhibit prosocial behaviors outside the workplace due to their intrinsic motivation to serve others?

Researchers have begun to examine the prosocial behaviors of public sector workers outside of the workplace (Brewer 2000; Houston 2006, 2008). Prosocial behaviors are generally defined as "the broad range of actions intended to benefit one or more people other than oneself—behaviors such as helping, comforting, sharing, and cooperating" (Batson and Powell 2003, 463). This study examines the relationship between sector and prosocial behavior—specified as volunteering—and the relationship between public service motivation and prosocial behaviors, specified as both volunteering and charitable giving. Volunteering is an interesting prosocial behavior to examine across sectors and levels of government, as it is an important component of building social capital, which consists of "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1995a, 67). Similarly, Ostrom and Ahn (2009) define social capital as "an attribute of individuals and of their relationships that enhance their ability to solve collective action problems" (22). The study of prosocial behaviors is especially relevant today as Putnam (1995a, 1995b, 2000) argues that rapid decline in social capital and civic engagement in recent decades has created grave consequences for democracy and governance.

<u>Approach of the Study</u>

The blurring of the boundaries and distinctions between the sectors has been discussed. This study examines the influence of employment sector on prosocial behavior, the relationship between sector and sector switching, and factors that attract individuals to work in a specific

sector and prosocial behaviors. A primary purpose of this research is to better understand what it means to work in public service today. These themes are explored in three manuscripts. Each addresses a different, but related, research question to paint a more complete picture of public service in the age of increased employee mobility and privatization. First, how does the altruism of employees – as expressed through the act of volunteering – compare across government, nonprofit, and for-profit sectors? In the next chapter, I will examine how employment sector relates to volunteering. Second, are government and nonprofit employees less likely to "sector switch" than for-profit sector workers? Chapter 3 presents a study of sector switching during stable economic conditions and the recent recession to examine the probability that government and nonprofit sector employees change job sectors compared to their for-profit counterparts. Third, how does public service motivation factor into the altruism and career ambitions of graduate students? In Chapter 4, I will focus more explicitly on public service motivation by examining how it relates to career ambitions, giving and volunteering among graduate students in public affair programs. Chapter 5 concludes with an overview of the findings and implications.

CHAPTER 2

ALTRUISM BY JOB SECTOR: DO PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES
PRACTICE WHAT THEY PREACH?

The face of public service continues to evolve as government copes with increasingly complex societal problems and changing means of service delivery. Public managers are now challenged to manage programs that cut across sectors and organizational boundaries, and people carrying out the government's work can be found across all sectors—government, nonprofit, and for-profit. Unlike those in previous generations, younger individuals see opportunities to engage in public service in nonprofit and for-profit organizations, which has undoubtedly affected the ability of government agencies to recruit and retain those with public service values. Have opportunities to engage in public service across sectors made differences between public, nonprofit, and for-profit organizations irrelevant? Are public and nonprofit employees any different from those in for-profit organizations, especially when it comes to public service values?

Understanding engagement in public service is arguably even more important as social capital and civic engagement decline. Putnam (1995, 2000) argues that precipitous drops in social capital and civic engagement over the past twenty-five years have created grave consequences for democracy and governance. This is in stark contrast to the America that Alexis de Tocqueville (1831) described after his visit: "As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance; and as soon as they have found each other out, they combine" (475). Putnam (2000) expresses concern with this decline, writing that "the health of American democracy requires citizens to perform our *public* duties and… the health of our

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public institution depends, at least in part, on widespread participation in *private* voluntary groups- those networks of civic engagement that embody social capital."

This paper examines one aspect of social capital and civic engagement – volunteering – and whether public and nonprofit employees are "practicing what they preach" by comparison to those who work in for-profit organizations. This is an important question for several reasons. First, the paper differs from much of the existing research by focusing not on the work-related behaviors of the employees, but rather on service-related behaviors outside the formal confines of employment. Second, recognizing the growth of the nonprofit sector in recent years, this paper examines differences across all three sectors rather than focusing solely on a binary distinction between public and for-profit organizations. Third, in order to take other organizational and environmental dimensions into account and determine if differences exist *within* the public sector, differences in volunteering across federal, state, and local government employees are explored. Finally, the paper examines patterns of volunteering in greater detail by looking at formal and *informal* volunteering, volunteer hours, and patterns of volunteering for part-time and full-time employees separately in light of the impact of time on volunteering.

The paper begins by providing an overview of the literature on prosocial behavior and volunteering. It continues with a description of the data in the analysis, the 2011 Volunteer Supplement of the Current Population Survey. After a discussion of the methodology, the paper reviews the analytic results and provides implications for research and practice.

<u>Prosocial Behavior by Job Sector</u>

There has been much research on public and for-profit sector differences and the impacts these differences have on organizations (for reviews, see Boyne 2002; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey, Backoff, and Levine 1976; Rainey and Bozeman 2000; Rainey 2009). Besides sector

differences, public service has been linked, more generally, to a way of life as described by Elmer B. Staats (1988): "In its broadest sense, 'public service' is a concept, an attitude, a sense of duty—yes, even a sense of public morality" (602). Similarly, Houston (2006) states, "They are 'public servants' who are committed to the public good and characterized by an ethic built on benevolence, a life in service to others, and a desire to affect the community" (68). In light of the unique nature of public servants suggested in many definitions, researchers have begun to examine the prosocial behaviors of public sector employees outside of the workplace.

Brewer (2003) uses data from the American National Election Study to examine the civic attitudes of public servants concerning social trust, altruism, equity, tolerance, and humanitarianism. Brewer (2003) finds that "public servants manifest more civic-minded norms and have stronger proclivity to engage in civic-minded behaviors" (19). Houston (2006) builds upon Brewer's work to examine the impact of sector employment on one's propensity to volunteer, make charitable donations, and donate blood. Houston finds that government and nonprofit employees are more likely to volunteer than their private sector counterparts and that government employees have a higher probability of donating blood. However, the impact of sector employment on donating to charities was not significant. More recently, Houston (2008) continued this research to examine the impact of sector employment on civic participation and prosocial behaviors. He finds that government employees are more likely to belong to multiple groups/organizations, volunteer, and donate blood than private sector employees. Although Houston uses data from the General Social Survey in both studies, the nonprofit sector employees were not found to have a statistically significant higher probability of engaging in prosocial or civic behaviors in his later study.

This paper draws upon the "other-oriented" aspect of public service and builds upon the work of Brewer (2003) and Houston (2006, 2008) to examine the impact of sector employment on prosocial behavior. Other-oriented values, commonly explored in psychology, emphasize social responsibility, cooperation, and concern for others (Korsgaard et al. 1997), which reflect the special nature of public service and are often linked to volunteering (Penner 2002). Many think only of government when examining public service, but this omits the vital role of the nonprofit sector, especially in the United States. Staats (1988) states "These organizations…play an essential role and call for the same attributes of dedication, probity, imagination, loyalty, and commitment to the welfare of their fellow citizens as those who are employed by government" (602). Therefore, like Houston (2006, 2008) and in answer to calls to expand beyond the public/private divide such as by Feeney and Rainey (2009), this paper will examine the impact of both government and nonprofit sector employment on one's propensity to volunteer compared to for-profit sector employees. In addition, many scholars have called for an examination of employee differences across levels of government (e.g., Pandey and Stazyk 2008). This paper answers this call by focusing on variation in volunteering across levels of government employment to determine differences in altruism across federal, state, and local government employees. It also expands upon past studies by looking not only at formal volunteering and the amount of time volunteers spend volunteering through or for a formal organization, but also *informal* volunteering and helping behaviors.

The Public Sector

The first issue in the "publicness puzzle" is defining what "public" *is*, which has been a central theme to much of the work on public sector distinctiveness. Three dimensions of publicness are prominent in the literature: ownership, funding, and control (Bozeman 1987).

However, the most common definition relies on the ownership dimension (Bozeman and Bretsneider 1994; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey, Backoff, Levine 1976). In an examination of dimensions of publicness, Bozeman and Bretsneider (1994) find that "formal legal status (core type) has important independent effects that do not vanish with a more fully specified model" (218). Meier and O'Toole (2011) argue that "various definitions of publicness are indicators of an underlying concept—whether the program or activity has a public purpose" (i283). Therefore, the prominent defining factor of ownership is used in this study to differentiate between the employees in each of the three sectors.

Public sector employees may be more likely to volunteer than their for-profit sector counterparts for several reasons. First, in addition to the general other-oriented nature of public service, public service motivation emphasizes " individual motives that are largely, but not exclusively, altruistic and are grounded in public institutions" (Perry and Hondeghem 2008, 6). Research on public service motivation has grown rapidly since Perry and Wise (1990) first coined the term, and while it is a complex framework that involves multiple aspects of motivation, altruism is a core component. Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan (2008) even note, "Rather than simply a theory of public employee motivation, PSM actually represents an individual's predisposition to enact altruistic or prosocial behaviors regardless of setting" (91). Rainey and Steinbauer (1999) define public service motivation as "a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind" (23). Similarly, Brewer and Selden (1998) state that "Public service involves the performing of meaningful government, community, and social service" (417). Based on the premise that public service motivation is prevalent in the public sector (Brewer and Selden 1998; Perry and Wise 1990), public sector employees may be more likely to express their altruistic motivation outside the

workplace in their communities. Second, Rotolo and Wilson (2006) suggest that public sector employees are more likely to volunteer out of self-interest since they tend to have more interest vested in the community. Third, the social environment of public sector workplaces may promote volunteering more than the for-profit sector. Based on the altruism of public service motivation and building upon the work of Brewer (2003) and Houston (2006, 2008), it seems reasonable to expect that public sector employees are more likely to volunteer, both formally and informally, than their for-profit sector counterparts.

The Nonprofit Sector

The expanding nonprofit sector is often left out of the public/private debates in the public administration literature. This may be due to differences of opinion about whether nonprofit organizations are more like for-profit firms, due to their autonomy, or government, due to their lack of a profit orientation and focus on public service and values (Feeney and Rainey 2009). However, nonprofit organizations are distinct and cannot be neatly classified as public or private. Salamon and Anheier (1996) describe the five key characteristics that nonprofits share; nonprofits are "formally constituted; organizationally separate from government; non-profit-seeking; self-government; and voluntary to some degree" (xvii). Similar to public sector employees, nonprofit employees often choose to work in the nonprofit sector in order to serve others (Rotolo and Wilson 2006), but studies have also found that the motivations for working in a given sector vary greatly for nonprofit and government employees (Lee and Wilkins 2011). Light (2002) found that compared to public and private sector employees, nonprofit sector employees were more likely to choose their current employment "to focus on helping the public, making a difference, doing something, and pride in the organization itself" (10).

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Researchers have begun to examine differences in volunteering across the three sectors. Houston found that nonprofit employees were more likely to volunteer in his 2006 study, but this distinction did not hold in his 2008 study, even though both used the General Social Survey. However, using the Current Population Survey, Rotolo and Wilson (2006) found that nonprofit sector employees are most likely to volunteer and with the most hours, followed by public sector and for-profit employees. In examining patterns of volunteering, Lee (2012) finds that nonprofit employees are more likely to volunteer in religious and social/community organizations, while public sector employees are more likely to volunteer in educational organizations. Based on the motivation for individuals to join the nonprofit sector and previous studies, it appears that nonprofit sector employees seem even more other-oriented than public sector employees and more likely to volunteer.

Levels of Government

Research on public sector distinctiveness typically examines the public sector as a whole or uses a sample of one level of government. Little attention has been paid to the nuances that may exist *within* the public sector across federal, state, and local government agencies, with the exception of a handful of studies that focused on relatively narrow issues. For example, Koontz (2007) found that state forest rangers had higher discretion, more workforce homogeneity, and a greater number of interactions with citizens than their federal counterparts. However, there has been some research on public trust by levels of government that finds citizen trust is lowest the federal government level, somewhat higher at the state level, and highest for local government (Cole and Kincaid 2000; Cooper, Knotts, and Brennan 2008; U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1992). Although the prosocial behavior of federal, state, and local government employees has yet to be examined, perhaps federal, state, and local government

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employees have varying levels of altruism that may be reflected in their propensity to volunteer.

These analyses are exploratory since there is little research on this topic. However, in light of

research on public trust, perhaps local government employees will be more vested in their

communities and more likely to volunteer. These results could therefore have important

implications for our understanding of the distinctions between employees within the public

sector. The hypotheses for the relationships between formal volunteering, formal volunteer

hours, and informal volunteering for public sector, nonprofit sector, and levels of government are

summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Hypotheses for Sectoral Differences in Volunteering

Public Sector	
H_1	Public sector employees have a higher propensity to volunteer through or for a formal organization compared to employees in the for-profit sector.
H_2	Public sector volunteers devote more time to formally volunteering than for-profit sector employees.
H_3	Public sector employees have a higher propensity to *informally* volunteer by helping to improve the community compared to employees in the for-profit sector.
Nonprofit Sector	
H_4	Nonprofit sector employees have a higher propensity to volunteer through or for a formal organization compared to employees in the both the public and for-profit sector.
H_5	Nonprofit sector volunteers devote more time to formally volunteering than both public and for-profit sector employees.
H_6	Nonprofit sector employees have a higher propensity to *informally* volunteer by helping to improve the community compared to employees in both the public and for-profit sector.
Levels of Government Hypotheses	
H_7	The likelihood that employees volunteer through or for a formal organization varies across levels of government. Local government employees are more likely to volunteer formally than federal and state government employees.
H_8	Employees in some levels of government devote more time to formally volunteering than employees in other levels of government. Local government employees devote more time to volunteering than federal and state government employees.
H_9	The likelihood that employees *informally* volunteer varies across levels of government, where local government employees are the most likely to volunteer. Local government employees are more likely to volunteer informally than federal and state government employees.

Determinants of Volunteering

Because volunteering is an important component of building social capital, variations in employee volunteering across levels of government could be instructive to efforts to enhance prosocial behavior and sustain social capital. Ostrom and Ahn (2009) define social capital as "an attribute of individuals and of their relationships that enhance their ability to solve collective action problems" (22). Musick and Wilson (2008) review the five key ways volunteering encourages good citizenship: building trust; developing a belief in the social contract underlying society; getting involved; learning civic skills; and raising social awareness. In addition, Putnam (2000) emphasizes the importance of trust and engagement for good citizenship as he writes, "…people who trust others are all-around good citizens, and those more engaged in community life are both more trusting and more trustworthy" (137). Therefore, not only may public and nonprofit sector employees be more likely to volunteer, but through the act of volunteering, they can also pave the way to building social capital.

Formal Volunteering

The vast majority of research on volunteering focuses on formal volunteering. Penner (2002) defines formal volunteering as "long-term, planned, prosocial behaviors that benefit strangers and occur within an organizational setting" (448). For the purpose of this study, the organizational context is the primary difference between formal volunteering and informal volunteering. There has been a great deal of research on why some individuals volunteer while others may never volunteer through or for a formal organization (for reviews, see Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2012).

Much like public service motivation, altruism, concern for others, and self-sacrifice are identified as important motivations for prosocial behavior and volunteering. Penner (2002)

describes a prosocial personality that consists of two-dimensions: empathy or concern for the welfare of others and helpfulness or self-sacrifice. Batson suggests that volunteers are motivated by egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principlism, which is a sense of duty and justice (Baston et al. 2002). Clary and Snyder (1999) discuss the functions volunteering serves and their assessment on the Volunteer Functions Inventory, which are values, understanding, enhancement, career, social, and protective. Personal motivations also play a large role in whether or not an individual decides to volunteer. Individuals weigh the costs and benefits of volunteering. For example, some volunteer activities have a certain stigma that makes recruiting volunteers more difficult (Snyder, Omoto and Crain 1999). Many volunteers have a personal stake in their volunteer work, such as parents joining a parent teacher association at their child's school (Wilson 2000). Many volunteers do so because they anticipate needing help in the future or have received help and want to give back to their community (Freeman 1997). Volunteering often provides opportunities to socialize so some people may volunteer to make friends (Wuthnow 1998). However, motivation is just one piece of the volunteerism puzzle. The three main resources that contribute to volunteering are personal resources, social connectedness, and motivation (Musick, Wilson and Bynum 2000). Although the ability to volunteer may be based on personal resources, the *decision* to volunteer is an expression of identity and one's connection to his/her community (McAdam and Paulsen 1993).

The main personal resources related to volunteering are education, work, and income. Education encourages volunteering because it increases awareness of problems, empathy, and self-confidence (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Those with more education are also more likely to be asked to volunteer, which is partly due to belonging to more organizations. However, the importance of education depends on the type of volunteer work. For example,

education is positively related to political volunteering but not to informal community work (Snyder and Omoto 1992). The significance of education also increases when the volunteer activity requires literacy skills compared to social skills (Okun and Eisenberg 1992). Wilson (2012) even notes, "Educational achievement is perhaps the most important 'asset' as far as volunteering is concerned, at least in advanced industrial societies" (185).

The personal resource of employment increases the likelihood of an individual volunteering because work fosters social integration and civic skills (Wilson 2000). One would assume that the more free time people had the more they would be able to volunteer; however, the lowest rates of volunteering are among the unemployed (Wilson 2000). This supports the theory that paid work fosters social integration that in turn encourages volunteering. Having a paid job also boosts self-confidence and teaches organizational skills (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Time plays a role in the impact of work on volunteering as self-employed individuals, those with flexible work schedules, and those with part-time jobs as a matter of choice are more likely to volunteer (Freeman 1997). Besides the amount of time dedicated to working, the type of job also seems to have an effect on volunteering. The likelihood of volunteering increases with occupational status, for example, managerial and professional level people are more likely to be asked to volunteer (Wilson and Musick 1997).

Research on income provides mixed evidence on the impact of this personal resource on volunteering. Freeman (1997) finds that the hours of volunteering decreases as wage income increases among those who volunteer. Among the elderly, Gallagher (1994) finds that income increases the number of organizations one belongs to but not the overall number of hours volunteered. Thus, income does not restrain volunteering, but the effects of income vary by

measures of income, the population, measures of volunteering, and other variables included in the model (Wilson 2000).

Social connections are an important resource for volunteering as volunteering is often a collective act. People typically get involved in volunteering through their social networks; few people have begun volunteering on their own (Hodgkinson 1995). Social networks provide individuals with information, act as role models, and build trust that persuade individuals that volunteering is worthwhile (Musick, Wilson and Bynum 2000). In cases of activism for a common goal or social change, solidarity among community members increases the likelihood of volunteering (Wilson 2000).

Formal Volunteer Hours

Many are interested not only in whether individuals volunteer, but also how much time volunteers dedicate to the organization. Interestingly, the volunteer rate of a given subgroup does not necessarily correspond with the amount of time devoted to volunteering. For example, women are more likely to volunteer, but male volunteers are more likely to devote more hours and African Americans are less likely to volunteer than whites are, but African American volunteers devote more hours (Musick and Wilson 2008). However, some groups, such as middle-aged people, college graduates, and parents, are likely to volunteer, but then no more or less likely than others to devote more hours (Musick and Wilson 2008). Therefore, this paper will examine differences in the number of hours volunteers devote to formal organizations across sectors and levels of government in addition to variations in volunteer rates.

Informal Volunteering

Many have called for a greater examination of informal volunteering, and there has been much discussion over how to define these informal helping and caring behaviors (Cnaan, Handy

and Wadsworth 1996; Smith 1995; Musick and Wilson 2008). However, it is generally agreed that the primary distinction between informal volunteering and formal volunteering is that informal volunteering does not take place through or for a formal organization. "Volunteer work is a form of bureaucratized help, not to be confused with informal helping, which is unpaid service people provide on a more casual basis, outside of any organizational context, to someone in need" (Musick and Wilson 2008, 23). The Independent Sector and the United Nations Volunteers use the term "unmanaged volunteering" to refer to informal volunteering, which they define as "the spontaneous and sporadic helping that takes place between friends and neighbors—for example, child care, running errands, and loaning equipment—or in response to natural or man-made disasters" (Dingle 2001, 7). Little is known about the determinants and trends of informal volunteering, though some argue that informal volunteering is a complement rather than substitute for formal volunteering and can be used to engage underprivileged populations (Taniguchi 2012; Williams 2004). Given the relative lack of research that discusses both informal and formal volunteering, this paper examines potential variations in both.

<u>Data</u>

This study draws upon data from the Current Population Survey, which is a monthly household survey of about 60,000 households conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics that provides a comprehensive body of information on the employment experience of the Nation's population (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). Besides employment information, the Current Population Survey has several monthly supplements. This paper focuses on the September Volunteer Supplement along with the core monthly labor force data for September from the 2011 Current Population Survey. The Current Population Survey collects data about the civilian non-institutionalized, which primarily excludes the population in

correctional institutions and nursing homes that comprised 91 percent of the 4.1 million

institutionalized people in the 2000 Census (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). Interviewers ask

about each member, age 15 years old and over, in each of the sample households.

The sample consists of 60,697 employed individuals who were given both the September

Volunteer Supplement and the occupational portion of the 2011 Current Population Survey since

data on both volunteering and sector employment are vital for this analysis. This sample consists

of 10,131 government sector employees, 4,659 nonprofit sector employees, and 46,177 for-profit

sector employees. Among government employees, 1,914 work at the federal level, 3,186 work at

the state level, and 5,031 work at the local level. Since sector employment is the main

independent variable of interest, indicator variables are used in the analysis for the public and

nonprofit sector, which were coded 1 if the individual worked in the sector and 0 otherwise. The

public sector is also broken down by levels of government with indicators for federal, state, and

local government employment.

Three measures of volunteering are used in the analysis. First, formal volunteer status

will be examined, which is an indicator for whether or not an individual volunteered through or

for a formal organization over the past year. For formal volunteering, respondents were asked

"Since September 1st of last year, have you done any volunteer activities through or for an

organization?" with the follow-up question "Sometimes people don't think of activities they do

infrequently or activities they do for children's schools or youth organizations as volunteer

activities. Since September 1st of last year, have you done any of these types of volunteer

activities?" (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). Second, formal volunteer hours will be explored,

based on the annual number of hours volunteers devoted to the main organization for which he or

she volunteered.

