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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Michael Christopher Moltz entitled "Preferences for Employment in the Government Workforce." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.

David J. Houston, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Anthony Nownes, Patricia Freeland, Catherine Luther

Accepted for the Council:

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Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

Preferences for Employment in the Government
Workforce

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Michael Christopher Moltz
May 2017

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DEDICATION

To my beloved wife Taylor and my parents Beverly and Charles for their unending support and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

Why do people choose to work for government vs. private business? Addressing this question is necessary to address emerging concerns among public management scholars and practitioners alike about attracting, selecting, and retaining the most qualified people for government employment. The extant literature related to this topic is mostly concerned with attitudes of those who are already employed by government. Less attention is given to those who want to work for government (regardless of current employment circumstances). Furthermore, the literature, with few exceptions, only considers this topic within the context of single-nation studies. Relatively few studies examine the topic in a cross-national setting. To address these concerns, this study examines preferences for public employment across 31 national samples from the 2005 International Social Survey Programme's Work Orientation III survey. The dependent variable is a measure of whether an individual wants to work for government or private business.

My findings indicate that employment preferences are a function of both individual attitudes and national context. Several individual correlates are associated with a preference for public employment, including a mixture of both intrinsic and extrinsic work motives, preferences for work-life balance, and several socio-demographic characteristics. At the national-level, the analysis reveals a relationship between a preference for government employment and national economic health and public institutional quality. The multilevel analysis conducted in this study contributes significant findings to the existing public personnel management literature.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL INFORMATION

Section 1.1: Research topic

Over the past few decades, concern has emerged in public personnel management circles about the ability of governments to recruit and retain skilled and committed public employees. In the U.S., scholars have warned of the “quiet crisis” (Levine 1986; Lewis 1991), the implication of declining morale for keeping the best and brightest in government administration (National Commission on the Public Service 1989), and the difficulty of finding young workers with the types of skills and motives needed in the public sector (Light 1999). Moreover, negative perceptions of government likely reduce the attractiveness of public employment (Feeney 2008). Similar challenges face many of the world’s developed democracies (Äijälä 2002; Burke and Ng 2006).

Addressing these concerns requires understanding why individuals select government organizations as their employer of choice. Several explanations as to why people choose to work for government are found within the public administration research literature. Notable among these is the explanation that government organizations satisfy the unique needs of public servants more so than the private sector. In other words, the public sector provides a better “fit” for individuals with motives grounded in public service (Bright 2007; Kristoff-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson 2005; Perry and Wise 1990). However, two significant gaps exist within the current literature. First, while public administration scholars have considered the influence of several intrinsic motives on employment sector preferences, there are others motives which are generally ignored, such as the influence of the desire for work-life balance. Second, while some of this research has been carried out in different countries, researchers have yet to compare attitudes

across countries or to examine the influence of national context on attitudes about government employment.

My dissertation seeks to fill these gaps in the existing literature in an attempt to more thoroughly explain what attracts workers to the civil service. In particular, I ask the following questions: (1) What work motives are associated with a preference for public sector employment? (2) Do nation-level characteristics explain variations in government job preference across nations?

Section 1.2: Status of the research literature

Much of the current research on why individuals prefer government employment over private-sector employment is conducted at the individual-level and can be categorized as studies of “person-environment fit.” The perceived “fit” of an employee with his/her employer of choice is often driven by an organization’s ability to satisfy his/her work motives. In other words, when addressing the question of why some people choose to work in public service, the research asks: Is the organization satisfying the work motives that are important to the individual? According to this research, there are two types of individual work motives an organization may satisfy: extrinsic and intrinsic motives. It is with these motives that distinctions emerge between public and private employment and the ability of public and private organizations to meet the work motive needs of their employees.

Section 1.2.i: Person-environment fit

Individuals are attracted to working environments that fit with their career goals and personal values (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson 2005). Most important for the purposes of this research project is the finding that public service organizations are more likely to offer a better fit for individuals who are motivated to serve the public (Perry and Wise 1990;

Vandenabeele 2008). Person-environment fit encompasses the concepts of person-organization and person-job fit. These concepts are particularly important for determining the influence of work motives on which employment sector and type of job an individual selects (Leisink and Steijn 2008; Steijn 2008). Person-organization fit (P-O fit) represents the congruence between an employee's values and goals and those of the organization, whereas person-job fit (P-J fit) represents an employee's opportunity to meet his/her needs and use his/her skills via the tasks he/she performs on the job (Christensen and Wright 2011). Perhaps most importantly, person-environment fit may help explain an individual's initial attraction to the public sector. Those individuals motivated to serve the public exhibit a greater attraction to the public sector than do those who are less motivated to serve the public. Likewise, those motivated to serve the public exhibit a lower attraction for employment in the private sector (Vandenabeele 2008).

Not only does person-environment fit help explain an individual's attraction to a particular type of organization, further research suggests that the more congruent an employee's values are with those of their employer/organization the more satisfied he/she will be with his/her job (Bretz and Judge 1994; Kristof 1996; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson 2005; Vancouver and Schmitt 1991). This is especially important for public sector employment given that public servants are often identified as being motivated by a set of values grounded in public service. If an employee displays high levels of such values and works for a public organization that meets his/her value needs, then the employee may experience a higher degree of job satisfaction as a result of this perceived congruence. This suggests that public organizations are more likely to satisfy an employee's public service related motivational needs, due to the nature and types of services associated with public organizations (Castaing 2006; Pandey and Stayzk 2008; Perry 2000; Rayner, Williams, Lawton, & Allinson 2011) Thus, fitting an employee's

motivation to serve the public with the mission and values of a public organization may be a decisive factor in attracting skilled and committed individuals, improving employee job satisfaction, and retaining these employees (Wright and Pandey, 2008).