Third, informal volunteering will be examined using an indicator variable for whether or not an individual informally volunteered or helped his or her community over the past year. Some of the survey definitions of informal volunteering are very broad, such as from the American Time Use Survey which defines informal as "caring for and providing help to non-household members including both children and adults" (Taniguchi 2012, 8). Similarly broad, the Center on Philanthropy Panel Study asks: "By volunteer activity I mean not just belonging to a service organization but actually working in some way to help others for no monetary pay" (Cnaan et al. 2010, 500). However, some measures of informal volunteering are much more specific, examining various aspects of informal volunteering individually. For example, Finkelstein and Brannick (2007) compile an informal volunteering scale from a variety of comprehensive surveys, which includes a factor "helped your neighborhood or community where you live" (106). This paper uses a similar measure to examine one type of informal volunteering, improving the community, due to the data available and the wide range of definitions of informal volunteering.[1] For informal volunteering, respondents were asked "Since September 1st, 2010, have you worked with other people from your neighborhood to fix a problem or improve a condition in your community or elsewhere?" (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012).

In this sample, 15,936 or 26 percent of the respondents have volunteered in the past year. The number of hours these individuals devoted to the main organization they volunteered for varies greatly with a mean of 96 hours and a median of 36 hours. In terms of informal volunteering, 5,328 individuals or 9 percent of the sample worked with other people from their

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[1] Informal volunteering is difficult to measure due to the wide-range of definitions and measures. Although any measure of informal volunteering will be imperfect, this study examines one aspect of informal volunteering to shed light on this understudied type of volunteering.

neighborhood to fix or improve something over the past year. The percentage of employees in each sector that reported each of these volunteering outcomes is shown below in Table 3.

Descriptively, nonprofit employees have the highest formal volunteer rate, followed by state government employees, local government employees, and federal government employees. The volunteer rate for the nonprofit sector is nearly double that of the for-profit sector. Nonprofit employees also have the highest informal volunteer rate, which is more than twice that of the for-profit sector. However, there is not as much variation in informal volunteer rates between public and nonprofit sector employees (12 percent compared to 14 percent respectively) and even less variation within the public sector.

Table 3: Volunteer Rates by Sector Employment

Sector Employment	Percent of Sample	Formal Volunteer Rate	Informal Volunteer Rate
Government (All Levels)	16%	34%	12%
Government- Federal	3%	30%	12%
Government- State	5%	36%	12%
Government- Local	8%	34%	12%
Nonprofit	7%	40%	14%
For-profit	78%	22%	6%

Source: Weighted Current Population Survey 2011, N = 60,967

Several control variables are used to isolate the impact of employment sector on volunteering. The control variables include sociodemographic characteristics, state fixed effects, and the industry and occupation that the individual works in. Based on the literature on volunteering, the demographic control variables included are age, marital status, gender, whether the respondent has a child under the age of 18, race, Hispanic origin, weekly earnings, and education level. In light of Feeney's (2008) finding that state level managers in Georgia are less likely to have positive views of the public sector compared to those in Illinois, state fixed effects are included to account for any political or cultural impacts they may have on the results.

Industry and occupation are also included because people may be drawn to a specific industry or occupation regardless of the sector. As Rainey (2009) writes, "Many factors, such as size, task or function, and industry characteristics, can influence an organization more than its status as a governmental entity. Research needs to show that these alternative factors do not confuse analysis of differences between public organizations and other types" (80). For example, Steinhaus and Perry (1996) found that industry categories were better at explaining variances in employee's organizational commitment than the public/private dichotomy. Therefore, the control variables include indicator variables for 10 occupations and 13 industries using the major group Bureau of Labor Statistics classifications.[2] Descriptive information on the demographics and volunteer characteristics of the sample by sector and levels of government may be found in Appendix A.

Models

Two models will examine the impact of sector employment on volunteering. The first model will include the sociodemographic variables, industry and occupation indicators, and state fixed effects to examine the impact of government and nonprofit sector employment compared to for-profit sector employment, the excluded category. The second model will include the sociodemographic variables, industry and occupation indicators, and state fixed effects to examine the impact of federal, state, and local government employment and nonprofit sector employment compared to for-profit sector employment.

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[2] The occupation indicators are management, business, and financial; professional and related; service; sales and related; office and administrative support; farming, fishing, and forestry; construction and extraction; installation, maintenance, and repair; production; and transportation and material moving. The industry indicators are: agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting; mining; construction; manufacturing; wholesale and retail trade; transportation and utilities; information; financial activities; professional and business services; educational and health services; leisure and hospitality; other services; and public administration. Armed forces and self-employed individuals are not included in the analyses.

Time plays an important role in the decision to volunteer and the amount of time volunteers devote to volunteering. Part-time employees volunteer more than both full-time employees and those who do not work (Einolf 2011). "Counter intuitively, among fulltime workers, volunteer hours *increase* as paid work hours increase" (Wilson 2012, 11). Due to the varying patterns of volunteering by work schedule, each model is run first for part-time employees only and then again for full-time employees only.

Logistic regression is used to examine the formal and informal volunteering dependent variables since these are both dichotomous variables, which take on a 1 if the individual volunteered, formally or informally respectively, and a 0 otherwise. For formal and informal volunteering, I examine the following models separately for part-time and full-time employees:

$$\ln(\frac{Pi}{1-Pi}) = \beta_o + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \varepsilon_i$$
$$\ln(\frac{Pi}{1-Pi}) = \beta_o + \beta_5 X_{5i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \varepsilon_i$$

Negative binomial regression is used to examine the volunteer hours dependent variable since it is the count number of hours volunteers devoted to volunteering over the past year. For volunteer hours, I examine the following models separately for part-time and full-time employees:

$$P(Y = y) = \beta_o + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \varepsilon_i$$
$$P(Y = y) = \beta_o + \beta_5 X_{5i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$X_1 =$ Indicator variables for nonprofit and government employment, compared to for-profit
$X_2 =$ Vector of sociodemographic variables
$X_3 =$ Vector of industry and occupation variables
$X_4 =$ State fixed effects
$X_5 =$ Indicator variables for nonprofit and government by levels of government (federal, state, local), compared to for-profit
$\varepsilon =$ Random error

Analysis and Findings

Employment Sector and Formal Volunteer Status

Table 4 shows the results for the logistic regression of formal volunteering on employment sector with odds ratios and robust standard errors reported. Model 1 shows that both public and nonprofit sector employees are more likely than their for-profit sector counterparts to volunteer through or for a formal organization, regardless of whether they are part-time or full-time. However, the impact of sector appears to be greater for full-time employees compared to part-time. In comparing part-time employees, the odds of nonprofit sector employees volunteering are 1.35 times higher than the odds of for-profit sector employees volunteering, and the odds of public sector employees volunteering are 1.24 times higher than they are for for-profit sector employees. The differences across the sectors were slightly higher for full-time employees, where the odds of nonprofit employees volunteering are 1.65 times that of for-profit sector employees and the odds of public employees volunteering are 1.43 higher than the odds of for-profit sector employees volunteering.

Model 2 in Table 4 shows the results broken down by level of government. Among part-time employees, only nonprofit and local government employees are more likely to formally volunteer than for-profit sector employees. No significant differences were found in the odds of part-time federal government, state government, or for-profit sector employees volunteering. Among full-time employees, nonprofit sector employees were found most likely to volunteer, where the odds of nonprofit employees volunteering are 1.66 times higher than the odds of for-profit sector employees volunteering, followed by local, state and federal government employees.

Table 5 shows the marginal effects for Model 2 for the sector variables. Among part-time employees, nonprofit employees are about 6 percent more likely volunteer than for-profit

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employees and local government employees are about 5 percent more likely to volunteer than for-profit sector employees. Among full-time employees, those in the nonprofit sector are nearly 10 percent more likely to volunteer than their for-profit sector counterparts. Full-time employees across all levels of government are also more likely to formally volunteer with local government employees being nearly 8 percent more likely, state government employees being 7 percent more likely and federal government employees being nearly 4 percent more likely to volunteer than for-profit sector employees.

The findings for the sociodemographic characteristics in Table 4 mirrored those found in previous research across all models. Females tend to volunteer more than males. Formal volunteering seems to peak in mid-life. Social factors like having a child and being married increase one's likelihood of volunteering and the strongest predictor of volunteering is level of education. Overall, employees in the nonprofit sector volunteer at the highest rates regardless of their work schedule. The odds of public sector employees volunteering are higher than the odds of for-profit sector employees volunteering, with the exception of part-time state and federal government employees. These findings show the importance of examining variations *within* the public sector and examining patterns of volunteering by work schedule. These results support my hypotheses that nonprofit employees would be the most likely to volunteer formally and that local government employees would be more likely to volunteer than federal and state government employees.

Table 4: Logistic Regression Results: Formal Volunteering, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1						Model 2					
	Part-Time			Full-Time			Part-Time			Full-Time		
	OR	RSE		OR	RSE		OR	RSE		OR	RSE	
Sector Employment												
Nonprofit Sector	1.35	.10	***	1.65	.07	***	1.35	.10	***	1.66	.07	***
Public Sector	1.24	.10	**	1.43	.06	***						
Local Government							1.28	.12	**	1.50	.07	***
State Government							1.19	.13		1.44	.08	***
Federal Government							1.20	.25		1.23	.08	**
Sociodemographics												
Weekly Earnings	0.99	.00	*	.99	.00		0.99	.00	*	0.99	.00	
Female	1.40	.08	***	1.18	.04	***	1.40	.08	***	1.17	.03	***
Married	1.46	.08	***	1.21	.031	***	1.46	.08	***	1.20	.03	***
Has Own Child under 18	1.39	.09	***	1.53	.04	***	1.39	.09	***	1.53	.04	***
Hispanic Origin	0.50	.05	***	.64	.03	***	0.50	.05	***	0.64	.03	***
White	1.53	.15	***	1.56	.07	***	1.52	.15	***	1.55	.07	***
Black	1.07	.14		1.27	.08	***	1.06	.14		1.27	.08	***
Less than High School	0.88	.06		.48	.03	***	0.88	.06		0.48	.03	***
High School Graduate	0.59	.04	***	.62	.02	***	0.59	.04	***	0.62	.02	***
College Graduate	1.30	.09	***	1.35	.04	***	1.30	.09	***	1.35	.04	***
Graduate School	1.70	.16	***	1.61	.06	***	1.71	.16	***	1.61	.06	***
Age 16 to 24	1.15	.09		.78	.04	***	1.15	.09		0.78	.04	***
Age 25 to 34	0.74	.06	***	.68	.02	***	0.74	.06	***	0.68	.02	***
Age 35 to 44	0.95	.08		.90	.03	***	.95	.08		0.89	.03	***
Age 55 to 64	1.06	.09		.98	.03		1.06	.09		.98	.03	
Age 65 and older	1.32	.12	**	.81	.05	**	1.32	.12	**	.81	.05	**
State Fixed Effects?	Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes		
Industry & Occupation?	Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes		
Observations	11,211			49,756			11,211			49,756		
Degrees of Freedom	85			85			87			87		
Pseudo R²	0.0888			0.0886			0.0888			0.0888		
*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001												

Table 5: Predicted Probability of Formally Volunteering, Model 2 Marginal Effects for Sector Variables Reported

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Part-Time Employees			
Nonprofit	**.0622**	.029	.095
Local Government	**.0511**	.011	.091
State Government	.0359	-.011	.083
Federal Government	.0369	-.051	.125
Full-Time Employees			
Nonprofit	**.0993**	.081	.118
Local Government	**.0782**	.060	.096
State Government	**.0702**	.049	.091
Federal Government	**.0377**	.013	.062

Note: Statistically significant changes at the .05 level are bolded

Employment Sector and Formal Volunteer Hours

Table 6 shows the negative binomial regression results for the number of hours volunteers devote to the main organization for which he or she volunteered over the past year with incidence rate ratios and standard errors reported.[3] Model 1 fails to find any statistically significant differences in the amount of time volunteers devote to volunteering across sectors for both part-time and full-time employees. However, after breaking the public sector down by levels of government, part-time state government employees will have 0.7 times the incident events as part-time for-profit employees. Meanwhile, full-time local government employees will have 1.12 times the incident events as full-time for-profit employees. Therefore, these results show surprising differences within the government sector, where state government employees may contribute *less* time to volunteering than those in the for-profit sector, while local

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[3] OLS results for formal volunteer hours produced similar results. Poission regression is also appropriate when the dependent variable is count data, such as volunteer hours, but it assumes the mean and variance are identical. Negative binomial regression is more appropriate since the volunteer hours are count data with overdispersion, where the variances within each sector are higher than the means. Negative binomial regressions allow for one more parameter than poission that allows for over or under dispersion (Wooldridge 2002).

government employees may contribute *more* time to volunteering than those in the for-profit sector.

Table 7 shows the marginal effects for the sector variables in Model 2 for predicted formal volunteering hours among volunteers. Among part-time employees, state government volunteers are predicted to devote about 23 hours less to formal volunteering than for-profit sector volunteers. Whereas among part-time employees, local government volunteers are predicted to devote about 11 hours more to formal volunteering than for-profit sector volunteers. These findings support my hypothesis that local government employees will devote more hours to volunteering than state and federal government employees, where state employees were found to devote less time. These results suggest that among volunteers, there are significant nuances in the amount of time that federal, state and local government employees devote.

Similar to previous studies, the factors associated with the amount of time volunteers devote to volunteering, shown in Table 6, are quite different from the factors associated with the decision to volunteer. For race, whites were found more likely to volunteer, but African Americans are more likely to devote a greater amount of time to volunteering across all models. Education level also presents an interesting dichotomy between volunteer status and volunteer hours. Graduate school education was found to be the largest predictor of volunteering, but graduate school has a positive impact on volunteer hours for part-time employees and a negative impact on volunteer hours for full-time employees. This may indicate that education has a positive impact on volunteering up to a certain point, where the focus may then shift to one's career rather than devoting free time to volunteering. For age, the results for volunteer hours show that while those in mid-life have the greatest likelihood of volunteering, those developing their careers and social network devote less time to volunteering and part-time older employees

devote the most. Examining both formal volunteer status and the amount of time those

volunteers devote to the organizations paints a more complete picture of patterns of volunteering.

Table 6: Negative Binomial Regression Results: Annual Formal Volunteer Hours, Incident Rate Ratios and Standard Errors Reported

| | Model 1 | | | | Model 2 | | | |
| | Part-Time | | Full-Time | | Part-Time | | Full-Time | |
	IRR	SE	IRR	SE	IRR	SE	IRR	SE
Sector Employment								
Nonprofit Sector	1.03 .08		1.09 .05		1.10 .08		1.09 .05	
Public Sector	0.95 .07		1.08 .04					
Local Government					1.07 .10		1.12 .05 *	
State Government					0.76 .08 **		1.02 .05	
Federal Government					0.94 .19		1.04 .07	
Sociodemographics								
Weekly Earnings	0.99 .00 ***		0.99 .00 **		0.99 .00 ***		0.99 .00 **	
Female	1.03 .06		0.81 .02 ***		1.04 .06		0.81 .02 ***	
Married	1.04 .07		1.08 .03 **		1.03 .07		1.07 .03 *	
Has Own Child under 18	0.97 .07		0.93 .03 *		0.97 .07		0.93 .03 *	
Hispanic Origin	1.09 .11		0.94 .05		1.08 .11		0.94 .05	
White	1.21 .12		1.01 .05 ***		1.20 .12		1.01 .05	
Black	1.58 .22 **		1.31 .09		1.59 .22 **		1.31 .09 ***	
Less than High School	0.91 .07		1.07 .07		0.90 .07		1.07 .07	
High School Graduate	.99 .06		0.98 .03		0.99 .06		0.98 .03	
College Graduate	1.13 .07		0.94 .03 *		1.13 .07		0.94 .03 *	
Graduate School	1.20 .10 *		0.87 .03 ***		1.22 .10 *		0.87 .03 ***	
Age 16 to 24	0.85 .08		0.90 .05		0.86 .08		0.90 .05	
Age 25 to 34	0.74 .06 ***		0.79 .03 ***		0.75 .06 **		0.79 .03 ***	
Age 35 to 44	0.84 .07 *		0.94 .03		0.85 .07		0.94 .03 *	
Age 55 to 64	1.06 .09		1.04 .04		1.06 .09		1.04 .04	
Age 65 and older	1.32 .13 **		1.11 .08		1.33 .13 **		1.11 .08	
State Fixed Effects?	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Industry & Occupation?	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Number of Observations	3,124		12,036		3,124		12,036	
Degrees of Freedom	85		85		87		87	
Pseudo R²	0.0117		0.0042		0.0119		0.0042	
*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001								

Table 7: Predicted Volunteer Hours, Model 2 Marginal Effects for Sector Variables

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Part-Time			
Nonprofit	8.993	-5.63	23.62
Local Government	6.941	-10.52	24.40
State Government	**-23.400**	-38.81	-7.99
Federal Government	-5.688	-40.87	29.50
Full-Time			
Nonprofit	7.980	-5.63	23.62
Local Government	**10.688**	2.02	19.35
State Government	2.153	-7.22	11.53
Federal Government	3.622	-8.59	15.83

Note: Statistically significant changes at the .05 level are bolded

Employment Sector and Informal Volunteering

Table 8 shows the results for the logistic regression of informal volunteering on employment sector with odds ratios and robust standard errors reported. Among part-time employees, only nonprofit sector employees are more likely to engage in informal volunteering. Among full-time employees, the odds of nonprofit employees informally volunteering are 1.61 higher than the odds of for-profit sector employees informally volunteering, followed by the public sector with odds 1.51 times higher than that of the for-profit sector.

In Model 2, among part-time employees, only nonprofit and local government employees are more likely to volunteer informally. In examining informal volunteering by levels of government for full-time employees, the odds of local government employees informally volunteering are 1.65 times higher than the odds of for-profit sector employees informally volunteering. Closely following local government employees in informal volunteering, the odds of nonprofit sector employees volunteering are 1.62 times higher that of for-profit sector employees. Full-time state and federal government employees are also more likely to informally volunteer compared to for-profit sector employees, with odds 1.44 and 1.27 times higher than the

odds for-profit sector respectively. Nonprofit and local government employees are the most likely to help improve their neighborhood, which may be due to the other- and community-oriented aspects of their job sectors.

Table 9 shows the marginal effects for the predicted probability of informal volunteering for the sector variables in Model 2. Among part-time employees, nonprofit employees are about 1.6 percent more likely to informally volunteer than for-profit sector employees and local government employees are about 2.3 percent more likely to volunteer than for-profit sector employees. Among full-time employees, nonprofit sector employees are about 3.8 percent more likely to informally volunteer than for-profit sector employees. Among full-time employees, employees at all levels of government are also more likely to volunteer informally in their communities than for-profit sector employees. Among full-time employees, local government employees are about 4 percent more likely, state government employees are about 3 percent more likely, and federal government employees are about 2 percent more likely to volunteer informally than for-profit sector employees. Nonprofit and local government employees are more likely to volunteer informally regardless of work schedule, but all full-time government employees are more likely to volunteer informally in their communities compared to for-profit employees.

This study found that some patterns of informal volunteering mirror those of formal volunteering as shown in Table 8. Like formal volunteering, having children increases the odds of informal volunteering, where the odds of informally volunteering are 1.22 (part-time employees) or 1.15 (full-time employees) times higher for those with children than the odds of those without children. Also similar to the relationship for formal volunteering, the odds of an individual informally volunteering increases with education level and age. Unlike formal

volunteering, females are less likely to volunteer informally than males. Also opposite the

relationship found for formal volunteering, among full-time employees, African Americans are

more likely to volunteer informally than whites. Additional research is needed to better

understand informal volunteering, but these results suggest that informal volunteering may draw

upon different motivations and characteristics than formal volunteering.[4] These findings also

support previous research that suggests informal volunteering engages different populations than

formal volunteering (Williams 2004), which should be further explored to paint a more complete

picture of volunteering.

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[4] In addition, Taniguchi (2012) finds that formal and informal volunteering are complements rather than substitutes using the 2009 American Time Use Survey to examine the correlation of formal and informal volunteering with a bivariate probit model.

Table 8: Logistic Regression Results: Informal Volunteering, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1						Model 2					
	Part-Time			Full-Time			Part-Time			Full-Time		
	OR	RSE		OR	RSE		OR	RSE		OR	RSE	
Sector Employment												
Nonprofit Sector	1.27	.15	*	1.61	.10	***	1.27	.15	*	1.62	.10	***
Public Sector	1.21	.15		1.51	.08	***						
Local Government							1.37	.18	*	1.65	.10	***
State Government							0.95	.17		1.44	.11	***
Federal Government							1.25	.37		1.27	.12	*
Sociodemographics												
Weekly Earnings	1.00	.00		0.99	.00		1.00	.00		0.99	.00	
Female	0.83	.07	*	0.81	.03	***	0.83	.07	*	0.81	.03	***
Married	1.23	.11	*	1.04	.04		1.23	.11	*	1.04	.04	
Has Own Child under 18	1.22	.12	*	1.15	.05	***	1.22	.12	*	1.15	.05	***
Hispanic Origin	0.55	.09	***	0.59	.05	***	0.55	.09	***	0.59	.05	***
White	1.24	.20		1.39	.10	***	1.23	.20		1.38	.10	***
Black	1.08	.23		1.48	.13	***	1.07	.22		1.47	.13	***
Less than High School	0.66	.09	**	0.56	.05	***	0.66	.09	**	0.56	.05	***
High School Graduate	0.59	.06	***	0.65	.03	***	0.58	.06	***	0.65	.03	***
College Graduate	1.00	.10		1.22	.06	***	1.01	.10		1.22	.06	***
Graduate School	1.42	.18	**	1.65	.09	***	1.44	.19	**	1.65	.09	***
Age 16 to 24	0.56	.07	***	0.46	.04	***	0.57	.07	***	0.46	.04	***
Age 25 to 34	0.56	.07	***	.061	.03	***	0.57	.07	***	0.61	.03	***
Age 35 to 44	.78	.10	*	0.82	.04	***	0.79	.10		0.81	.04	***
Age 55 to 64	1.38	.16	**	1.08	.05		1.38	.16	**	1.08	.05	
Age 65 and older	1.52	.20	**	0.95	.09		1.53	.20	**	0.95	.09	
State Fixed Effects?	Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes		
Industry & Occupation?	Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes		
Number of Observations	11,211			49,756			11,211			49,756		
Degrees of Freedom	85			85			87			87		
Pseudo R²	0.0901			0.0674			0.0907			0.0677		
*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001												

Table 9: Predicted Probability of Informally Volunteering, Model 2 Marginal Effects for Sector Variables

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Part-Time			
Nonprofit	**.0163**	-.001	.033
Local Government	**.0225**	.002	.043
State Government	-.0033	-.025	.018
Federal Government	.0157	-.029	.060
Full-Time			
Nonprofit	**.0384**	.027	.050
Local Government	**.0396**	.028	.051
State Government	**.0277**	.015	.041
Federal Government	**.0175**	.003	.032

Note: Statistically significant changes at the .05 level are bolded

Conclusion

In line with the other-oriented nature of public and nonprofit sector employees and the few studies that have examined the impact of sector employment on prosocial behaviors, public and nonprofit sector employees tend to volunteer more than their for-profit sector counterparts.[5] However, these findings illustrate several important nuances when taking work schedule, levels of government and additional measures of volunteering into account. Nonprofit sector employees are the most likely to volunteer, regardless of whether they work full- or part-time. When looking at public sector employees as a whole, public sector employees are more likely to volunteer than for-profit sector employees, regardless of whether they work full- or part-time. However, in examining formal volunteering by levels of government, all full-time government employees are more likely to volunteer, but only part-time local government employees are more likely to volunteer than part-time for-profit sector employees. No clear relationship was found between sector and the formal volunteer hours, except that part-time state government employees

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[5]Although government and nonprofit employees were found more likely to volunteer than for-profit sector employees, this study cannot make any causal inferences between sector choice and volunteering due to the simultaneity bias, which is a common limitation of cross-sectional designs.

tend to devote *less* time and full-time local government employees tend to devote *more* time. For informal volunteering, local government employees were found most likely to help in the community, followed by nonprofit sector employees, regardless of work schedule. Only full-time, state and federal government employees were found more likely to volunteer informally compared to the for-profit sector. These findings suggest that perhaps nonprofit sector and local government employees are more other-oriented and community-oriented than not only those in the for-profit sector, but also state and federal government employees.

This study builds upon the work of Houston (2006, 2008) to examine the prosocial behaviors—in this case volunteering—by employment sector. Like Houston's (2006) results with the General Social Survey, this study found that both government and nonprofit employees are more likely to formally volunteer than for-profit sector employees. Although Houston's (2008) results only found that government employees are more likely to volunteer, his finding seems largely due to the type of employees considered nongovernmental public service that may be quite different from traditional nonprofit employees.[6] Therefore, these results support previous work finding that government and nonprofit employees are more likely to volunteer formally and contribute to our understanding of the relationship between employment sectors and volunteering by highlighting important nuances when taking level of government, work schedule, and additional measures of volunteering into account.

Sectoral differences remain understudied and the public/private debate continues to be unresolved. These findings go beyond the bulk of the research on public sector distinctiveness, which focus on management techniques and organizations, to examine characteristics of the employees themselves. Are public sector employees fundamentally different from for-profit

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[6] Houston (2008) defines nongovernmental public service employees as those who work in bus service and urban transit, health care, human social services, utilities, and education.

sector employees in at least some noteworthy respects? These analyses find that they are—public sector employees are more likely to volunteer than for-profit sector employees, holding certain characteristics constant. Perhaps the other-oriented nature of public servants extends beyond the motivation to work in public service to help others when they are off the clock as well. Additional research on public sector distinctiveness is needed to help public and for-profit managers better understand not only their organizations and management strategies, but also their employees. This line of research would help public and for-profit managers alike in understanding the motivations and behavior of their employees and using that understanding to better manage, recruit, and retain effective employees.

This paper goes beyond the public/private divide to examine differences across all three sectors—public, nonprofit, and for-profit. Future studies should also include the third sector for a more complete analysis so that we may learn more about the expanding nonprofit sector, which is difficult to classify as entirely public or entirely for-profit. Researchers who have begun to examine the nonprofit sector emphasize the importance of these employees helping others that is similar to the other-orientated nature of public servants. These findings support these claims and studies. Nonprofit sector employees were the most likely to volunteer through or for a formal organization and were the second most likely to volunteer informally, following only local government employees. Perhaps nonprofit and government employees share a common ethos that draws them to their mission-driven work, as opposed to their for-profit sector counterparts.

In light of these findings, nonprofit sector employees appear to be even more other-oriented than a majority of public servants. These findings have important implications for the recruitment and retention of public sector employees. If an individual wants to help others through their work, how do they choose between the public and nonprofit sector? In the

bureaucratic environment of public sector work, how do you ensure these other-oriented employees feel like they are making a difference? Future studies should include the nonprofit sector in the public/private debate and more work needs to be done comparing the public and nonprofit sectors. Little is known about the differences between the two mission-driven sectors and their employees; better information could be vital in light of the "quiet crises" in the government workforce coupled with the blurring of the boundaries across sectors.

The public sector often is not differentiated by levels of government, but there may be important distinctions *within* the sector across the federal, state and local levels. For example, local teachers almost certainly differ from federal bureaucrats at the Department of Education, but even in similar occupations, state compliance officers may be different from federal compliance officers due to the nature of their work. These results suggest that there are important differences between federal, state and local government employees in volunteering. They suggest that local government employees are more prone to volunteering than federal and state government employees. These findings coalesce with research on public trust, where people tend to have the highest levels of trust in local government. Additional research is needed to understand differences across levels of government, especially in light of the proliferation of lazy bureaucrat stereotypes and the steady decline of public trust since the Vietnam War and Watergate scandal in the 1980s. Future studies should examine differences across levels of government in order to dismiss potential misconceptions and better understand employee behavior.

In terms of research on volunteering, these findings show the importance of taking work schedule into account as differences were found between the volunteering patterns of part-time employees compared to full-time employees. Examining informal volunteering in addition to

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formal volunteering as well as the amount of time volunteers devote to volunteering paints a much more complete picture of patterns of volunteering. Future research should consider additional factors in describing the current state of volunteering and examining determinants of volunteering. Additional findings and details on patterns of volunteering can assist nonprofit organization in recruiting volunteers that would best match the needs of the organization.

Overall, these findings suggest that nonprofit and local government employees are more other-oriented and community-oriented than for-profit sector employees through their tendencies to volunteer both formally and informally. Nonprofit and local government employees may be more likely to volunteer because they are more entrenched in their communities and more knowledgeable of current issues and social problems or the employees themselves may be driven by unique motivations. The public sector (and nonprofit sector) is indeed distinct, at least in terms of the other-oriented employees who can perhaps help pave the way to revive civic engagement.

CHAPTER 3

SECTOR SWITCHING IN GOOD TIMES AND BAD: ARE PUBLIC SECTOR
EMPLOYEES LESS LIKELY TO CHANGE SECTORS?

The professional lives of today's employees are much more fluid than they have been in

the past. Some argue that people will work where they feel they will make the most difference

regardless of sector and even change job sectors throughout their careers (Light 1999). The

increased mobility of employees is especially relevant to public and nonprofit managers as

people carrying out the government's work can now be found across all sectors—government,

nonprofit, and for-profit—in light of the increasing use of for-profit and nonprofit providers to

deliver public goods and services.

Researchers have long examined differences between the public sector and the private

sector (for reviews, see Boyne 2002; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey, Backoff, and Levine 1976;

Rainey and Bozeman 2000; Rainey 2009), but few have explored workers that move from one

sector to another (e.g. Bozeman and Ponomariov 2009; Su and Bozeman 2009). Researchers

have even developed a concept, public service motivation, to explain the unique motivation that

draws individuals to work in the public sector. Perry and Wise (1990) first defined public

service motivation as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily

or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (368). Similar to public service motivation

for the public sector, Leete (2001) describes the donative labor theory for nonprofit employees,

where "nonprofit workers derive utility from the nature of the good produced and are thus

willing to accept a lower (compensating) wage" (137). In light of public service motivation,

donative labor theory, and the unique characteristics of the public sector, do public sector

employees have greater satisfaction with their sector than for-profit sector employees? More

specifically, are public sector employees less likely to leave the public sector than for-profit sector employees are to leave the for-profit sector? In addition, how does sector switching during a stable job market and economy compare to sector switching during the Great Recession?

The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of sector employment on the probability of changing job sectors using a large, nationally representative dataset. Bozeman and Ponomariov (2009) posit that "a robust theory of sector switching requires that one examine not only switches from private to public sector but also switches from public to private" (89). This paper addresses the gap by examining both, to see whether or not public sector employees, government and nonprofit, are more or less likely to change job sectors than for-profit sector employees. Differences in sector switching between government and nonprofit employees compared to the for-profit sector are also explored. In addition, in response to calls for an examination of differences across levels of government, variances in the likelihood of public employees moving into the for-profit sector for different levels of government are examined. The public service motivation literature emphasizes the uniqueness of public service that draws individuals to such work, but little attention has been paid to its impact on public sector employees' likelihood of staying in the public sector. This paper hopes to address this gap as well as examine how the recent economic downturn shapes individuals' decisions to join or to stay in public service.

This paper first reviews the literature on sector choice, turnover, and sector switching. I then use the 2004 and 2008 panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) to analyze the impact of government and nonprofit sector employment on changing job sectors compared to for-profit sector employment. Hazard models are used to predict the probability of

individuals switching sectors during the 2004 panel in "normal" economic conditions and during the 2008 panel of the Great Recession. These findings shed light on employee motivation, sector switching, and the impact of tough labor market conditions on employment decisions.

<p style="text-align:center;"><u>Public Service Motivation and Government Employment</u></p>

Little research has examined the impact of an employee's sector of employment on the likelihood that an individual will move from one sector to another; however, some researchers have begun to examine the impact of public service motivation on job turnover and tenure as well as characteristics of sector switching. Perry and Wise (1990) asserted that "the greater an individual's public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization" (370). As Wright and Grant (2010) argue, public service motivation theory tends to be used to support such statements, but our confidence in these assertions is limited.

Wright and Christensen (2010) test the assumption that those with higher levels of public service motivation will select employment in the public sector by comparing extrinsic motivations, measured by financial opportunities, and intrinsic motivations, measured by desire to help others, of the career decisions of lawyers. The authors find that a strong intrinsic motivation fails to predict the sector of lawyers' first jobs, but it increases the likelihood that current or future jobs are or will be in the public sector (Wright and Christensen 2010). More recently, Christensen and Wright (2011) find that individuals with higher levels of public service motivation were neither more nor less likely to join the public sector. However, they find that individuals with greater levels of public service motivation are more likely to accept jobs that emphasize service to others regardless of sector (Christensen and Wright 2011).

Public service motivation has been found to have both a mediating and an independent relationship with work attitudes and behaviors. Kim (2012) found that employees with higher

<p style="text-align:center;">55</p>

levels of public service motivation have higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational

commitment, both regardless of and mediated by person-organization fit. Kim (2012) also

confirms the value of person-organization fit as "when public employees believe that their values

match an organization's values, they are more likely to feel satisfied with their jobs and be

committed to their organization" (836). Although public service motivation corresponds to

higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment for public employees, employees may

feel the need to leave their organization if their values clash as person-organization fit also plays

an important role.

In a study using the Merit Principles Survey, a survey of federal employees, Naff and

Crum (1999) found that public service motivation has a positive impact on job satisfaction and

performance and a negative impact on intent to leave the federal government. In a study using

state-level manager survey data, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) found that length of

organizational membership had a negative impact on public service motivation. Meanwhile

Kjeldsen and Jacobsen (2013) find that although public sector employment may not directly

foster public service motivation, working in the public sector influences public service

motivation in that public service motivation declines less for public employees than employees

in the private or nonprofit sectors. From these studies, one would expect public sector workers

to remain in the public sector due to their public service motivation.

In addition to public service motivation, general distinctions in the job motivations of

public, private, and nonprofit employees are helpful in developing an understanding of why

employees join and leave job sectors. Houston (2000) finds that public employees value work

that is important and provides a sense of accomplishment more than their private sector

counterparts, whereas private sector employees value high income and short work hours more

than their public sector counterparts. Frank and Lewis (2004) found that government employees were more likely to say their jobs offered interesting work and opportunities to help others and to be useful to society and less likely to say their jobs offered good pay and advancement opportunities than private sector employees. In addition, job security was the only extrinsic motivation found significant for government employees (Frank and Lewis 2004). In a Flemish study, Buelens and Van den Broeck (2007) found that although public sector employees are less motivated by salary than private sector employees, hierarchy and job content seem to be important predictors and moderators in describing sector differences. In a Korean study, Cho and Lee (2001) find public managers have higher perceptions of job prestige and centralization than private sector managers, and prestige is strong determinant of public sector organizational commitment. In a Canadian study, Lyons and colleagues (2006) find that nonprofit employees value work than contributes to society more than both public and private sector employees, where public employees value intellectually stimulating and challenging work more than nonprofit employees, and private sector employees have the highest levels of organizational commitment. In a review of 28 employee-level studies of public-private distinctions, Baarspul and Wilderom (2011) find that while individual studies found significant differences, there is no clear pattern across the studies with the exception of public employees having a higher sense of community service. Overall, it seems public sector employees are drawn to work that helps others and serves the public interest more than private sector employees, and while public sector employees may be less motivated by salary, public employees still value benefits of the sector, such as prestige or job security.

In an examination of state government managers, Feeney (2008) finds that desire for career advancement and high levels of public service motivation are related to a positive

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perception of the public sector, while red tape and low levels of public service motivation are related to a positive perception of the private sector. Interestingly, Feeney (2008) finds that state managers who previously worked in the private sector are less likely to have positive perceptions of the private sector, though not necessarily more likely to have positive perceptions of the public sector. This finding suggests that perhaps employees who move from the private sector to the public sector may be more willing to change jobs and sectors in general. Su and Bozeman (2009) find that state managers that value career advancement or public values have higher job satisfaction, while factors like job security, salary, and a smooth working environment did not affect the job satisfaction of state managers. This suggests that public employees motivated by higher-ordered goals like career advancement and public values may be more satisfied and less likely to change job sectors compared to those motivated by pay and job security.

Students increasingly move across sectors and according to a study of Harvard University policy graduate students, they believe it is easier to start in the private sector and move into the public sector rather than the reverse (Chetkovich 2003). In addition, policy students tend to choose private sector jobs for their public orientation or professional development, intellectual challenge, financial security, and advancement opportunities, while policy students enter the public sector for the potential to "make a difference" (Chetkovich 2003). From this study, it seems todays' policy students view sector switching as a positive means of professional development to advance their careers.

<u>Donative Labor Theory and Nonprofit Sector Employment</u>

The donative labor hypothesis is that "nonprofit workers derive well-being from participating in the enterprise, and are thus willing to accept a lower wage" (Leete 2006, 161). For example, a nurse at a nonprofit hospital may be dedicated to the mission and willing to take a

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lower pay than he or she would in a for-profit hospital. Mirvis and Hacket (1983) find that "employees in the nonprofit sector, and to a lesser extent government, say that their jobs are more important to them than those in the for-profit sector" (7) and nonprofit employees find their work more important than the money they earn. Handy and Katz (1998) argue that lower wages will attract employees committed to the cause of the organization and that "the need for such self-selection is particularly important in nonprofits because they are not subject to the usual checks and balances imposed by shareholders on for-profits" (259). Nonprofit employees commonly make lateral job changes and prefer work that is personally challenging, socially meaningful, and allows for work-life balance (Leete 2006). However, certain professionals, such as scientists and engineers, may leave nonprofit work due to the lower compensation levels (Preston 1993). Lewis (2010) found that industry and occupation followed by location are the most significant predictors of nonprofit employment and that the smaller the pay penalty, the more likely one is likely to work in the sector. Faulk and colleagues (2013) warn that relying on labor donations may not be a feasible technique for the nonprofit sector anymore with increasing mobility and turnover.

Harrow and Mole (2005) identify a typology of three career approaches of nonprofit managers in England. The first is *vocational* where employees are wholly sector oriented and there is limited career progression. The second type is *professional-managerial* where employees are committed to the nonprofit sector and career progression within the sector. The final type is *contingent* where employees have limited commitment to the nonprofit sector as they enter through a variety of routes and may pursue careers in other sectors. Interestingly, Harrow and Mole (2005) find very different career paths for men and women as women tend to

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be in the professional-managerial category, whereas men tend to fall under the contingent career approach. This suggests that gender may play a role in employees' propensity to sector switch.

In a study of nonprofit and state-level managers in Georgia and Illinois, Lee and Wilkins (2011) find that public managers value the opportunity for advancement, benefits, and the ability to serve the public interest, while nonprofit managers value responsibility and family-friendly policies. In a study of MPA and MBA alumni, Tschirhart et al. (2008) found that job sector choices are largely made based on perceived sector competence and desire to work in the sector. Prior full-time work experience in a given sector only predicted future employment in that sector for nonprofits. Tschirhart and colleagues (2008) also find that the importance placed on having a career that helps others is positively linked with the desire to work in the nonprofit and government sectors, whereas the importance of earning a high salary and ability to be entrepreneurial is positively linked with wanting to work in the private sector. In terms of sector switching, those who changed job sectors did not tend to be employed in their preferred job sector right after graduation, but tended to move into the preferred sector and stay there (Tschirhart et al. 2008).

<u>Job Turnover and Mobility</u>

In addition to motivation to work in the public and nonprofit sectors compared to the for-profit sector, an overview of the factors associated with job turnover and mobility is needed to examine sector switching. March and Simon (1958) identify three main determinants of job satisfaction: how the job characteristics match the employee's self-image, predictability of relationships, and organization size. Job satisfaction is one of the determinants of turnover intent and behavior. Mobley and colleagues (1979) posit that satisfaction, attraction and utility of current job, and attraction and expected utility of alternative jobs are the key variables involved

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in turnover decisions. Many studies on turnover and mobility draw upon the attraction-selection-attrition model of organizations. Schneider (1987) posits that basic attraction-selection-attrition model is where "people make the place" as employees select into organizations that fit their values, organizations seek individuals compatible with the organization, and employees leave organizations in which they do not fit.

Shaw and colleagues (1998) found that pay, followed by benefits and bonding with the organization, are the largest factors preventing turnover, while time away from home and oversight increased turnover. Barnow and colleagues (2013) find that "high turnover is often associated with occupations that have high stress, low wages, or low prestige" (24). Pitts, Marvel and Fernandez (2011) found satisfaction, advancement opportunities, and age to be the most important predictors for federal government employees' intent to leave the agency, while age, race/ethnicity, and job satisfaction were the largest factors associated with intent to leave the federal government all together. Individuals with high levels of overall job satisfaction have consistently been more prone to remain in their jobs, but organizational commitment has been found to be an even better predictor for employees to stay in their jobs than satisfaction (Giffeth, Hom and Gaertner 2000). The organizational commitment finding is particularly interesting for this analysis as public service motivation is essentially a theory of an individual's commitment to public service more generally, so one would expect public sector workers to remain in the sector to satisfy their public service motivation and sector commitment.

<u>Trends in Sector Switching</u>

Su and Bozeman (2009) examine sector switching using a hazard model to predict changes from the private or for-profit sector to jobs in the public and nonprofit sectors. The researchers find that for-profit sector workers are more likely to switch into the public sector if

they held a retail or sales position followed by a managerial position and switch into the nonprofit sector if they held a technical position followed by managerial. Professional employees were found least likely to leave the for-profit sector. Employees are also less likely to leave the for-profit sector if they had more subordinates in their for-profit sector job. While a promotion was unrelated to switching to the public sector, switching to the nonprofit sector was found to be most often associated with a promotion. Su and Bozeman (2009) also find that employees whose first job was in the for-profit sector are more likely to move into the public sector, but not the nonprofit sector. Since sector changes were not necessarily associated with a promotion, especially for the public sector, this study suggests that other motivations besides pay or prestige may be the cause for changing job sectors.

Bozeman and Ponomariov (2009) find that employees in the public sector that have private sector experience are more likely to have been recently promoted and to supervise a greater number of employees compared to government workers without private sector experience. However, they find that the benefits of private sector experience have limits. Public sector employees with private sector experience are less likely to be promoted and less likely to supervise a larger number of employees with the length of time worked in the private sector. Recent private sector experience has an immediate impact on supervising a larger number of employees. Although, employees who have private sector experience early in their careers and more recent public sector experience are more likely to obtain a promotion in the public sector. These findings suggest varying benefits of private sector experience on future public sector work. Private sector experience is beneficial to gain initial experience, but the benefit diminishes with tenure (at least in terms of public sector value).

Hansen (2013) finds salary, flexible and flat structure, room for drive and creativity, and creating value for end-users to be key factors in public sector employees' decision to switch to the private sector, while job security and serving society had a negative impact on moving into the private sector. Georgellis and colleagues (2010) find that satisfaction with intrinsic rewards increases the probability of employees in the private sector switching to the public sector. Hansen's (2013) Danish study on public sector employees' job shifting to the private sector and Georgellis and colleagues' (2010) British study of sector switching show that there are key characteristics of the public and private sectors that influence employee decisions to change job sectors.

Hypotheses

Studies have found that some people choose to work in both government and nonprofit organizations due to their desire to help others (e.g. Light 1999; Tschirhart et al. 2008). Researchers have also acknowledged similarities of the two mission-driven sectors and called for a closer examination of the distinction between government agencies and nonprofit organizations (Feeney and Rainey 2009; Staats 1988). As a result, this paper uses a broad definition of public service to include both government and nonprofit organizations in operationalizing the public sector. Therefore, sector switching from the for-profit sector to the public sector (government and nonprofit) or from the public sector (government and nonprofit) to the for-profit sector is explored. In addition, this study examines the impact of public sector employment, broadly defined to include both the nonprofit and government sectors, compared to for-profit sector employment on changing job sectors as well as the individual impacts of government and nonprofit sector employment. Lastly, in response to calls for an examination of differences

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across levels of government (e.g. Pandey and Stazyk 2008), variances in the likelihood of public employees moving into the for-profit sector for different levels of government are examined.

In light of public service motivation, donative labor theory, and literature on sector switching and job turnover, perhaps public sector employees are less likely to change sectors than their for-profit sector counterparts in order to satisfy their motivation.

> H_1: *Public sector employees, broadly defined to include both government and nonprofit employees, are more likely to stay in the public sector than for-profit employees are to stay in the for-profit sector.*

Government employees may be less likely to sector switch than for-profit workers in accordance with theories of public service motivation, attraction-selection-attrition, and person-organization fit as government employees will likely select and want to stay in organizations where they can serve the public interest and make a difference. In addition, government employees tend to have defined benefit pensions that may encourage government employees to stay in their current position.

> H_2: *Government employees are more likely to stay in the public sector than for-profit employees are to stay in the for-profit sector.*

Nonprofit employees derive a sense of well-being by virtue of working in the nonprofit sector so are likely to want to stay in the public sector. However, as Harrow and Mole (2005) described, the nonprofit sector is not without employees who use the sector as a stepping-stone. In addition, the donative labor nature of many nonprofit jobs may make employees more vulnerable to changes in economic conditions. Therefore, nonprofit employees may be less likely to sector switch during a stable job market due to their motivation and satisfaction in the sector, but more likely to sector switch than for-profit employees during times of economic crisis. Although both mission-driven sectors are said to be motivated by and draw satisfaction from being able to make

a difference, nonprofit employees may be more impacted by instability in the job market than government employees, who often have higher levels of job security.

> *H₃:*   *Nonprofit employees are more likely to stay in the public sector than for-profit employees are to stay in the for-profit sector during stable economic times, but are more likely to sector switch during the recent recession.*

In addition to these hypotheses, potential differences in job sector changes across levels of government are explored. Much research in public administration examines government as a whole or focuses on one level of government; few have explored differences *within* the government sector itself. While this has yet to be examined, perhaps federal, state, and local government employees have varying levels of public service motivation or job satisfaction that may be reflected in their propensity to leave government to work in the for-profit sector. Research on public trust has found that trust is highest at the local government level and lowest at the federal government level with public trust for the state government level being in between (Cole and Kincaid 2000; Cooper, Knotts, and Brennan 2008; U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1992). In light of the public's views of local government, perhaps local government employees will have higher levels of job satisfaction and be less likely to sector switch. In addition, perhaps federal government employees will be less likely to sector switch due to the federal pension and relative job stability.

> *H₄:*   *Government employees have varying likelihoods of staying in the public sector as federal, state or local government employees may have different probabilities to sector switch.*

<div align="center">

Methods

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To test these hypotheses, this paper uses data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), which is a continuous series of national panels with samples sizes ranging from about 14,000 to 36,700 interviewed households that is administered by the U.S. Census

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Bureau. This paper draws upon the twelve waves of the 2004 SIPP, which covers 48 months

starting in February of 2004 and ending in January of 2008, to examine the probability of

switching job sectors during "normal" conditions or a relatively stable economy and job market.

From 2004 to 2007, the number of hires grew by 3 percent, layoffs and discharges decreased by

3 percent and the number of quits grew by 10 percent in the for-profit sector (U.S. Bureau of

Labor Statistics 2013a). During the same time for the government sector, the number of hires

grew by 17 percent, layoffs and discharges grew by 3 percent, and quits grew by 17 percent

(U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013a). Table 10 below shows the changes in for-profit and

government employment during the 2004 SIPP.

Table 10: For-Profit and Government Employment Changes during a Stable Job Market, Time
Period of the 2004 SIPP

	2004	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**Percent Change 2004-2007**
For-Profit Sector					
Hires	56,617,000	59,372,000	59,494,000	58,035,000	3%
Layoffs and Discharges	21,533,000	20,970,000	19,842,000	20,834,000	-3%
Quits	29,601,000	32,694,000	33,718,000	32,686,000	10%
Other Separations	3,597,000	3,461,000	3,980,000	3,568,000	-1%
Government					
Hires	3,749,000	3,780,000	4,281,000	4,385,000	17%
Layoffs and Discharges	1,268,000	1,215,000	1,313,000	1,308,000	3%
Quits	1,650,000	1,736,000	1,993,000	1,927,000	17%
Other Separations	691,000	659,000	719,000	839,000	21%

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013a).

This paper also uses the first four waves of the 2008 SIPP, which covers 16 months

beginning in September of 2008 and ending in December of 2009 (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

The National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) designated December 2007 as the

beginning of the recession, where labor market conditions deteriorated throughout 2008 and

continued through 2009 (Hipple 2010). Since all four waves of the 2008 SIPP used in this study

are during the recession, different trends in sector switching may take place, or workers may be

less likely to change sectors or jobs in general with the increased uncertainty of the job market.

From 2008 to 2009, the number of hires decreased by 17 percent, layoffs increased by 9 percent,

and quits decreased dramatically by 32 percent in the for-profit sector (U.S. Bureau of Labor

Statistics 2013a). In the government sector, hires decreased by 6 percent, layoffs drastically

increased by 40 percent, and quits severely decreased by 25 percent (U.S. Bureau of Labor

Statistics 2013a). The employment changes during the 2008 SIPP at the time of the Great

Recession are shown below in Table 11. Therefore, the 2008 SIPP provides an interesting

contrast of employment data during volatile economic times compared to the more normal labor

market conditions that existed during the 2004 SIPP.

Table 11: For-Profit and Government Employment Changes during the Great Recession, Time
Period of the 2008 SIPP

	2008	2009	Percent Change 2008-2009
For-Profit Sector			
Hires	51,606,000	43,052,000	-17%
Layoffs and Discharges	23,015,000	25,172,000	9%
Quits	28,952,000	19,817,000	-32%
Other Separations	3,251,000	3,104,000	-5%
Government			
Hires	3,558,000	3,346,000	-6%
Layoffs and Discharges	1,149,000	1,610,000	40%
Quits	1,606,000	1,205,000	-25%
Other Separations	627,000	618,000	-1%

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013a).

Since this is an examination of sector switching, the analysis is based on the responses of

employed individuals who work in the for-profit, nonprofit or government sectors. Respondents

who are not employees or who are a family worker without pay are excluded from these analyses

for both the 2004 and 2008 SIPPs. The distribution of respondents by sector and the number of respondents who switched sectors for both the 2004 and 2008 SIPP panels may be found below in Table 12.

Table 12: Distribution of Respondents by Sector and Sector Switchers

	2004 SIPP		2008 SIPP	
Sector	Respondents	Sector Switchers	Respondents	Sector Switchers
For-Profit	1,231,913	38,381	461,210	18,692
Nonprofit	134,712	3,794	52,603	2,546
Government	274,816	8,254	113,447	4,617

The hypotheses are tested using hazard models to determine the probability of workers switching from either the public sector to the for-profit sector or the for-profit sector to the public sector. Since the SIPP data is by month, discrete time hazard models are used to estimate within-sample predictions. This analysis uses logistic regression with log time to estimate the hazard model. In these regressions, the hazard is the probability of switching sectors, which is measured by an indicator variable that is 0 if the respondent remains in the public or for-profit sector and is 1 if the respondent moves from the public sector to the for-profit sector or the for-profit sector to the public sector.

The independent variable of interest is sector, which is measured by an indicator variable for the public sector, including both nonprofit and government, compared to the for-profit sector in the first set of models. Indicator variables for nonprofit sector and government sector compared to the for-profit sector are used in the second set of models. Lastly, the third set of models includes indicator variables for nonprofit sector, local government, state government, and federal government compared to the for-profit sector to determine if there is any variation within the government sector by levels of government. In addition, several control variables are used in this analysis to isolate the impact of sector on sector switching, including demographic

characteristics and indicator variables for each of the 50 states. The demographic control

variables include: age, marital status, gender, number of children under 18 in the household,

race, Hispanic origin, education level, and monthly earnings. Each model is first run with the

demographic control variables and then run with the state indicators added to control for location

effects, which is necessary as people in different areas may have varying levels of job mobility

available (see: Diamond 1982).

<div align="center">Models</div>

Hazard or survival models are used to describe when and whether a group of individuals

are likely to experience a certain event, which are helpful to answer questions about the

differences in between groups. Here hazard models are helpful to determine whether

government, nonprofit and for-profit employees have different likelihoods of changing job

sectors. Hazard models consider various characteristics to predict the risk of the hazard

occurring, which is sector switching in this case. The most common survival analysis is Cox

regression for continuous time that estimates the influence of predictors on risk under the

assumption of "proportionality" (Kaplan 2004). However, the proportional hazard assumption is

difficult to meet since it assumes hazards do not vary over time and groups have parallel hazards,

both of which are likely to be violated in the case of sector switching. In addition, the SIPP

contains discrete monthly data rather than continuous. Due to the concerns with violating the

proportional hazard assumption and using discrete data, Cox's (1972) extension of the

proportional hazards model to discrete time by examining the conditional odds of the hazard at

each time period is more appropriate for this analysis. Therefore, discrete time hazard models

are used to examine the conditional probability of the hazard by using logistic regression with

log time.

Hazard models are appropriate for this analysis in estimating the time duration to "failure," which in this case is changing job sectors. I estimate the hazard models using a logistic regression of changing job sectors with a log time variable using survey weights for the first month of each SIPP and cluster robust standard errors by sample unit clusters. Models 1 to 4 estimate the likelihood of public sector employees, defined broadly as nonprofit and government employees, moving into the for-profit sector compared to for-profit sector employees moving into the public sector for both the 2004 and 2008 SIPP. Models 5 to 8 examine the likelihood of sector switching for government and nonprofit employees compared to their for-profit sector counterparts. Models 9 to 12 estimate the likelihood that nonprofit employees and government employees by levels of government will change sectors compared to for-profit sector employees. For each set of models, I first run the model with just the sector(s), demographic controls, and log time, and I then run the model again including state indicator variables to control for state specific impacts. These two models are run for both the 2004 and 2008 SIPP for each set of key independent variables. Therefore, I run the following six models with the 2004 and 2008 SIPP panels for the hazard of sector switching:

$$h(t) = \ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1 - Pi}\right) = \beta_o t + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$$h(t) = \ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1 - Pi}\right) = \beta_o t + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$$h(t) = \ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1 - Pi}\right) = \beta_o t + \beta_1 X_{4i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$$h(t) = \ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1 - Pi}\right) = \beta_o t + \beta_1 X_{4i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$$h(t) = \ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1 - Pi}\right) = \beta_o t + \beta_1 X_{5i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$$h(t) = \ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1 - Pi}\right) = \beta_o t + \beta_1 X_{5i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$X_1 =$ Indicator variable for public (government or nonprofit), compared to for-profit
$X_2 =$ Vector of socio-demographic variables
$X_3 =$ State fixed effects
$X_4 =$ Indicator variable for nonprofit and government employment, compared to for-profit

$X_5 =$ Indicator variables for nonprofit and government by levels of government (federal, state, and local), compared to for-profit

$\varepsilon =$ Random error

<u>Analysis and Findings</u>

Sector Switching: Public Sector compared to the For-Profit Sector

Table 13 below shows the results of the hazard model predicting the likelihood of public sector employees switching sectors compared to for-profit sector employees. For the 2004 SIPP, public employees are found to have a 20 percent higher hazard of leaving the public sector than for-profit sector employees in Model 1. After controlling for state location in Model 2, this finding is cut in half with public sector employees having only a 10 percent higher hazard of sector switching. During a stable job market, public sector employees, broadly defined to include government and nonprofit employees, are more likely to move into the for-profit sector than for-profit employees are to move into the public sector, which may in part be due to the for-profit sector being larger in size compared to the nonprofit and government sectors.

For the 2008 SIPP, public sector employees are found to have a 37 percent higher hazard than for-profit sector employees in Model 3, which only changes slightly to a 35 percent higher hazard in Model 4. As the job market becomes more volatile during the recent recession, public employees are likely to switch into the for-profit sector at even higher rates than normal economic conditions. This may be due to the increase layoffs and discharges compared to those being hired and employees quit rates reducing across sectors due to the uncertainty of the job market.

Interestingly during the 2004 SIPP, white and married employees are significantly less likely to switch sectors. In addition, age, the number of children under the age of 18 present, and monthly earnings also seem to decrease the likelihood of employees changing job sectors during stable economic times. It seems that employees may be more content with their current job or at

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least sector with earnings and age. In terms of employee characteristics, perhaps married

individuals and those with children are less likely to take career risks due to family obligations

compared to their single counterparts who seem less risk-adverse. During the recession, only

monthly earnings, age, and number of children were found to significantly decrease the

likelihood of sector switching.

Contrary to the hypothesized relationship, it appears that public employees, both

government and nonprofit, are more likely to change sectors than for-profit employees,

especially during times of economic crisis as shown with the 2008 SIPP results.

Table 13: Changing Job Sectors Hazard Model: Public Sector compared to the For-Profit Sector

	2004 SIPP				2008 SIPP			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z
Public (Government + Nonprofit)	1.20***	4.93	1.10***	4.61	1.37***	7.64	1.35***	7.29
Male	0.99	-0.74	0.99	-0.59	1.04	1.16	1.05	1.28
Hispanic	1.04	1.00	1.00	0.06	1.08	1.22	1.01	0.15
White	0.87**	-2.99	0.88**	-2.74	0.87	-1.46	0.85	-1.74
Black	1.05	0.87	1.06	1.07	1.17	1.47	1.11	0.98
Asian	1.13	1.72	1.10	1.41	1.09	0.70	0.97	-0.24
Married	0.88***	-5.91	0.89***	-5.72	0.90*	-2.36	0.90*	-2.27
Less Than High School	0.92*	-2.21	0.92*	-2.25	0.93	-1.05	0.92	-1.12
High School Graduate	0.95*	-2.24	0.96*	-2.05	0.99	-0.23	0.99	-0.07
College Graduate or More	1.03	0.99	1.02	0.96	1.02	0.47	1.03	0.56
Monthly Earnings	0.99***	-9.72	0.99***	-9.97	0.99***	-6.45	0.99***	-6.73
Age	0.98***	-25.55	0.98***	-25.59	0.98***	-10.58	0.98***	-10.55
Number of Children under 18	0.96***	-4.07	0.96***	-3.97	0.99	-0.35	0.98***	-10.55
Log Time	1.18***	55.44	1.81***	55.88	3.15***	43.43	3.15***	43.43
State Fixed Effects Included?	No		Yes		No		Yes	
Pseudo R²	0.0283		0.0309		0.0428		0.0465	
N= 1,359,286 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001								

Sector Switching: Nonprofit and Government Sectors compared to the For-Profit Sector

Table 14 below shows the results of the hazard models for nonprofit and government employees compared to for-profit sector employees. For the 2004 SIPP, nonprofit sector employees have a 13 percent higher hazard of sector switching compared to for-profit employees and government employees have an 8 percent higher hazard of sector switching compared to for-profit employees.

Table 14: Changing Job Sectors Hazard Model: Nonprofit and Government Sectors compared to the For-Profit Sector

	2004 SIPP				2008 SIPP			
	Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z
Nonprofit	1.14***	4.32	1.13***	3.94	1.39***	5.10	1.38***	4.98
Government	1.08***	3.52	1.08**	3.35	1.36***	6.68	1.34***	6.31
Male	0.99	-0.68	0.99	-0.54	1.04	1.18	1.05	1.30
Hispanic	1.04	1.02	1.00	0.06	1.08	1.23	1.01	0.15
White	0.87**	-3.01	0.88**	-2.75	0.87	-1.46	0.85	-1.74
Black	1.05	0.88	1.06	1.07	1.17	1.48	1.11	0.99
Asian	1.13	1.72	1.10	1.40	1.09	0.70	0.97	-0.24
Married	0.88***	-5.88	0.89***	-5.70	0.90*	-2.36	0.90*	-2.26
Less Than High School	0.92*	-2.22	0.92*	-2.26	0.93	-1.06	0.92	-1.12
High School Graduate	0.95*	-2.22	0.96*	-2.03	0.99	-0.23	0.99	-0.07
College Graduate or More	1.03	0.98	1.02	0.96	1.02	0.46	1.03	0.55
Monthly Earnings	0.99***	-9.69	0.99***	-9.95	0.99***	-6.44	0.99***	-6.72
Age	0.98***	-25.55	0.98***	-25.59	0.98***	-10.59	0.98***	-10.56
Number of Children under 18	0.96***	-4.07	0.96***	-3.97	0.99	-0.36	0.99	-0.39
Log Time	1.80***	55.46	1.81***	55.89	3.14***	43.43	3.15***	43.44
State Fixed Effects Included?	No		Yes		No		Yes	
Pseudo R²	0.0284		0.0309		0.0428		0.0465	
N= 1,359,286 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001								

As shown in Model 8, during the recession, nonprofit sector employees have a 38 percent higher hazard of sector switching and government employees have a 34 percent higher hazard of sector switching than for-profit employees. The higher probability of sector switching during the recession suggests that employees may have been pursuing any job rather than concerning

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themselves with sector preferences. In addition to voluntary separations and job sector changes, all sectors—government, nonprofit and for-profit—were impacted by the recent recession where employees often faced changes in the hiring, layoff and discharges, early retirement incentives, and other human resource practices as organizations coped with financial and budget constraints.

These findings fail to support my second hypothesis that government employees will be less likely to sector switch as government employees were found more likely to move into the for-profit sector than for-profit sector employees are to move into the public sector for both the 2004 and 2008 SIPPs. My third hypothesis is partially supported as nonprofit employees were also found more likely to sector switch than for-profit employees during both stable and unstable economic times, whereas previous findings would suggest a dedication to the nonprofit sector would be predominate during normal job market conditions.

Sector Switching: Public Sector and Levels of Government compared to the For-Profit Sector

Table 15 shows the results of the hazard model for the nonprofit sector and government sector by levels of government. The likelihood of nonprofit workers moving to the for-profit sector is the same as shown in Models 5 to 8 in Table 14 and discussed above. However, the government sector by levels of government results indicate that levels of job satisfaction or motivation may vary depending on whether one works at the local, state or federal level of government. For the 2004 SIPP, only state government workers have a statistically higher hazard of changing sectors, 11 percent higher than the for-profit sector in both Models 9 and 10. During a stable economy, local government and federal government employees were not found to have a significantly higher likelihood of sector switching than for-profit employees. Perhaps different factors motivate and satisfy federal and local government employees than state

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government employees in order for state government employees to be more likely to move into the for-profit sector.

During the Great Recession, employees at all levels of government have a higher hazard of sector switching compared to the for-profit sector in the 2008 SIPP results. Local government employees are estimated to have a 26 percent higher hazard, state government employees are estimated to have a 34 percent higher hazard, and federal government workers are estimated to have a 49 percent higher hazard in Model 12. Only state government employees were found more likely to switch into the for-profit sector during both normal economic conditions and the recent recession.

During the recession, local government and federal government employees were also found more likely to switch to the for-profit sector than for-profit employees are to switch to the public sector. This finding suggests that the government sector may have been hit just as hard if not harder during the recession. Government employees may have been let go from their jobs and there may have been little to no opportunities for for-profit employees to move into the public sector. This may at least partially be due to the increased number of layoffs compared to hires. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013b), the ratio of quits per layoff were at the highest prior to the recession with nearly two people voluntarily leaving their jobs for each person laid off or discharged for the for-profit sector. However, in 2009 during the recession, this ratio decreased to 0.79 for for-profit employees and 0.75 quits per layoff or discharge for government employees. The increased likelihood of sector switching during the recession may also show that employees are willing to move to find a job, regardless of sector, in order to cope with the tough economic times.

These findings support my fourth hypothesis; the data indicate that sector switching varies by level of government. State government was the only level of government found to have a higher probability of sector switching in both the 2004 and 2008 SIPPs, which may reflect a difference in job motivation and satisfaction of state government employees compared to federal and local government employees. Overall, it seems like local and federal government workers may be less likely to change sectors, except for during times of economic instability as shown in the 2008 SIPP results.

Table 15: Changing Job Sectors Hazard Model: Public Sector and Levels of Government compared to the For-Profit Sector

	2004 SIPP				2008 SIPP			
	Model 9		Model 10		Model 11		Model 12	
	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z
Nonprofit	1.14***	4.31	1.13***	3.93	1.38***	5.07	1.38***	4.96
Local Government	1.06	1.93	1.06	1.79	1.28***	4.05	1.26***	3.77
State Government	1.11**	2.86	1.11**	2.85	1.36***	4.09	1.34***	3.89
Federal Government	1.10	1.93	1.09	1.75	1.50***	4.92	1.49***	4.73
Male	0.99	-0.71	0.99	-0.57	1.04	1.08	1.05	1.20
Hispanic	1.04	1.03	1.00	0.06	1.08	1.22	1.01	0.12
White	0.87**	-2.99	0.88**	-2.74	0.88	-1.43	0.85	-1.72
Black	1.05	0.89	1.06	1.08	1.17	1.49	1.11	1.00
Asian	1.13	1.72	1.10	1.40	1.09	0.70	0.97	-0.25
Married	0.88***	-5.88	0.89***	-5.70	0.90	-2.36	0.90*	-2.25
Less Than High School	0.92*	-2.21	0.92*	-2.25	0.93	-1.04	0.92	-1.10
High School Graduate	0.95*	-2.22	0.96*	-2.02	0.99	-0.21	0.99	-0.04
College Graduate or More	1.03	0.99	1.02	0.95	1.03	0.55	1.03	0.64
Monthly Earnings	0.99***	-9.63	0.99***	-9.89	0.99***	-6.43	0.99***	-6.71
Age	0.98***	-25.53	0.98***	-25.57	0.98***	-10.54	0.98***	-10.51
Number of Children under 18	0.96***	-4.07	0.96***	-3.96	0.99	-0.35	0.99	-0.38
Log Time	1.80***	55.44	1.81***	55.87	3.14***	43.43	3.15	43.43
State Fixed Effects Included?	No		Yes		No		Yes	
Pseudo R²	0.0284		0.0309		0.0429		0.0466	
N= 1,359,286								
* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001								

Figures 4 and 5 below show the predicted probabilities for the for-profit sector, nonprofit

sector, and government sector by levels of government resulting from Models 9 and 11. For the

2004 SIPP, for-profit sector workers have a 1.7 percent average predicted probability of moving

into the public sector. State government workers also have an average of 1.7 percent probability

and nonprofit employees have a higher average predicted probability of 1.8 percent. For 2004,

only local government with 1.6 percent and federal government with 1.5 percent are lower than

the for-profit sector. However, these probabilities change significantly for 2008 where the

nonprofit sector and all levels of government exceed the for-profit sector predicted hazard rate of

0.9 percent compared to 1 percent for local government workers and 1.1 percent for the nonprofit

sector, state government, and federal government.
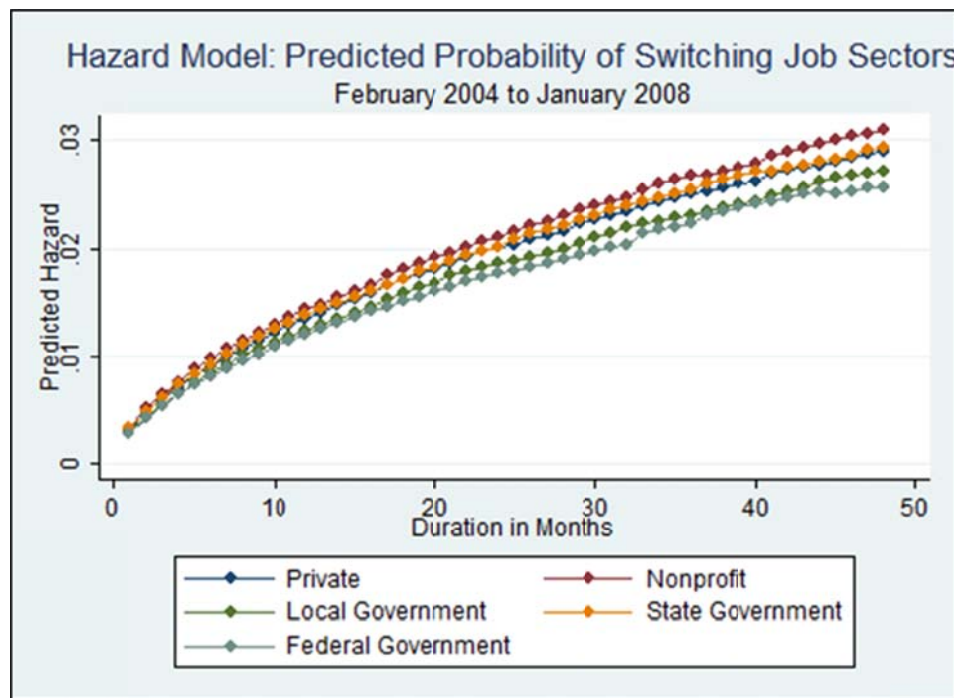
Figure 4: Probability of Switching Sectors: 2004 SIPP Hazard Model
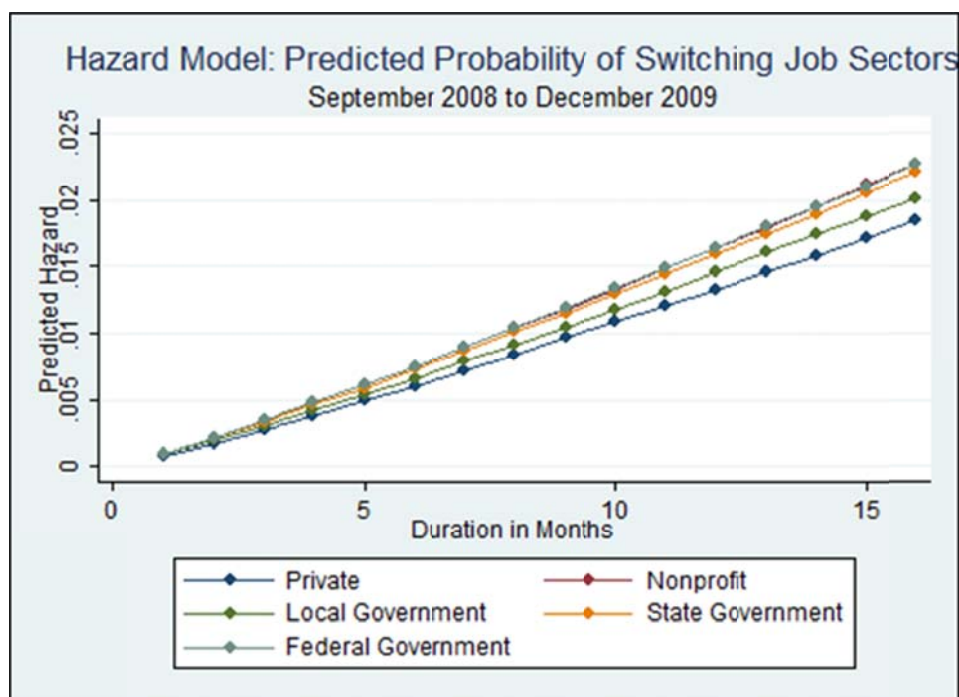
Figure 5: Probability of Switching Sectors: 2008 SIPP Hazard Models

Conclusion

Contrary to many of the hypothesized relationships, these findings show that for-profit sector employees are less likely to move into the public sector than public sector employees are to move into the for-profit sector, especially during times of unstable job markets. This finding was only inconclusive for local government and federal government employees during a stable economy in the 2004 SIPP. These results suggest that other factors besides public service motivation, donative labor, or general intrinsic motivations are important to individual's job choices, since nonprofit and government employees tend to be more willing to switch sectors than for-profit sector employees. However, these results also indicate that for-profit employees are less willing to move into public service, which may indicate for-profit employees' unwillingness to work in the public sector in addition to other factors involved in job choices. The for-profit sector is also much larger in scope – with about five times as many employees than the government sector (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013c) – so may offer a greater number

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of career opportunities, whereas it may be more difficult to find job openings in the government and nonprofit sectors.

Few have examined sector switching and little is known about differences in sector switchers. This paper hopes to address the gap in the literature by examining both employees moving from the public to the for-profit sector and employees moving from the for-profit sector to the public sector. Somewhat surprisingly, these results show that public employees, broadly defined to include government and nonprofit employees, are more likely to change job sectors than for-profit employees, during both stable and unstable economic conditions. In light of research on the intrinsic motivations of public sector employees, one would imagine that public employees would be more satisfied and committed to their sector than for-profit employees. However, individuals with higher levels of public service motivation or general intrinsic motivation may be more willing to change jobs, and even job sectors, to where they feel they can make the most difference regardless of sector as previous work (Christensen and Wright 2011; Light 1999) and these results suggest.

This study differs from much of the growing research on sector switching, as I examine sector switching both to and from public service for a nationally representative sample, whereas a majority of the work on this subject has focused on motivations for sector switching in one direction or for a subset of a population. Su and Bozeman (2009) and Bozeman and Ponomariov (2009) examine sector switching from the private sector to the government or nonprofit sector based on self-reported behavior of government and nonprofit employees in Illinois and Georgia using the National Administrative Studies Project III data. Hansen (2013) examines sector switching from a state organization to another state organization, local government, or the for-profit sector using a self-reported survey in Denmark. Georgellis and colleagues (2010) provide

a more comprehensive examination of sector switching in their British study of movement into both the public and for-profit sectors using longitudinal data, but the researchers use a probit model to explore the factors associated with transitioning into the public sector and for-profit sector individually. This study is unable to determine the motivation for sector switching, but hopes to illustrate the phenomenon of sector switching more broadly to shed light on how prevalent sector switching is by sector in both stable and unstable economic conditions.

This study found that for-profit employees are less likely to sector switch regardless of the job market conditions. Even though previous research suggests that graduate students may decide to start their careers in the for-profit sector and move in the public sector (Chetkovich 2003; Wright and Christensen 2010) and that for-profit employees motivated by intrinsic rewards may move into the public sector (Georgellis et al. 2010). In addition, for-profit sector employees with strong intrinsic motivation would be expected to pursue career opportunities in the public sector (Wight and Christensen 2011). However, these findings support work suggesting high levels of organizational commitment among for-profit employees (Lyons et al. 2006) and low levels of sector switching among professional employees and those with many subordinates in the for-profit sector (Su and Bozeman 2009).

The growing nonprofit sector is often left out of discussions of sector switching and distinctions between the public and for-profit sectors. However, the nonprofit sector plays an increasing role in the delivery of public goods and services, which further complicates sector choice decisions as the blurring of the boundaries across sectors becomes more and more fuzzy. The donative labor theory that nonprofit employees derive well-being from their work (Leete 2001; 2006) and intrinsic motivation of nonprofit sector employees to help others (Leete 2006; Lyons et al. 2006; Tschirhart et al. 2008) suggest that nonprofit employees would be less likely

to sector switch than for-profit employees. Contrary to the expected relationship, nonprofit employees have a higher probability of changing job sectors than for-profit employees both in stable and unstable job market conditions. This finding suggests that the pay differential may impact nonprofit employee turnover decisions as employees may no longer be as willing to donate as the nonprofit sector is evolving and professionalizing so nonprofit employees likely have a much more diverse skillset than in the past. As Harrow and Mole (2005) found nonprofit employees have shifted from vocational, dedicating their entire career to the nonprofit sector, with limited career progression opportunities to more professional-managerial and even contingent, where there is limited commitment to the sector. In addition, some have found nonprofit employees are willing to leave the sector due to the pay differentials (Preston 2003) and stay if the pay penalty is small (Lewis 2010). Nonprofit managers and human resource managers may need to re-evaluate their recruitment and retention techniques as incentives to work and remain in the nonprofit sector may be evolving, where relying on labor donations may be impractical.

Government employees, in particular, are expected to have higher levels of sector satisfaction and commitment due to public service motivation (Kim 2012; Naff and Crum 1999) and findings that government employment tends to prevent public service motivation from declining (Kjeldsen and Jacobsen 2013). However, this study found that government employees are more likely to move into the for-profit sector than for-profit employees are to move into the public sector. Perhaps government employees change jobs to where they feel they can have the most impact, regardless of sector in order to satisfy their intrinsic or public service motivation. Government employees had an even higher probability of sector switching during the recent recession, which suggests that job security may play a role in government employee satisfaction

as job security may have been threatened by the drastic rise in layoffs and discharges during the Great Recession. Perhaps factors identified by Hansen (2013), such as salary, flexibility, creativity, and creating value, may be just as important to government employees as public service motivation and desire to serve the public. Government employees may be more amenable to satisfy their intrinsic motivations in any sector rather than be solely committed to government work.

Much research on sectoral differences examines the government as a whole or focuses on a specific level of government. Little attention is paid to existences that may exist *within* the government sector itself. This study addresses this gap and finds important distinctions across federal, state, and local government employees. Only state government employees were found more likely to change job sectors than for-profit employees in both stable and unstable economic conditions, whereas local and federal government employees were only found more likely to sector switch during the recent recession. This suggests that factors associated with sector choice, job satisfaction and turnover varies by level of government. The key factors associated with turnover decisions are satisfaction, attraction and utility of current job, and expected utility of alternative jobs (Mobley et al. 1979). From this framework, state government employees may have less job satisfaction than local and federal government employees or perhaps state government employees have better job prospects in the for-profit sector than local and federal government employees. Local government employees may be more satisfied with their jobs and federal government employees may enjoy greater benefits and job security than state government employees. Public managers and human resource managers should tailor recruitment and retention techniques by levels of government in order to take important nuances across federal, state, and local government employees into account. However, employees at all levels of

government had higher probabilities of sector switching during the recession, implying that the government sector is just as vulnerable to tough economic times with budget cuts as the for-profit sector with financial constraints.

The difference between the 2004 and 2008 panels may reflect the overall increase in employees changing job sectors in pursuit of any job during the tough labor market conditions rather than switching sectors due to job satisfaction or motivation, such as public service motivation. During the stable job market conditions, white and married employees were found less likely to sector switch than their counterparts, but no more or less likely to change job sectors during the recession. However, earnings, age and number of children were found to decrease the likelihood of employees sector switching during both the stable job market and recent tough economic times. This shows that employees may be more risk-adverse with age and if they have children. These findings also show that the extrinsic motivation of earnings plays a role in employee decisions to remain in their current job sector.

Overall, these findings suggest that state government and nonprofit employees are more likely to sector switch than for-profit employees under normal economic conditions. However, all government employees, federal, state, and local, and nonprofit employees, are more likely to move into the for-profit sector than for-profit employees are to move into the public sector during times of economic crisis. Public and nonprofit managers alike should consider how to recruit and retain dedicated employees in order to avoid the hiring and training costs associated with turnover and sector loss.

CHAPTER 4

DO PUBLIC AFFAIRS STUDENTS (STILL) CARE? UNDERSTANDING THE
ALTRUISTIC BEHAVIOR AND CAREER AMBITIONS
OF MPA AND MPP STUDENTS

The nature of public service is evolving as government becomes more reliant on contracts, collaborations, and networks to deliver public goods and services. Today's individuals may see their options for a career in public service differently than in the past as people carrying out the government's work can be found in all three sectors—government, nonprofit, and for-profit. Meanwhile, student enrollment in public affairs programs, such as the Master of Public Administration (MPA) and the Master of Public Policy (MPP), has been growing rapidly in recent years. Over the past decade, the number of MPA and MPP graduates has increased by 53 percent from 25,268 for the 2000-2001 academic year to 38,634 for the 2010-2011 academic year (NCES 2013). With the growing enrollment in MPA and MPP programs, a look into the motivations, behaviors, and career preferences of these students can help inform not only public affairs programs, but also human resource managers tasked to recruit and retain talented employees. In light of the changing nature of public service, who are today's public affairs students and where do they hope to work upon graduating?

Research in the area of public service motivation has emerged to explain sector differences and variances in work motivation and has grown rapidly since Perry and Wise (1990) first coined the term. Much scholarly attention has focused on the relationship between public service motivation and job satisfaction or performance (see: Wright and Grant 2010), but little attention has been paid to the relationship between public service motivation and career ambitions or an individual's behavior outside the workplace. Pandey, Wright, and Moynihan (2008) note: "Rather than simply a theory of public employee motivation, PSM actually

represents an individual's predisposition to enact altruistic or prosocial behaviors regardless of setting" (91). Public service motivation theory generally finds that those with higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to work in government (Brewer and Selden 1998; Perry and Wise 1990; Wright and Grant 2010). As a result, scholars have begun to examine the impact of public service motivation on prosocial behavior using sector as a proxy for public service motivation by examining the relationship between sector and prosocial behaviors (Brewer 2003; Houston 2006; 2008), but little work has examined the direct link between public service motivation and altruistic behaviors. In addition, there is little work on measuring and describing the dimensions of public service motivation. For example, few have explored the independent effects each dimension of public service motivation may have on behaviors. Wright and Grant (2010) call for scholars: "to deepen the theoretical and practical insights gained, researchers may consider testing finer grained predictions about the independent and interactive effects of different dimensions of PSM identified by Perry (1996)" (697).

This study answers Wright and Grant's (2010) call to examine the impact of public service motivation, using Perry's (1996) original survey, on volunteering, giving, and career goals. This paper examines how (or whether) the various dimensions relate to prosocial behaviors and career ambitions. This paper first provides an overview of public service motivation, next presents various measurements of public service motivation that have been used since Perry's (1996) original survey instrument, then reviews research on career goals, and calls to public service. This work draws upon an original online survey that includes Perry's (1996) public service motivation survey questions with supplemental questions about giving, volunteering, career goals and perceptions of public service. The 122 survey responses of graduate students from Masters in Public Policy and Masters in Public Administration programs

in the DC metro area are used to analyze the impact of public service motivation, using various

measurements, on volunteering, donating to charity, and aspirations to work in the public sector.

This paper has important implications for both theory and practice in understanding the

relationship between motivation, prosocial behaviors, and career ambitions.

<u>Measuring Public Service Motivation</u>

There has been much research on public and private sector differences in work

motivation and the impacts these differences have on organizations (See: Wright 2001). Besides

sector differences, public service has been linked, more generally, to a way of life as Elmer B.

Staats (1988) states "In its broadest sense, 'public service' is a concept, an attitude, a sense of

duty—yes, even a sense of public morality" (602). Over the last twenty years, public service

motivation has emerged to help explain sector differences and variances in work motivation.

In 1990, Perry and Wise first introduced the concept and defined public service

motivation as "an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or

uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (368). In their original conception, they

identify three types of motives that comprise the broader concept of public service motivation.

The first, rational motives, consists of the desire to participate in the process of policy formation,

commit to a public program because of personal identification, and advocate for a special

interest. The second, norm-based motives, consists of the desire to serve the public interest,

loyalty to duty and the government as a whole, and enhance social equity. The third, affective

motives, includes commitment to a program from a genuine conviction about its social

importance and patriotism of benevolence.[7]

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[7] Frederickson and Hart (1985) define patriotism of benevolence as "an extensive love of all people within our
political boundaries and the imperative that they must be protected by all of the basic rights granted to them by the
enabling documents" (549).

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Perry (1996) later developed a public service motivation survey instrument, identifying six dimensions of the construct: attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest, civic duty, social justice, self-sacrifice, and compassion. Perry (1996) developed the scale using the six conceptual dimensions identified in a literature review and a focus group of students in a Master of Public Administration (MPA) program. A focus group of about 30 MPA students was given the survey of Likert scale questions and asked for feedback on which questions best captured their motivation to work in the public sector and which items were vague or confusing. After Perry (1996) revised the survey based on these responses, he re-administered the survey to small groups of MPA and MBA students based on the assumed dissimilarity of their interest in the public sector. This led to another revision, which he again tested by comparing MPA and MBA students. Perry (1996) then used the 75 responses from the third iteration of the survey to test inter-item and item total correlations and measures for internal consistency that led him to a final 40-item survey.

Perry (1996) went on to test the descriptive power and reliability of the survey based on a purposive sample of 376 public sector students and employees. From these responses, he found that respondents did not tend to differentiate between the norm-based motives of civic duty, social justice, and compassion. Using factor analysis, Perry finds that these three constructs are equivalent to the general motivation towards cooperative action, which he retains in the measurement of compassion. Thus, the four main dimensions, according to Perry (1996) are attraction to policymaking, commitment to public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice, which are measured by his final 24-item scale.

Building on Perry's work, Brewer et al. (2000) describes four categories of motivation that seem to capture the broader construct of public service motivation. The first category is

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Samaritans, who are those motivated to help other people. Second, communitarians are people motivated by sentiments of civic duty and public service. Third, patriots are individuals who act for causes by protecting, advocating, and working for the good of the public. Lastly, humanitarians are those motivated by strong sense of social justice and public service. The four categories of individual motivation put forth by Brewer et al. (2000) have many commonalities with the four main dimensions of public service motivation Perry (1996) finds in his exploratory work.

However, many researchers have used abbreviated versions of Perry's (1996) survey to test his propositions empirically. For example, some researchers find attraction to policymaking a rational or self-interested motive and omit that dimension from the scale (e.g. Perry 1996, Clerkin et al. 2009). The most common measure of public service motivation are the Merit Principles Survey (1996, 2000, 2005, 2010) items which are a five-item scale drawing upon the commitment to public interest, self-sacrifice, compassion, and social justice dimensions used in Perry's (1996) original 40-item survey. The Merit Principles Survey items are widely used in public service motivation research (e.g., Brewer et al. 2000, Christensen and Wright 2011, Pandey, Wright and Moynihan 2008), and have also been included in Bozeman's National Administrative Studies Project (NASP), contributing to the widely accepted use of the measures in the field. Overall, public service motivation research draws upon Perry's (1996) exploratory scale, but there has been great variation in the specific measures used. The evolution of these public service motivation dimensions and survey are describes in Table 16 below and the specific questions included in Perry's (1996) survey may be found in Appendix B.

Table 16: Public Service Motivation Dimensions and Measures

Source	*Method*	*Dimensions*
Perry and Wise (1990)	Conceptual	Rational Motives: • participation in the process of policy formation • commitment to a public program because of personal identification • advocacy for a special interest Norm-based Motives: • desire to serve the public interest • loyalty to duty and the government as a whole • social equity Affective Motives: • commitment to a program from a genuine conviction about its social importance • patriotism of benevolence
Perry (1996)	40-item survey of 75 MPA and MBA Students	Six Dimensions of Public Service Motivation: • attraction to public policymaking • commitment to the public interest • civic duty • social justice • self-sacrifice • compassion
Perry (1996)	24-item survey of 376 public sector students and employees	Four Main Dimensions of Public Service Motivation: • attraction to policymaking • commitment to the public interest • self-sacrifice • compassion
Merit Principles Survey (1996, 2000, 2005, 2010)	5-items drawn from Perry's (1996) original survey	Abbreviated Public Service Motivation Scale: • Meaningful public service is very important to me (Dimension: Commitment to public interest) • I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another (Dimension: Compassion) • Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements (Dimension: Self-sacrifice) • I am prepared to make sacrifices for the good of society (Dimension: Self-sacrifice) • I am not afraid to go to bat for the rights of others even if it means I will be ridiculed(Dimension: Social justice)

Measuring public service motivation is complex (See: Wright 2008 for an overview of the challenges) and evolving (See: Kim 2009, 2011 for examples of recent work and Kim and colleagues 2013 for an example of recent efforts to develop an international survey of public

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service motivation). This analysis explores different measures of public service motivation, including Perry's (1996) original dimensions, as Wright and Grant (2010) called upon scholars to examine, and the widely used five-item measure. Perry's (1996) 40-item survey including all six of the original public service motivation dimensions are examined in order to see how (or whether) each of the dimensions relates to the sector preferences and prosocial behaviors of MPA and MPP students. This study also explores the relationship between graduate student sector preferences and prosocial behaviors with an overall measure of public service motivation and the five-item measure from the Merit Principles Survey, as the abbreviated measure is commonly used in the field. The original survey and measures of public service motivation are used in order to examine the initial conception of public service motivation and explore the concept more broadly.

<u>Public Service Motivation and Prosocial Behaviors</u>

The altruistic aspect of public service motivation as defined by Perry and Wise's norm-based motives, Brewer's Samaritans, and other researchers' more general altruistic definition of public service motivation is used to explore volunteering, giving to charitable organizations, and career ambitions. As Houston (2006) states, "They are 'public servants' who are committed to the public good and characterized by an ethic built on benevolence, a life in service to others, and a desire to affect the community" (68). Several researchers have begun to examine the impact of public service motivation on individuals' prosocial behaviors.

Based on the premise that public service motivation is prevalent in the public sector (Brewer and Selden 1998; Perry and Wise 1990), some researchers have used the sector in which an individual is employed as a proxy for public service motivation to examine the behavioral implications of public service motivation. Sector employment is an appropriate proxy because

people with high public service motivation are likely to self-select into public service to satisfy their motivation. As Pandey and Stazyk (2008) describe, public administration scholarship "has long recognized the presence of an ethic grounded uniquely in public service, which has been expected to lead to the pursuit of government careers and also predispose individuals to derive satisfaction from public sector work" (101). Brewer (2003) uses data from the American National Election Study to examine the strength of public sector employment as a predictor of civic participation and finds that "public servants manifest more civic-minded norms and have stronger proclivity to engage in civic-minded behaviors"(19).

Houston (2006) builds upon Brewer's work to examine the impact of sector employment on one's propensity to volunteer, give charitable donations, and donate blood. Houston finds that government and nonprofit employees are more likely to volunteer than their for-profit sector counterparts and that government employees have a higher probability of donating blood. However, the impact of sector employment on donating to charities was not significant. More recently, Houston (2008) continues this research to examine the impact of sector employment on civic participation and prosocial behaviors. He finds that government employees are more likely to belong to multiple groups/organizations, volunteer, and donate blood than for-profit sector employees. Although Houston uses data from the General Social Survey in both studies, the nonprofit sector employees were not found to have a statistically significant higher probability of engaging in prosocial or civic behaviors in his later study.

In a survey of undergraduate students using Perry's (1996) public service motivation survey, Clerkin et al. (2009) found a link between the public service motivation dimension of civic duty and students' propensity to donate and volunteer and a link between the public service motivation dimension of compassion and students' propensity to give charitable donations.

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However, Clerkin and his colleagues (2009) use Perry's (1996) revised survey of 24-items focusing on the four core dimensions of public service motivation rather than Perry's original 40-item survey testing six dimensions of public service motivation.

This paper uses Perry's (1996) public service motivation survey, adopting an approach similar to Clerkin et al.'s (2009) study, to examine the link between public service motivation and prosocial behavior. Unlike Clerkin and colleagues, this paper uses Perry's (1996) original 40-item survey to examine all six original dimensions of public service motivation—attraction to policy making, commitment to the public interest, social justice, civic duty, compassion, and self-sacrifice. Instead of relying on data from undergraduate students, this paper focuses on graduate students in public affairs programs, who are likely to have higher levels of public service motivation. This study also explores the link between public service motivation and career ambitions.

<u>Public Service Motivation or Public Service Motives?</u>

Perry and Wise (1990) asserted that "the greater an individual's public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization" (370). As Wright and Grant (2010) argue, public service motivation theory tends to be used to support such statements, but confidence in these assertions is limited. Wright and Christensen (2010) test this assumption by comparing extrinsic motivations (measured by financial opportunities) and intrinsic motivations (measured by desire to help others) of the career decisions of lawyers. The authors find that a strong intrinsic motivation fails to predict the sector of lawyers' first jobs, but it increases the likelihood that future jobs will be in the public sector (Wright and Christensen 2010). In another study, Christensen and Wright (2011) find that individuals with higher levels of public service motivation were neither more nor less likely to join the public

sector. However, they find that individuals with greater levels of public service motivation are more likely to accept jobs that emphasize service to others regardless of sector (Christensen and Wright 2011). This finding supports claims about the importance of the altruistic component of public service motivation (Brewer 2000; Houston 2006; 2008), but raises questions about the role of public service motivation in predicting job sector choices. Clerkin and Coggburn (2012) examine the relationship between public service motivation and job preferences among undergraduate students to find that public service motivation, especially the self-sacrifice dimension, is related to the attractiveness of working in the public and nonprofit sector.

Besides scholarly attention to public service motivation, researchers have examined the motives of graduate students to work in the public sector, largely focusing on the Masters Public Administration (MPA) and the Masters in Public Policy (MPP). The MPA is "the professional degree for students seeking a career in public service or nonprofit management" (NASPAA 2012). MPA programs help students "develop the skills and techniques used by managers to implement policies, projects, and programs that resolve important problems within their organization and society" (NASPAA 2012). The MPP is "the professional degree for analyzing, evaluating, and solving all aspects of policy" where graduates "work with quantitative and qualitative data to develop, assess, and evaluate alternative approaches to current and emerging issues" (NASPAA 2012). While the two professional degrees have much in common, the primary distinction is that the MPA places a greater emphasis on management and implementation, while the MPP places a greater emphasis on policy and evaluation.

Since the MPA and MPP prepare graduates for government and analyst work, researchers have begun to examine the values and career ambitions of these students. Infeld and colleagues (2010) examine career values of MPA and MPP students in China, Malaysia, and the United

States. The authors find that students in all three countries prioritize both altruism and affluence in making career decisions as they all "wanted public service jobs that allow them to serve the public fairly, ethically, and meaningfully" but also expressed concerns with job security, pay and benefits (Infeld et al. 2010, 813). Infeld and Adams (2011) find that MPA and MPP students value jobs that are "exciting and engaging," "allow them to make a contribution," "provide opportunities for advancement," and "are stimulating intellectually" (299).   Although Infeld and Adams (2011) found that MPAs expressed more interest in management and MPPs expressed more interest in analysis and critiquing policies, perhaps as expected, they also found many similarities between MPP and MPA students, especially on measures of altruism and intrinsic and extrinsic job characteristics. In a national survey of MPA students on views of the federal government, Adams (2000) finds that obtaining a federal government job is a priority for a quarter of the students surveyed and that the most powerful predictor was the potential of having "a real impact on national issues."

Tschirhart et al. (2008) found that job sector choices are largely made based on perceived sector competence and desire to work in the sector. In a study comparing MBA and MPA students, the researchers find that "government and nonprofit sectors attract graduates placing the most importance on work that helps others" (Tschirhart et al. 2008, 685). Feeney and Rainey (2009) state that "given the growth of the nonprofit sector in the last decades and the increasing competition between the public and private sectors for talented public service-minded managers, understanding the distinctions between these sectors will continue to be important to public management scholars" (819). This paper answers the calls of Feeney and Rainey (2009) and Staats (1988) to recognize the role of the nonprofit sector in public service. Therefore, this paper

will examine the impact of public service motivation on career ambitions to work in the nonprofit sector as well as in government.

Hypotheses

This paper examines the link between public service motivation and volunteering, giving, and career ambitions. Despite the growth in scholarly attention to public service motivation, there is little clarity on measurement (See: Wright 2008). This paper answers the call of Wright and Grant (2010) for an examination of Perry's (1996) dimensions of public service motivation.

Based on the altruistic dimension of public service, it seems plausible that people with higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to give charitable donations and volunteer. Both of these prosocial activities encompass the altruistic component of public service motivation as they embody helping others, serving the public interest, and self-sacrifice.

H_1: *MPA and MPP students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to volunteer.*

H_2: *MPA and MPP students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to give charitable donations.*

In addition, I explore the correlation between graduate students' level of public service motivation and their desire to work in the public sector. Studies have linked public service motivation or desire to help others with working in both government and nonprofit organizations (Tschirhart et al. 2008) and researchers have acknowledged the similarities and called for a closer examination of the distinction between government and nonprofits (Feeney and Rainey 2009, Staats 1988). I use a broad definition of public service to include both mission-driven sectors in operationalizing the public sector and explore the link between public service motivation and career ambitions for the public sector (government and nonprofit). I first examine public affair students desire to work in public service, government and nonprofit, as a

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whole to see if there is a preference for public service over for-profit careers. I then explore

students' desires to work in government and nonprofit organizations individually.

> *H3:* MPA and MPP students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to want to work in the public sector than the for-profit sector.

> *H4:* MPA and MPP students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to want to work in government than the for-profit sector.

> *H5:* MPA and MPP students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to want to work in nonprofit organizations than the for-profit sector.

<div align="center">Data</div>

To test these hypotheses, this paper draws upon graduate student responses to an original

survey. I used an online survey to measure graduate students' public service motivation using

Perry's (1996) original 40-item survey questionnaire to measure the six dimensions of

commitment to the public interest, civic duty, social justice, attraction to policymaking,

compassion, and self-sacrifice. From his exploratory study, Perry (1996) dropped civic duty and

social justice as he found that respondents did not differentiate between these norm-based

motives and compassion. Since there is a wide variation in methods used to measure public

service motivation, as discussed and shown in Table 15, this paper examines several conceptions

of public service motivation. Public service motivation is first measured with an index of

responses to all 40 survey questions included in Perry's (1996) original survey, which provides

an overall measure of public service motivation including all six original dimensions

(Cronbach's alpha = .90). Because some of the questions are reversed, the responses were

recoded so that higher responses always indicate higher levels of public service motivation to

simplify the creation of the composite index of the 40 items.

Next, public service motivation is measured with indices for each of the six dimensions

in order to see if certain aspects of public service motivation have different impacts on prosocial

behavior and career ambitions. The dimensions of attraction to policy making (Cronbach's alpha = .66), commitment to the public interest (Cronbach's alpha = .62), social justice (Cronbach's alpha = .69) and compassion (Cronbach's alpha = .69) fall just below the general rule of thumb of a .70 Cronbach's alpha, but the dimensions of civic duty (Cronbach's alpha = .70) and self-sacrifice (Cronbach's alpha = .76) meet or exceed this threshold. Alphas may be low due to too few questions, poor interrelatedness, or diverse constructs (Tavakol and Dennick 2011). However, internal consistency should not be a problem for any of the six dimensions since they are close to .70 and are correlated. Lastly, the five-item Merit Principle Survey questions that are commonly used in the field (Brewer et al. 2000; Christensen and Wright 2011; Merit Principles Survey 1996, 2000, 2005, 2010; Pandey, Wright and Moynihan 2008) is included to measure public service motivation (Cronbach's alpha = .63). A summary of Perry's (1996) 40-item survey questions categorized by dimension of public service motivation, and the five-item alternative scale drawn from the survey for the Merit Principles Survey, may be found in Appendix B.

In addition to Perry's (1996) forty Likert scale items, my online survey included questions on prosocial behavior (giving and volunteering), demographics, and career ambitions. Volunteering is measured by whether or not the respondent volunteered through or for a formal organization over the past year. Charitable giving is measured by whether or not the respondent donated money, assets, or property with a combined value of more than $25 to charitable or religious organizations during the past 12 months. The wording of the volunteering and giving questions is similar to that used in the Volunteer Supplement of the Current Population Survey. To measure career ambitions, respondents were asked what sector they hope to work in, given the options: private (business), public (government), or nonprofit. Several control variables are

included to isolate the impact of public service motivation on volunteering, giving, and career ambitions from possible confounding factors: gender, whether the student is full-time, political orientation, and the type of graduate degree the respondent is pursuing. The survey questionnaire may be found in Appendix C.

I distributed the online survey through listservs of three public affairs programs in the DC metropolitan area. Since the survey was distributed through e-mail listings at each of the three schools, it is not possible to ascertain the exact number of recipients or calculate a response rate. However, 171 graduate students responded to the survey. Of the 171 respondents, about 71 percent or 122 students are pursuing a Masters in Public Administration (MPA) or a Masters in Public Policy (MPP). The remaining 29 percent are pursuing other graduate degrees, such as a law degree, a doctorate, or a master's degree in another subject area. In order to have valid results, the analyses are based on the responses of the 122 public affairs graduate students, consisting of 54 MPA students and 68 MPP students.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 17: Measures of Public Service Motivation (PSM)

	MPA Students			MPP Students		
	Low	Average	High	Low	Average	High
Total PSM	97	152.74	185	107	152.47	182
Attraction to Policymaking	13	19.69	25	9	20.43	25
Commitment to the Public Interest	17	26.61	34	16	26.25	33
Social Justice	15	19.67	24	9	19.22	25
Civic Duty	13	26.39	35	13	26.12	34
Compassion	20	30.94	39	17	30.57	37
Self-Sacrifice	15	29.44	38	16	29.88	40
5-Item PSM Measure	12	19.11	24	14	19.63	25

As shown in Table 17 above, MPA students and MPP students have relatively similar levels of public service motivation as measured as a composite measure of Perry's (1996) 40-

item survey, composite measures for each of the original six dimensions of public service motivation, and a sum of responses to the five Merit Principle Survey items. For the overall PSM measure, totaling student responses to all 40-survey items, both MPA and MPP average about 153, but MPP students have a smaller range from a low of 107 to a high of 182 compared to MPA students ranging from 97 to 185. For each of the dimensions of public service motivation, MPA and MPP students are also very similar. However, MPA students scored slightly higher on the dimensions of commitment to the public interest, social justice, civic duty, and compassion. Meanwhile, MPP students scored slightly higher on the dimensions of attraction to policymaking and self-sacrifice. The two groups of graduate students are also very similar in terms of public service motivation as measured by the five Merit Principles Survey items, where MPP students have a slightly higher PSM on average and a slightly smaller range of 14 to 25 compared to 12 to 24 for MPA students.

My sample appears to mirror the general population of MPA and MPP students in terms of gender. About 68 percent of the total sample is female, with 65 percent of MPP respondents being female and 72 percent of MPA respondents being female. This is nearly identical to the demographics for one of the universities, where 73 percent of MPA students are female and 65 percent of MPP students are female. The sample also seems representative compared to national statistics where 75 percent of graduates of master in public affair programs are female (NCES 2013). Overall, the respondents to the survey seem to match the gender profile of current MPA and MPP students.

A majority of the sample, 70 percent, are full-time graduate students. Political orientation was measured on a 5-item Likert scale from conservative to liberal with about 75 percent of the respondents identifying themselves as liberal, a 4 or 5, on the scale from 1 being

conservative to 5 being liberal. The sample of students is rather altruistic as 61 percent of the

respondents volunteered over the past year and 80 percent gave charitable donations. Just over

half (57%) of the 122 graduate students, hope to work in government, 30 percent hope to work in

the nonprofit sector, and the remaining 13 percent hope to work in the private or for-profit sector.

Detailed descriptive statistics for the entire sample and by degree program, MPA and MPP, may

be found in Table 18 below. Selection may play a role in the results since my entire sample

consists of MPA and MPP students who may be more likely to exhibit prosocial behaviors and

be drawn to government and nonprofit work. However, this should not be a problem since the

purpose of this analysis is to examine the relationship between the measures of public service

motivation and sector preference and prosocial behaviors.

Table 18: Descriptive Statistics

	Total Sample	MPA Students	MPP Students
Volunteer	61%	65%	59%
Gave Charitable Donations	80%	78%	82%
Career Ambitions			
Government	57%	54%	59%
Nonprofit	30%	28%	32%
Private	13%	19%	9%
Female	68%	72%	65%
Full-time Student	70%	72%	68%
Liberal	75%	74%	76%
Nonprofit Work is Public Service	71%	76%	68%

Note: N = 122

     In light of the changing nature of public service with the government becoming

increasing reliant on for-profit and nonprofit providers to help deliver public goods and services,

I include a question to gauge how broadly today's public affair students define public service.

Interestingly, 71 percent of the graduate students surveyed responded that working in the

nonprofit sector should be considered public service. In light of this majority opinion and in

answer to calls in prior research to acknowledge the similarities as well as examine the differences between government and nonprofits (Staats 1988, Feeney and Rainey 2009), this analysis first examines the impact of public service motivation on desire to work in public service, defined broadly by combining government and nonprofit sector. I then explore the impact of public service motivation on government and nonprofit career ambitions individually.

Models

Three models are used to examine the impact of public service motivation on volunteering, giving, and desire to work in public service, government, or nonprofit organizations. All three models include the basic demographic controls of indicator variables for full-time student, liberal political orientation, female, and MPA student. The first model measures public service motivation with my overall index of Perry's (1996) 40-item questionnaire, the second model uses the six dimensions of Perry's (1996) original survey, and the third model measures public service motivation using the five-item index drawn from Perry's (1996) survey that is commonly used in the literature. Logistic regression models will be used for each of the five outcome variables – volunteering, giving, public service job preference, government job preference, and nonprofit sector job preference – since they are all binary variables. The following three equations will be examined for each:

$$\ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1-Pi}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \varepsilon_i$$
$$\ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1-Pi}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_1 X_{3i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \varepsilon_i$$
$$\ln\left(\frac{Pi}{1-Pi}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_1 X_{4i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \varepsilon_i$$

$X_1 =$ Total PSM / Composite of Perry's (1996) original 40-items
$X_2 =$ Vector of socio-demographic variables
$X_3 =$ Vector of composite measures for each of the six PSM dimensions of Perry's (1996) original survey
$X_4 =$ 5-item PSM Measure / Merit Principles Survey items
$\varepsilon =$ Random error

Analysis and Findings

Volunteering

Table 19 shows the results of the logistic regressions of public service motivation on volunteering with odds ratios and robust standard errors reported. Table 20 shows the predicted probability of volunteering with the marginal effects for the variables that are statistically significant at the .05 level. Model 1 suggests that graduate students with higher levels of overall public service motivation are more likely to volunteer than those with lower levels of public service motivation, as measured by the 40-item index, with the odds being 1.02 times higher than that of those with lower levels of overall PSM. In addition to the positive relationship between overall public service motivation and volunteering, this model found that the odds of female students volunteering is 2.63 times higher than the odds of male MPP and MPA students volunteering. Model 2 also shows that the odds of females volunteering are 3.17 times higher than the odds for male students.

Of the six dimensions of public service motivation, only social justice has a statistically significant effect on propensity to volunteer, where the odds of volunteering for those having higher social justice motivation are 1.08 times higher than that of students scored lower on this dimension. No statistically significant relationships are found between the other five dimensions of public service motivation and volunteering.

This finding is somewhat surprising as, much like public service motivation, altruism, concern for others, and self-sacrifice are identified as important motivations for prosocial behavior and volunteering. In the realm of psychology, Penner (2002) identifies a prosocial personality that consists of two-dimensions: empathy or concern for the welfare of others and helpfulness or self-sacrifice. Batson, also a psychologist, suggests that volunteers are motivated by egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principlism, which is a sense of duty and justice (Baston

et al. 2002). From this, one would expect additional dimensions, such as compassion and self-sacrifice, to have a significant impact on one's propensity to volunteer, but only social justice was found to have a positive and significant impact on the odds of an individual volunteering.

Model 3 examines the impact of public service motivation on volunteering using the 5-item Merit Principles Survey measures. The abbreviated measure of public service motivation has a positive impact on propensity to volunteer, where the odds of those high PSM volunteering is 1.18 times higher than the odds that of those with low levels of PSM as measured by the five Merit Principle Survey items. The odds of females volunteering are 2.53 times higher that of male students. As discussed and shown in Table 20, females are 22 to 27 percent more likely to volunteer than male students. Another interesting finding across all three models is that the control variable specifying whether or not volunteering was mandatory in high school has no significant impact on future volunteering. This finding has implications for high schools that mandate volunteering in hopes that students will continue to be volunteers upon graduating, as this was not the case in this analysis.

The results for overall public service motivation, based on all 40 PSM measures, and the five-item measure of PSM provide general support for the hypothesis that students will higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to volunteer. However, in examining the dimensions of public service motivation, there is little evidence that any of the six dimensions have an independent relationship with volunteering, except for social justice that was positively related to volunteering.

Table 19: Logistic Regression Results: Volunteering, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1 Odds Ratio	Model 1 Robust SE	Model 2 Odds Ratio	Model 2 Robust SE	Model 3 Odds Ratio	Model 3 Robust SE
Measure of Public Service Motivation (PSM)						
Total PSM	1.02*	0.01				
Attraction to Policymaking			0.94	0.06		
Commitment to the Public Interest			1.16	0.12		
Social Justice			1.08+	0.11		
Civic Duty			1.12	0.08		
Compassion			0.91	0.06		
Self-Sacrifice			0.96	0.06		
5-Item PSM Measure					1.18*	0.09
Demographics						
Female	2.63*	1.12	3.17*	1.47	2.53*	1.07
Liberal Political Orientation	0.84	0.39	0.94	0.48	0.96	0.44
Full-Time Student	1.54	0.66	1.47	0.65	1.60	0.67
MPA Student	1.19	0.47	1.07	0.44	1.33	0.54
Volunteering Mandatory in High School	1.00	0.46	1.06	0.50	1.06	0.48
Number of Observations	122		122		122	
Degrees of Freedom	6		11		6	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.066		0.111		0.071	
+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001						

Table 20: Predicted Probability of Volunteering, Marginal Effects of Statistically Significant Variables at the .05 level

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Model 1			
Female	.2313	.036	.427
Total PSM	.0057	.000	.011
Model 2			
Female	.2734	.064	.483
Model 3			
Female	.2213	.024	.419
5-Item PSM Measure	.0392	.031	.075

Charitable Giving

Table 21 below provides the results of the logistic regression estimates of public service motivation on charitable giving. Table 22 shows the predicted probability of giving with the marginal effects for the variables that are statistically significant at the .05 level. Similar to the results for volunteering, Model 1 shows that students with higher overall levels of public service motivation are more likely to donate to charity, where the odds of donating to charity are 1.03 times higher for those with higher levels of PSM. Model 2 indicates that commitment to the public interest is the only dimension of public service motivation that has a significant impact on the likelihood of donating to charity, where the odds of giving for those having a greater commitment to the public interest are 1.37 times higher than the odds of students who scored lower on this dimension. While the dimension of social justice is linked to volunteering, the dimension of commitment to the public interest is related to giving. This finding shows that those committed to social justice may be more likely to donate their time, while those committed to the public interest may be more likely to donate monetarily. The relationship between giving and volunteering is often contentious with debates about whether giving and volunteering are more complements or substitutes. While an economic model would predict that giving and volunteering would be substitutes as an individual would substitute donating time for money or donating money for time, researchers have found that volunteering can increase the likelihood of individuals giving (Van Slyke and Brooks 2005). While this paper does not test whether the two prosocial behaviors are complements or substitutes, these results show that individuals may be motivated by different factors to give than they are to volunteer.

No statistically significant relationships are found in Model 3. This finding raises concerns with the abbreviated 5-item measure of public service motivation as it fails to have a

significant impact on giving, while the other two measures of public service motivation were

found to have a positive impact on the likelihood an individual will donate to charity.

Table 21: Logistic Regression Results: Charitable Giving, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE
Measure of Public Service Motivation (PSM)						
Total PSM	1.03+	0.02				
Attraction to Policymaking			1.10	0.10		
Commitment to the Public Interest			1.37*	0.19		
Social Justice			0.90	0.12		
Civic Duty			0.99	0.09		
Compassion			0.92	0.07		
Self-Sacrifice			0.99	0.08		
5-Item PSM Measure					1.11	0.09
Demographics						
Female	0.86	0.46	1.20	0.68	0.83	0.44
Liberal Political Orientation	0.73	0.40	0.88	0.49	0.94	0.50
Full-Time Student	1.07	0.56	1.22	0.67	1.02	0.52
MPA Student	0.74	0.35	0.73	0.37	0.80	0.37
Number of Observations	122		122		122	
Degrees of Freedom	5		10		5	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.044		0.104		0.016	
+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001						

Table 22: Predicted Probability of Charitable Giving, Marginal Effects of Statistically Significant Variables at the .05 level

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Model 1			
Total PSM	.0046	.000	.009
Model 2			
Commitment to the Public Interest	.0439	.010	.077

Desire to Work in Public Service

The same three measures of public service motivation are used to examine relationships with graduate students' desires to work in the public sector. Table 23 below provides the logistic estimates of the impact of public service motivation on graduate students' desire to work in the public sector, broadly defined to include both government and nonprofit employment. Table 24 shows the predicted probability of public sector preference with the marginal effects for the variables that are statistically significant at the .05 level. The public service motivation estimate has a significant and positive impact on the likelihood a student wants to work in the public sector for the overall and abbreviated composite measures used in Models 1 and 3. The odds of graduate students having a public sector career preference are 1.05 times higher for those with higher overall levels of PSM compared to those with lower overall levels. In addition, the odds of having a public sector preference for those with high PSM on the 5-item measure are 1.44 times higher than that of those with lower levels of PSM on the abbreviated measure. Model 2 shows that the social justice and civic duty dimensions of public service motivation increase the likelihood of students hoping to work in the public sector. The odds of having a public service career preference are 1.32 times higher for those motivated by social justice and 1.17 times higher for those motivated by civic duty. The dimensions of attraction to policymaking, commitment to the public interest, compassion and self-sacrifice have no independent relationship with the desire to work in public service over the for-profit sector.

Overall, these findings indicate that the two composite measures of public service motivation measure what they are intended to measure as graduate students with higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to want to work in government and nonprofit organizations, consistent with my hypotheses. Interestingly, the odds of MPA students wanting to work in public service are 0.28 times less than the odds of MPP students wanting to work in

public service in Model 2. This is a surprising finding as many MPA programs focus on public

management and offer specializations in nonprofit management. Perhaps MPP students are more

other-oriented in their career ambitions or may be more open to working in the nonprofit sector

in addition to government, whereas MPA students appear to be more willing or hopeful of

working in business in addition to government.

Table 23: Logistic Regression Results: Desire to Work in Public Service, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE
Measure of Public Service Motivation (PSM)						
Total PSM	1.05**	0.02				
Attraction to Policymaking			1.01	0.10		
Commitment to the Public Interest			0.88	0.12		
Social Justice			1.32*	0.15		
Civic Duty			1.17+	0.10		
Compassion			1.04	0.09		
Self-Sacrifice			1.03	0.06		
5-Item PSM Measure					1.44***	0.14
Demographics						
Female	0.70	0.48	0.62	0.46	0.56	0.39
Liberal Political Orientation	1.50	0.97	1.08	0.73	1.99	1.33
Full-Time Student	2.48	1.59	2.22	1.49	2.88	1.87
MPA Student	0.39	0.24	0.28+	0.19	0.47	0.29
Number of Observations	122		122		122	
Degrees of Freedom	5		10		5	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.152		0.192		0.167	
+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001						

Table 24: Predicted Probability of Public Sector Preference, Marginal Effects of Statistically Significant Variables at the .05 level

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Model 1			
Total PSM	.0043	.002	.007
Model 2			
Social Justice	.0202	.004	.037
Model 3			
5-Item PSM Measure	.0286	.011	.046

Desire to Work in Government

Table 25 below models the impact of public service motivation on the likelihood that an individual has a government preference. Table 26 shows the predicted probability of government sector preference with the marginal effects for the variables that are statistically significant at the .05 level. Similar to the findings for public service preference, defined broadly to include government and nonprofit sectors, Model 1 finds a statistically significant and positive impact of overall public service motivation as expected, where the odds of having a government preference are 1.02 times higher for those with higher levels of overall PSM. However, the Merit Principles Survey 5-item measure of public service motivation does not have a statistically significant impact on students' desire to work in government. Also unlike the findings for general public service, the attraction to policymaking dimension of public service motivation is the only dimension that seems to predict students' desire to work in government as shown in Model 2. The odds of having a government career preference are 1.13 times higher for those with a greater attraction to policymaking. Somewhat surprisingly, females are less likely to want to work in government compared to males across all three models. In Model 1, the odds of females wanting to work in government are 0.26 times less than the odds of male MPP and MPA students having a government job preference. As shown in Table 26, female public affairs students are 26 to 31 percent less likely to have a preference for government sector work than their male counterparts.

Overall, these findings do not support the hypothesis that those with higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to want to work in government to satisfy that motivation; the hypothesized relationship only holds for the overall PSM measure, as the 5-item measure is insignificant.

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Table 25: Logistic Regression Results: Desire to Work in Government, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE
Measure of Public Service Motivation (PSM)						
Total PSM	1.02+	0.01				
Attraction to Policymaking			1.13+	0.08		
Commitment to the Public Interest			0.95	0.09		
Social Justice			1.07	0.11		
Civic Duty			1.04	0.07		
Compassion			0.97	0.07		
Self-Sacrifice			1.03	0.07		
5-Item PSM Measure					1.13	0.09
Demographics						
Female	0.26**	0.12	0.32*	0.15	0.25**	0.11
Liberal Political Orientation	0.86	0.39	1.00	0.52	0.97	0.42
Full-Time Student	1.03	0.45	1.07	0.49	1.04	0.45
MPA Student	0.87	0.34	0.95	0.38	0.93	0.36
Number of Observations	122		122		122	
Degrees of Freedom	5		10		5	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.079		0.099		0.078	
+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001						

Table 26: Predicted Probability of Government Sector Preference, Marginal Effects of Statistically Significant Variables at the .05 level

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Model 1			
Female	-.3053	-.479	-.132
Model 2			
Female	-.2626	-.454	-.071
Model 3			
Female	-.3120	-.486	-.138

Desire to Work in the Nonprofit Sector

Table 27 below estimates the impact of public service motivation on preference to work in the nonprofit sector. Table 28 shows the predicted probability of nonprofit sector preference with the marginal effects for the variables that are statistically significant at the .05 level. Public

service motivation is found to be insignificant across Models 1 and 3. Model 2 shows that the attraction to policymaking dimension *decreases* the likelihood of students wanting to work in the nonprofit sector, where the odds of having a career preference for the nonprofit sector is 0.86 times lower for those having a greater attraction to policymaking.

Overall, public service motivation seems unrelated to career ambitions to work in the nonprofit sector or may even have a negative relationship. The hypothesis on the relationship between public service motivation and ambition to work in the nonprofit sector is not supported. There are no positive statistically significant results for any of the measures of public service motivation across the three models.

However, students who think work in nonprofit organizations is or should be considered public service were more likely to want to work in the nonprofit sector across all three models. In Model 1, the odds of these students wanting to work in the nonprofit sector are three times higher than that of students who define public service more narrowly as only government work. Females were also found to be more likely to want to work in the nonprofit sector across all three models. This is perhaps as expected given that males were found to be more likely to want to work in government in Table 25. In Model 1, the odds of females having a nonprofit sector preference are 4.01 times higher than the odds of male graduate students in public affairs hoping to work in the nonprofit sector. As shown in Table 28, female graduate students are 20 to 24 percent more likely to hope to work in the nonprofit sector than male students are to have a nonprofit sector preference. In addition, those who think the nonprofit sector should be considered public service are about 19 percent more likely to hope to work in the nonprofit sector than those who do not think the nonprofit sector should be considered public service.

Table 27: Logistic Regression Results: Desire to Work in the Nonprofit Sector, Odds Ratios and Robust Standard Errors Reported

	Model 1 Odds Ratio	Model 1 Robust SE	Model 2 Odds Ratio	Model 2 Robust SE	Model 3 Odds Ratio	Model 3 Robust SE
Measure of Public Service Motivation (PSM)						
Total PSM	1.00	0.01				
Attraction to Policymaking			0.86+	0.07		
Commitment to the Public Interest			0.99	0.11		
Social Justice			1.02	0.12		
Civic Duty			1.03	0.09		
Compassion			1.08	0.09		
Self-Sacrifice			1.00	0.07		
5-Item PSM Measure					1.03	0.09
Demographics						
Female	4.01**	2.16	3.21*	1.80	3.99**	2.15
Liberal Political Orientation	1.20	0.63	1.01	0.64	1.22	0.63
Full-Time Student	1.11	0.56	1.06	0.57	1.12	0.57
MPA Student	0.66	0.28	0.58	0.26	0.67	0.28
Nonprofit Sector Should be Considered Public Service	3.00+	1.75	2.81+	1.76	2.97+	1.75
Number of Observations	122		122		122	
Degrees of Freedom	6		11		6	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.103		0.137		0.103	
+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001						

Table 28: Predicted Probability of Nonprofit Sector Preference, Marginal Effects of Statistically Significant Variables at the .05 level

	Marginal Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
Model 1			
Female	.2401	.088	.392
Nonprofit Sector Should be Considered Public Service	.1919	.023	.360
Model 2			
Female	.2005	.039	.363
Model 3			
Female	.2392	.087	.391
Nonprofit Sector Should be Considered Public Service	.1904	.020	.360

<center>Conclusion</center>

In partial support of the basic premise of public service motivation theory, people with higher levels of public service motivation tend to be more likely to aspire to work in public service, broadly defined to include government and nonprofits, in order to satisfy their motivation. However, no positive relationship was found between public service motivation and desire to work in the nonprofit sector and only the public service motivation index of Perry's (1996) 40-item survey seemed to increase the likelihood of students hoping to work in government. These findings also partially support the few studies that have begun to examine the impact of public service motivation and public sector employment on prosocial behaviors: respondents with higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to volunteer. However, findings were less consistent in terms of the relationship between public service motivation and giving; a significant positive impact resulted only for the public service motivation index of Perry's (1996) 40-item survey. This study only provided partial support, but that may be due to the variety of methodological issues small sample sizes face, especially when using a large, original survey questionnaire and logistic regression. Future work may want to examine these relationships with a larger sample and broader population.

This exploratory work responded to the call of Wright and Grant (2010) to examine the impact of Perry's (1996) dimensions of public service motivation. However, the analysis failed to generate any meaningful impact of the six dimension indices on volunteering, giving or career ambitions. The dimension of social justice was positively related to volunteering and commitment to the public interest was significant for giving. Social justice also seemed related to career ambitions to work in public service along with civic duty. However, the dimension of attraction to policymaking seems to have the most interesting story, where a positive relationship was found for career ambitions to work in government and a negative relationship was found for

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desire to work in the nonprofit sector. Perhaps attraction to policymaking is a core dimension in determining whether public affairs students should pursue an occupation with the government or nonprofit sector. Policymaking may be one of the important factors for MPA and MPP students in choosing their career paths in public service.

This study builds upon the work of Clerkin and colleagues (2009) and Clerkin and Coggburn (2012) that examine the link between the four core public service motivations and prosocial behaviors and sector preferences among undergraduate students. These findings differ from Clerkin and colleagues (2009) who found a link between the civic duty dimension giving and volunteering and a link between the compassion dimension and giving charitable donations. These findings also differ from Clerkin and Coggburn (2012) who found a link between the self-sacrifice dimension and the attractiveness of public and nonprofit sector work. This study differs by going back to Perry's (1996) original six dimensions of public service motivation, examines the behaviors of public affairs graduate students, and asks about employment sector preferences directly. Overall, this study found different dimensions of public service motivation to be relevant to graduate students' prosocial behaviors and career ambitions, but this study supports previous work in finding that public service motivation is positively related to giving, volunteering, and desire to work in public service.

Additional work should examine which dimensions most accurately capture public service motivation considering Perry's (1996) original six dimensions and his four core dimensions of attraction to policymaking, commitment to public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice. Interestingly, the attraction to policymaking and commitment to the public interest dimensions are found significant in prior work and this paper, but self-sacrifice and compassion were not found significant in any of the models. This is especially surprising for charitable

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giving and volunteering as self-sacrifice and compassion are often considered core components of altruism. However, the social justice dimension was found related to volunteering and the commitment to public interest dimension was found related to charitable giving. These findings suggest that different dimensions of public service motivation or different types of motivation relate to giving, volunteering, and career preference.

This paper also answers Staats' (1988) challenge to acknowledge that work in the nonprofit sector is public service and Feeney's and Rainey's (2009) suggestion to examine the differences between the two mission-driven sectors of government and nonprofit organizations. This analysis responds to both challenges by examining the relationship between public service motivation and public service, broadly defined to include the nonprofit sector, as well as examining the relationship between public service motivation and the government and nonprofit sectors individually. My results suggest that public service motivation has a positive impact on students' desires to work in public service and the government for some measures, but not in the nonprofit sector.

These findings have noteworthy implications for public managers and public affairs programs. First, graduate students with higher levels of public service motivation were more likely to want to work in public service and government. Understanding employees' motivations is a vital management tool; Brewer, Selden and Facer (2000) highlight the need for attentiveness to public service motivation as employees may be more committed to the public service mission than to their managers. However, Pandey, Wright and Moynihan (2008) illustrate how employees with high levels of public service motivation are an important resource because "employees with PSM are also likely to be better organizational citizens—more considerate toward their fellow employees and more likely to help their fellow employees with work tasks"

(101). Understanding the motivation of employees and what draws employees to work in public service or government are helpful to public managers in managing, recruiting and retaining effective employees.

Second, these findings indicate that the public sector may need to put forth greater effort in recruiting females as the results of the analysis include higher male preference for government sector employment relative to female job sector preferences. Conversely, females prefer nonprofit sector employment compared to males. Interestingly, females were also found to be more likely to volunteer than males, at a rate 2 to 3 times more likely. Perhaps females are more altruistic-driven or motivated to make a difference through the act of volunteering or perhaps MPA and MPP programs socialize females more towards nonprofit sector work. Regardless, this finding has important implications for recruitment and retention and future research should examine career ambitions by sector, sector choice, and sector switching by gender to help flesh out these findings. Government may need to reach out to the female population in recruitment efforts. Similarly, the nonprofit sector may need to put forth greater effort in recruiting males, as females are more likely to want to work for the nonprofit sector to seek more of a gender balance.

Third, MPA students were found less likely to hope to work in public service than MPP students. This is surprising as a majority of MPA programs are geared toward training students in public and nonprofit management. This finding indicates that MPP students may be more other-oriented in their career ambitions than MPA students or MPP students may be more willing to work in the nonprofit sector in addition to government, whereas MPA students seem more willing to work in the for-profit sector in addition to government. MPA and MPP programs may want to explore further the career ambitions and motives of their students to better inform and

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help place students in their desired occupations and accompanying sectors. The education and socialization of students is clearly an important component as those who agreed that the "nonprofit sector should be considered public service" were more likely to want to work in the nonprofit sector, while holding gender and degree program constant.

Motivation also plays a part in whether or not an individual decides to volunteer, which may explain why people with higher levels of public service motivation were found to be more likely to volunteer. Individuals weigh the costs and benefits of volunteering. As Clerkin and colleagues (2009) state "Nonprofits can use deeper understandings of PSM to better recruit, motivate, and retain the donors and volunteers who are a critical part of their operations" (676). This analysis produced some other noteworthy results. In examining the impact of public service motivation on whether or not graduate students volunteer, students who had to volunteer in high school were no more or less likely to volunteer than those who did not have a mandatory high school volunteering requirement. This raises the issue of the effectiveness of mandatory high school volunteering requirements and suggests that the requirement may be ineffective if the goal is to promote future volunteering.

Overall, these findings support the general public service motivation theory that people with higher levels of public service motivation are more likely to want to work in public service and to volunteer. However, mixed results were found for the impact of public service motivation on giving charitable donations and desire to work in government and no impact was found on desire to work in the nonprofit sector. In addition, this work explored individual dimensions of public service motivation and the relationships to prosocial behaviors.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The changing means of public service delivery have raised important questions about the distinctions between the sectors and the employees that work within them. Public administration scholars have long examined public sector distinctiveness and differences between the public and private sector, but few have incorporated the growing nonprofit sector in their analysis and little to no attention has been paid to differences that may exist within the government sector itself. This study examines the differences between employees and their behaviors across all three sectors as well as levels of government. The goal of this study is to shed light on the dedication, prosocial behaviors, and sector choice of individuals today with the rise of privatization and increased employee mobility. I am hopeful that this study will help reignite attention to public sector distinctiveness and raise interest in developing contemporary management, recruitment, and retention strategies in light of the changing environment. In this final chapter, I will highlight the major findings of the study and discuss the strengths and weaknesses. Next, I will offer implications for both public and nonprofit managers. I will then conclude with implications for research and theory.

Findings and Conclusions

This study examined how the growing use of nonprofit and for-profit providers to deliver public services has changed how individuals view their options for a career in "public service." Based on theories of public sector distinctiveness and theories of voluntarism drawn largely from social psychology and sociology, I hypothesized that government and nonprofit employees would exhibit more prosocial behaviors outside of the workplace by volunteering, both formally

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and informally, more than for-profit employees, as discussed more fully in Chapter 2. I also hypothesized that federal, state, and local government employees would have different patterns of volunteering in light of the level of government they work in. To test these hypotheses, I use the 2011 Volunteer Supplement of the Current Population Survey to compare the volunteering, both formal and informal, of government and nonprofit employees against that of for-profit employees. I use logistic regression to examine the association between sector of employment and whether one volunteers, employing separate models for formal and informal volunteering and negative binomial regression to test the association between sector of employment and the number of hours that volunteers devote to volunteering. In addition, all relationships are examined separately for full- and part-time employees in order to take the influence of work schedule into account.

This study found that government and nonprofit employees are more likely to volunteer than their for-profit counterparts on the whole; however, there are several important nuances once work schedule, additional measures of volunteering and levels of government are taken into account. First, nonprofit sector employees are found to be the most likely to volunteer, regardless of work schedule. Second, among full-time employees, employees at all levels of government tend to formally volunteer more than for-profit employees, but among part-time employees, only employees at the local level tend to formally volunteer more than those in the for-profit sector. Third, in examining the amount of time volunteers devote to volunteering, volunteers who work part-time for the state government devote *less* time, while volunteers who work full-time for the local government devote significantly *more* time to volunteering than for-profit volunteers. Fourth, volunteering was defined more fully in this study to incorporate the often overlooked act of informal volunteering, where nonprofit and local government employees

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tend to informally more than for-profit employees, regardless of work schedule, whereas only

full-time state and federal government employees tend to have higher likelihoods of informally

volunteering than those in the for-profit sector. Overall, the examination of prosocial behaviors

illustrates that there seem to be important distinctions between the sectors and levels of

government that can be seen through their volunteering decisions.

Chapter 3 examines a different aspect of sector differences by exploring patterns of sector

switching, both during stable and unstable market conditions, among nonprofit and government

employees compared to for-profit employees. This study is motivated by theories of public

service motivation and donative labor theory and draws upon theories of job turnover, mobility

and the few studies of sector switching. From this, I hypothesized that government and nonprofit

sector employees would be more dedicated to their sectors and less likely to move into the for-

profit sector than for-profit sector employees would be to move into the public sector, though

nonprofit sector employees may be more susceptible to sector switch during unstable job market

conditions. I also hypothesized that sector switching behaviors may vary by level of

government. I tested these hypotheses using two different panel sets of the Survey of Income

and Program Participation, one during normal economic conditions prior to recent recession and

one during the Great Recession, to predict hazard models for the probability of changing job

sectors.

Contrary to my hypothesized relationships, I found that public sector employees are *more*

likely to change job sectors than for-profit sector employees rather than less, especially during

unstable job market conditions. This casts doubt on job security being a motivating factor to

work in the government sector and raises numerous questions concerning the recruitment and

retention of effective government and nonprofit employees. The finding was only inconclusive

for local government and federal government employees during normal economic conditions, suggesting that federal and local government may be less likely or just as likely to sector switch as for-profit employees. Overall, the examination of sector switching shows intrinsic motivation dedication of public sector employees may not be as strong as it once was or at least is much more complex in today's society.

In Chapter 4, I examine the motivations related to the career preferences and prosocial behaviors of Master in Public Policy (MPP) and Master in Public Administration (MPA) students. Drawing upon theories of public service motivation and more general public service motives, I hypothesize that graduate students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to exhibit prosocial behaviors, measured by giving and volunteering, and more likely to hope to pursue a career in public service, measured by public, government, and nonprofit sector preferences. I use data from an original online survey of 122 graduate MPP and MPA students in the DC metropolitan area. I draw upon Perry's (1996) original 40-item questionnaire to obtain three different conceptualizations of public service motivation—overall or total public service motivation, dimensions, and the abbreviated 5 Merit Principle Survey items—to see the relationship between public service motivation and students' career ambitions and prosocial behaviors.

This study found partial support for my hypotheses. Higher levels of both the overall and abbreviated public service motivation increased the likelihood of students wanting to pursue a career in public service. However, only the overall measure of public service motivation increased the likelihood of students hoping to work in government and *no* relation was found between public service motivation and a preference to work in the nonprofit sector. In terms of prosocial behaviors, higher levels of public service motivation, for both the overall and

abbreviated measures, increased the likelihood of volunteering, but only the overall public service motivation was related to giving. This study also found interesting patterns in career ambitions by gender, where male students were much more likely to want to work in government sector and female students were much more likely to want to work in the nonprofit sector. These findings show the complexity of motivation and suggest that there are different motivations that draw people to government and nonprofit sector work, which warrants future attention.

Across the individual examinations about different aspects of the altruism, dedication and career ambitions of government and nonprofit employees, this study finds that the government and nonprofit sectors are distinct. People who work in the nonprofit sector and government sector, especially at the local level, appear more altruistic than those in the for-profit sector as they are more likely to volunteer. Government and nonprofit employees are more likely to move into the for-profit sector than for-profit sector employees are to move into the public sector, which may indicate that the other factors that go into job mobility decisions are stronger than public sector dedication and can also be a reflection of for-profit employees having little to no interest in public service. Lastly, public service motivation is associated with desire to work in public service and volunteering, but the motives for students to join the nonprofit sector may be quite different than motives associated with a preference to work in the government sector. The public sector is distinct and those distinctions should not be overlooked.

This study revealed differences and similarities between the government and nonprofit sector as well as *within* the government sector itself. One of the most striking findings of this study is the uniqueness of employees at the local government level and the similar behaviors found for nonprofit and local government employees. Local government employees stood out in terms of prosocial behavior with volunteering patterns more similar to those of nonprofit

employees than federal and state government employees. In the sector switching examination, local government employees also emerged as different from the other levels of government as federal and local government workers were found no more or less likely to sector switch during normal economic conditions. This implies that federal, state, and local government employees may have distinguishing characteristics, where public managers may need to tailor their means of recruiting and managing employees as a result.

<center>Strengths and Limitations</center>

This study contributes to the literature on public sector distinctiveness, research on voluntary action and theories on employee motivation and mobility in several ways. First, this study examines differences that may exist *within* the government sector across federal, state, and local government employees. Most research in public administration involves the examination of public organizations; however, many focus on the government as whole or one level of government to represent the whole. Few have taken levels of government into account, except for a handful of studies that focused on relative narrow areas (e.g., Cooper, Knotts and Brennan 2008; Koontz 2007). Second, this study takes the growing nonprofit sector into account in examining differences across all three sectors, whereas much of the literature on public sector distinctiveness and in public administration in general focuses solely on the binary distinction between public and private or for-profit organizations. This study answers the call of Staats (1988) to acknowledge the vital role to the nonprofit sector plays in society and the calls of Feeney and Rainey (2009) to examine the similarities and differences that may exist between the two mission-driven sectors, nonprofit and government. This study found distinctions between all three sectors and levels of government that are significant contributions to the literature and provide a jumping point for future research.

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The individual examinations also had contributions that are worthy of note. In terms of the sector switching examination, this study fills a gap in the literature on sector switching by examining both directions. A majority of sector switching work are one-directional; exploring the reasons employees from one sector move to another. While the reasons are unable to be directly examined in this work and are instead inferred from prior work, this study examines both the movement from the public sector to the for-profit sector as well as from the for-profit sector to the public sector. This study also adds to literature on job mobility more generally by examining sector switching during normal economic conditions and unstable economic conditions in order to ascertain how the recent recession, specifically, and economic conditions, more generally, influence job mobility decisions.

This study differs from much of the existing research on employees and public service motivation focus on work-related behavior, as Chapters 2 and 4 examine service-related behaviors outside of the workplace. Much research on volunteering looks exclusively at formal volunteering, but this study conceptualizes and measures volunteering much more broadly in order to paint a more complete picture of volunteering by examining time volunteers devote to volunteering and informal volunteering along with formal volunteering. Chapter 4 contributes to the growing literature on public service motivation by examining how public service motivation relates to career ambitions and prosocial behaviors using several different measures of public service motivation. This study answers the calls of Wright and Grant (2010) for a closer examination of the dimensions of public service motivation in order to see if they have any independent effects. This study also provides insights into the differences between the MPP and MPA degrees as well as the motivations, career ambitions, and prosocial behaviors of today's public affair graduate students.

However, this study is not without its limitations. The original survey sheds light on the dynamics of motivation, sector preferences and prosocial behaviors, but suffers from the methodological issues faced by small sample sizes, especially with a large, original survey questionnaire and logistic regression. Also in reflecting on my research, I would have liked to have obtained data on graduate students with a government sector preference by levels of government to see if I could shed light on the nuances that exist within the government sector more conceptually.

This leads to the issue of studies that use large, representative samples. The Current Population Survey and Survey of Income and Program Participation are both large N, nationally representative samples. Rainey (2009) describes the primary challenge with large N studies: "these have great value, but such aggregated findings often prove difficult to relate to the characteristics of specific organizations and the people in them" (82). Therefore, one of the most significant limitations of this study is that there is no qualitative component to help explain the nature of the distinctions found across the examinations of altruism, dedication, and career ambitions. Interview data with employees from each sector would be most helpful in developing an understanding of *why* employees act and behave in the manner in which they do. However, this study was undertaken as an effort to see if differences existed, especially at a time when the boundaries between sectors are less clear, and found that significant distinctions do exist. With the lack of qualitative data, this study instead draws upon theory and previous work to discuss potential reasons behind the findings and in developing the implications.

Another limitation that a qualitative piece could help clarify is whether the distinctions discovered are due to the motivation of employees to join a given sector or due to the socialization process of working in the sector. Research has begun to examine such questions,

but it continues to raise big questions in not only public administration, but other fields in the social sciences as well. Future research should examine how motivation and socialization relate to sector differences. Motivation and socialization may also have a complex relationship with one another as some studies have suggested than motivation may change with socialization (e.g., Moynihan and Pandey 2007). Future work should explore these dynamics and should incorporate a qualitative component to help the field better understand employee decisions, behaviors, and their processes.

<u>Implications for Public and Nonprofit Managers</u>

This study sheds light on several areas of motivation and employee behavior that have important implications for public and nonprofit managers alike. This study has four key takeaways for managers: motivation may matter, socialization may matter, levels of government need to be taken into account rather than a one-size fits all approach to public management, and the nonprofit sector needs greater recruitment and retention attention to keep up with its evolving role in society. Each of these implications are discussed in greater detail as follows.

First, human resource managers should be attentive to the distinct motivation of public and nonprofit employees in their recruitment and retention efforts and managers should keep employees engaged to satisfy this motivation. In light of the findings that government and nonprofit sector employees are more prosocial and those attracted to government work have higher levels of public service motivation, there appear to be certain other-oriented characteristics that draw people to government and nonprofit work. Human resource managers should consider how individuals who want to help others through their work choose between government and nonprofit sector employment. For example, a human resource manager who has an understanding of motivation to work in the nonprofit or government sector may be able to

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design a job announcement to attract an employee who would find such work motivating and fulfilling. Public and nonprofit managers should also address the motivation of their employees by ensuring the employees remain engaged. This idea dates back to McGregor (1960) who encouraged managers to integrate individual and organizational goals and to motivate employees by work interesting and encouraging creativity. Public and nonprofit managers should consider how they can ensure these other-oriented workers feel like they are making a difference to satisfy their motivation.

Second, since a limitation to this study is whether motivation or socialization matters more in employee decisions, managers should also cultivate an organizational culture conducive to public service and other-oriented values. The importance of culture and shared values is not a new concept in public administration (e.g., Kaufman 1960), but it is one that is often overlooked. Whether employees are motivated to work in a sector or socialized to be dedicated to a sector, creating an organizational culture that exhibits the ideals of the government or nonprofit sector will likely increase employee morale. Overall, public and nonprofit managers should consider employee motivation and person-organization fit in their recruitment, management, and retention efforts to combat the "quiet crises" in the government workforce and avoid losing employees to other sectors in light of the blurring of the boundaries.

Third, public management may need to tailor strategies to the level of government as federal, state and local government employees may respond differently to various management practices. For example, local teachers almost certainly differ from federal bureaucrats at the Department of Education and those who work for state education departments. This study found that local government workers are more prone to volunteering than federal and state government workers, which corresponds with research on public trust, where people tend to have the highest

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levels of trust in local government (Cooper, Knotts and Brennan 2008). In addition, local government and federal government employees were found no more or less likely to change job sectors during normal economic conditions. This implies that perhaps local government and federal government employees are more dedicated to public service than state government employees, which could be due to the benefits of working in the sector, such as job security, or job satisfaction. This study indicates that management techniques and recruitment efforts may need to be tailored by level of government, as some strategies may be more or less effective at different levels of government in fulfilling or appealing to employee's motivation.

Lastly, nonprofit sector employees may no longer find donative wages sufficient as indicated by nonprofit sector employees being more likely to sector switch during both stable and unstable job market conditions than for-profit sector employees. This finding implies that other factors, such as pay, are likely involved in job mobility decisions in addition to intrinsic motivations and sector dedication. Nonprofit managers should re-evaluate the pay differential as nonprofit employees may no longer be willing to donate a portion of their wages if they can find meaningful job opportunities in the government or for-profit sector, especially at a time of increased job mobility and privatization that has also often resulted in nonprofits becoming more "business-like." In addition, researchers have found that nonprofit sector employees perceive a better person-organization fit than for-profit employees (De Cooman et al. 2011) and that employees with positive views of the mission of the nonprofit in which they work are more satisfied and intend to remain in the organization (Brown, Carlton and Yoshioka 2003). Watson and Abzug (2010) also emphasize the importance of fit for nonprofit organizations, suggesting that nonprofits should ensure their missions are written clearly and in a way to convey the true mission of the organization and that outside perceptions of the organization should be

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investigated. Efforts in the nonprofit sector, such as improving wages or working on person-organization fit in recruitment efforts, may help address the willingness of nonprofit sector employees to sector switch that was found in this study.

<div align="center">Implications for Research and Theory</div>

This study also has several implications for research and theory. The field of public administration has long worked to define and conceptualize publicness, dating back to Dahl and Lindbloom (1953), and there has been a great deal of research on public and for-profit sector differences since (for reviews, see Boyne 2002; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey, Backoff, and Levine 1976; Rainey and Bozeman 2000; Rainey 2009). However, the field is still lacking a complete theory and the issue of publicness has only become more complicated with increasing privatization and devolution. I hope this study will reignite attention to the issue of publicness and differences across the sectors, especially in light of the changing nature of public service delivery. I also hope this study will draw the attention of scholars in the area of publicness to examine employee motivation and behavior in addition to organizational aspects.

Related to public sector distinctiveness literature, the relationship between the study of public management and the study of nonprofit management is unclear. The two mission-driven sectors may have a number of similarities that are worthy of scholarly attention as well as important distinctions. The study of sectoral differences including the nonprofit sector is a meaningful endeavor especially as government collaborations with nonprofits are on the rise and the nonprofit sector is growing, which provides career alternatives for those who want to serve the public. Some scholars have begun to take the nonprofit sector into account, but there are still many studies that focus on binary distinctions between government and for-profit and between nonprofit and for-profit.

In addition to accounting for sector differences across all three sectors, this study found several nuances *within* the government sector. For example, patterns of volunteering among local government employees were more similar to nonprofit employees than state or federal government employees. In addition, only federal and local government employees were found no more or less likely to leave public service during stable economic times. Despite the distinctions found in this study, there is surprisingly little research on differences across federal, state and local government. I hope that this study will pave the way to examine nuances across levels of government more widely in public administration.

This study was motivated, in part, by the growing use of private and nonprofit providers to deliver public services. A wealth of scholarly attention is devoted to the rise of third party government (Salamon 1981) and the challenges of governance (Kettl 2002) or governing the "hollow state" (Milward and Provan 2000). However, much less attention has been paid to the impact this changing environment has on employees. The study of the politics, implementation, and challenges of privatization certainly warrant scholarly attention, but examining how and why employees choose the sector they choose and what factors into decisions to stay or go in this changing landscape warrants further attention as well.

Overall, this study found that public and nonprofit employees exhibit more prosocial behaviors outside the workplace, tend to be more susceptible to sector switching, and that public service motivation is generally associated with prosocial behaviors and government career preferences. However, several nuances were uncovered, including differences within the government sector, similarities in the altruism of local government and nonprofit employees, and no relationship between public service motivation and nonprofit sector career preference. This study attempted to learn more about what public service means today with the changing

environment, more mobile workforce, and evolving responsibilities of each sector. This study found a number of distinctions, but I am sure there are still many to uncover. In addition, more comprehensive studies, such as those focusing on a specific context or a qualitative work, can help us understand these differences better, especially in terms of whether it is motivation or socialization and how such distinctions influence employee decisions and behaviors.

The goal of this study was to examine what public service means today in an era of change with employees in the nonprofit and for-profit sectors carrying out the government's work, employees facing unstable job market conditions, government responsibilities shifting across levels of government, and low levels of altruism, social capital, and public support for government administration. Reports warn of a perhaps not so "quiet crisis" in the federal government that faces difficulties recruiting employees and retaining quality employees. At the state and local government levels, managers are faced with increased program responsibilities with smaller budgets. Meanwhile, the nonprofit sector is growing rapidly both from government contracts and to fill the gaps in providing social services. While public administration has examined the call to public service and the uniqueness of the public sector, the changing environment calls us to take a closer look and to examine differences across all sectors and levels of government. I hope such work can help public and nonprofit managers reignite the call to service.

SAMPLE POPULATION, VOLUNTEER RATE AND INTENSITY OF VOLUNTEERING BY
SELECT DEMOGRAPHICS

	Percent of Sample	Volunteer Rate	Make Charitable Donations
Total Sample	100%	31%	55%
Sector Employment			
Government (All)	15%	41%	65%
Government- Federal	3%	31%	63%
Government- State	5%	41%	64%
Government- Local	8%	45%	67%
Nonprofit	7%	46%	67%
For-profit	78%	28%	52%
Marital Status			
Not Married	42%	24%	41%
Married	58%	36%	65%
Presence of Child under 18			
Child Present	34%	38%	60%
No Child Present	66%	27%	52%
Hispanic Origin	11%	16%	38%
Race			
White	84%	32%	57%
Black	9%	23%	42%
Asian	4%	20%	50%
Gender			
Male	52%	27%	52%
Female	48%	35%	58%
Education			
Less than High School	10%	15%	28%
High School Graduate	29%	20%	44%
Some College	30%	31%	56%
College or More	31%	45%	72%

N = 69,392

PERRY'S (1996) PSM SURVEY BY DIMENSIONS AND 5-ITEM MEASURE

Commitment to the Public Interest
1. People may talk about the public interest, but they are really concerned only about their self-interest. (Reversed)
2. It is hard for me to get intensely interested in what is going on in my community. (Reversed)
3. I unselfishly contribute to my community.
4. Meaningful public service is very important to me.
5. I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community even if it harmed my interests.
6. An official's obligation to the public should always come before loyalty to superiors.
7. I consider public service my civic duty.

Civic Duty
1. When public officials take an oath of office, I believe they accept obligations not expected of other citizens.
2. I am willing to go great lengths to fulfill my obligations to my country.
3. Public service is one of the highest forms of citizenship.
4. I believe everyone has a moral commitment to civic affairs no matter how busy they are.
5. I have an obligation to look after those less well off.
6. To me, the phrase "duty, honor, and country" stirs deeply felt emotions.
7. It is my responsibility to help solve problems arising from interdependencies among people.

Social Justice
1. I believe that there are many public causes worth championing.
2. I do not believe that government can do much to make society fairer. (Reversed)
3. PSM 32 If any group does not share in the prosperity of our society, then we are all worse off.
4. PSM 33 I am willing to use every ounce of my energy to make the world a more just place.
5. I am not afraid to go to bat for the rights of others even if it means I will be ridiculed.

Attraction to Policy Making
1. Politics is a dirty word. (Reversed)
2. I respect public officials who can turn a good idea into law.
3. Ethical behavior of public officials is as important as competence.
4. The give and take of public policy making doesn't appeal to me. (Reversed)

5. I don't care much for politicians. (Reversed)

Compassion
1. I am rarely moved by the plight of the underprivileged. (Reversed)
2. Most social programs are too vital to do without.
3. It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress.
4. To me, patriotism includes seeing to the welfare of others.
5. I seldom think about the welfare of people whom I don't know personally. (Reversed)
6. I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another.
7. I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves. (Reversed)
8. There are few public programs that I wholeheartedly support. (Reversed)

Self-Sacrifice
1. Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.
2. I believe in putting duty before self.
3. Doing well financially is definitely more important to me than doing good deeds. (Reversed)
4. Much of what I do is for a cause bigger than myself.
5. Serving citizens would give me a good feeling even if no one paid me for it.
6. I feel people should give back to society more than they get from it.
7. I am one of those rare people who would risk personal loss to help someone else.
8. I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society.

Abbreviated 5-item Survey
1. Meaningful public service is very important to me.
2. I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another.
3. Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.
4. I am prepared to make sacrifices for the good of society.
5. I am not afraid to go to bat for the rights of others even if it means I will be ridiculed.

APPENDIX C

PUBLIC SERVICE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Public Service Survey

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Jaclyn Schede, a PhD candidate at American University. The purpose of this study is to gather your thoughts on public service. This study is part of a class project and will help with formulating my dissertation proposal. Individual responses to the survey are entirely confidential.

Your participation is greatly appreciated!!

Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am rarely moved by the plight of the underprivileged. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Most social programs are too vital to do without. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

It is difficult for me to contain my feelings when I see people in distress. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I believe in putting duty before self. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Doing well financially is definitely more important to me than doing good deeds. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

People may talk about the public interest, but they are really concerned only about their self-interest. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

To me, patriotism includes seeing to the welfare of others. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Much of what I do is for a cause bigger than myself. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I seldom think about the welfare of people whom I don't know personally. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	●	Agree

Politics is a dirty word. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Serving citizens would give me a good feeling even if no one paid me for it. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am often reminded by daily events about how dependent we are on one another. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

When public officials take an oath of office, I believe they accept obligations not expected of other citizens. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I respect public officials who can turn a good idea into law. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

It is hard for me to get intensely interested in what is going on in my community. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I feel people should give back to society more than they get from it. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I believe that there are many public causes worth championing. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am one of those rare people who would risk personal loss to help someone else. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I do not believe that government can do much to make society fairer. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am willing to go great lengths to fulfill my obligations to my country. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Ethical behavior of public officials is as important as competence. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	●	○	Agree

I unselfishly contribute to my community. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I have little compassion for people in need who are unwilling to take the first step to help themselves. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Public service is one of the highest forms of citizenship. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the good of society. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

The give and take of public policy making doesn't appeal to me. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I believe everyone has a moral commitment to civic affairs no matter how busy they are. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I have an obligation to look after those less well off. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Meaningful public service is very important to me. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I don't care much for politicians. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

If any group does not share in the prosperity of our society, then we are all worse off. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am willing to use every ounce of my energy to make the world a more just place. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I would prefer seeing public officials do what is best for the whole community even if it harmed my interests.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	●	Agree

To me, the phrase "duty, honor, and country" stirs deeply felt emotions. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

It is my responsibility to help solve problems arising from interdependencies among people. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

An official's obligation to the public should always come before loyalty to superiors. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I am not afraid to go to bat for the rights of others even if it means I will be ridiculed.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

I consider public service my civic duty. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

There are few public programs that I wholeheartedly support. *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Disagree	○	○	○	○	○	Agree

Have you volunteered through or for a formal organization over the past year? *

○ No
○ Yes

If you have volunteered, how many hours have you volunteered over the past year?

If you have volunteered, how did you become a volunteer?

If you have volunteered, what type of organization did you volunteer for?

When you were in high school, was volunteering a mandatory requirement for graduation? *

○ Yes
○ No

During the past 12 months, did you donate money, assets, or property with a combined value of more than $25 to charitable or religious organizations? *

○ Yes
○ No

If you gave donations, how many organizations have you given charitable donations to?

Gender: *

○ Male
○ Female

Degree Program: *

- ○ MPA
- ○ MPP
- ○ JD
- ○ MBA
- ○ Other:

Type of Student *

- ○ Full-Time
- ○ Part-Time

Political Orientation: *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Conservative	○	○	○	○	○	Liberal

Upon graduating, what is your ideal job? *

What sector do you hope to work in? *

- ○ Private (Business)
- ○ Public (Government)
- ○ Nonprofit

Please check what areas you would work in at some point in your career: *
(Check all that apply)

- ☐ Business
- ☐ Nonprofit
- ☐ Local Government
- ☐ State Government
- ☐ Federal Government

Please check what areas you have worked- either currently or before continuing your education *
(Check all that apply)

- ☐ Business
- ☐ Nonprofit
- ☐ Local Government
- ☐ State Government
- ☐ Federal Government

Do you think working for a nonprofit organization is or should be considered public service? *

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Are there any areas that you would rather not work? If so, what area and why? If not, why not?
(Check all that apply)

Government workers are:
(Please fill in the blank)

The most important characteristics for government workers to possess are:
(Please fill in the blank)

Public servants are motivated by:
(Please fill in the blank)

Submit

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