Section 1.2.ii: Extrinsic and intrinsic motivation

As the above findings suggest, individuals are attracted to work for organizations that can satisfy their personal values and work motives. As such, the public sector is most often attractive to individuals motivated to serve the public, since there is a significant congruence between individual and organizational values and work motives. From this, two types of work motives emerge which can help explain an individual's preference for employment: extrinsic and intrinsic motives.

Extrinsic motives

Extrinsic motivation is that in which needs are satisfied indirectly from an external source. Extrinsic motives are rewarded by someone else. These motives are not driven by an internal desire to complete a particular task, but rather by a set of external rewards and sanctions to which an individual reacts. In short, extrinsic motives are the result of the consequences of one's actions, not the actions themselves (Houston 2000; Osterloh, Frey, and Frost 2001).

Individuals who value extrinsic motives are often driven by external rewards such as high pay, benefits, job security, or status within an organization (Houston 2000). Research indicates that public employees are less motivated by high income than are private sector employees (Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007; Houston 2011). However, there are some extrinsic motives that public sector employees highly value, among them job security. Public sector employment typically offers greater job security than does private employment (Bonin, Dohmen, Falk, Huffman, & Sunde 2007; Clark and Postel-Vinay 2009), and public employees have been found

to be more risk-averse than their private sector counterparts (Bellante and Link 1981; Buurman, Delfgaauw, Dur., & Van den Bossche 2012; Pfeiffer 2011; Roszkowski and Grable 2009).

Nonetheless, while public-sector employees may value some extrinsic motives more so than others, it is the value they place upon intrinsic motives which helps explain a significant amount of their preference for public-sector employment.

Intrinsic motives

Those who work in the public service value intrinsic motives more than do those who work in the private sector (Crewson 1997; Houston 2000; Wittmer 1991). Whereas extrinsic motives are concerned with external rewards, intrinsic motivation is based on the internal satisfaction one gets from completing a task. Intrinsic motivation comes from the inherent value of an activity purely for its own sake (Deci and Ryan 2008; Frey 1997). The satisfaction an employee gains from completing his/her work, such as a sense of accomplishment, can be classified as an intrinsic motivation.

There are two general types of intrinsic motivation: enjoyment-based and obligation-based (Deci and Ryan 2008). Enjoyment-based intrinsic motives are grounded in the mere satisfaction that results from completing a task, without the need for any external considerations (Frey 1997; Osterloh and Frey 2000; Osterloh, Frey, and Frost 2001). In contrast, obligation-based intrinsic motives are those in which an individual is motivated by personal or social norms for their own sake (March 1999). Obligation-based intrinsic motivation is highly relevant for explaining why individuals are attracted to public sector employment. The social norms and group identity characteristics of obligation-based intrinsic motivation speak to the nature of public service. While public service workers value both obligation-based and enjoyment-based intrinsic motives, they value obligation-based intrinsic motives the most (Creswon 1997; Frank

and Lewis 2004; Houston 2000; Steijn 2008; Vandenabeele 2008). These obligation-based intrinsic motives are often characterized within the public administration literature as Public Service Motivation or PSM.

Public service motivation

PSM is commonly accepted “as an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (Perry and Wise 1990, 368). According to Houston (2006) public servants “act out of a commitment to the common good rather than mere self-interest” (67). The importance of obligation-based intrinsic motives, combined with the conclusion that “the greater an individual’s public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization,” indicates that individuals are attracted to public sector employment due to a unique set of work motives (Perry and Wise 1990, 370). At the very least, this suggest that the degree to which certain motives are valued over others differs between public service workers and those in the private-sector.

The overall implication for public management is that solely relying upon extrinsic motives to attract and retain employees will not satisfy the obligation-based intrinsic motives valued among prospective and current public servants (Osterloh, Frey, and Frost 2001). Those who prefer employment in the public sector value motives beyond just pay and benefits. In other words, working in government is about more than a paycheck; it is also about serving a cause greater than oneself (Perry 1996).

Section 1.3: Research approach

The data used here come from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) 2005 “Work Orientations III” module that contains data from surveys administered across many nations. Data gathered from the following 31 countries are examined: Australia, Belgium

(Flanders), Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Japan, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

The analysis for this dissertation is conducted in two stages. First, summary and descriptive statistics are analyzed to determine the amount of variation in preferences for public sector employment across nations, as well as the variation among each of the explanatory variables included in the study. Second, a series of multilevel regression models are estimated by including individual-level variables alongside national-level explanatory variables. It is appropriate to use multilevel models for this project, since the data are hierarchically structured. Individual-level data is treated as level-1 and is collected through surveys that are clustered within countries, which are treated as level-2. The models are estimated using a restricted PQL (Penalized Quasi-Likelihood) routine in HLM version 7.0.

Section 1.4: Contribution to the literature

While existing research has examined several extrinsic and intrinsic motives, one important topic that has yet to be explored when comparing preferences between the public and private sectors is work-life balance. Research suggests that those currently employed in the public sector report higher satisfaction with work-life balance than those employed in the private sector, as measured by work-family conflict, satisfaction with family life, hours devoted to private time, and even sleeping hours (Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007). The implication here is that public sector employees may not want to engage in the overly-competitive practices found within the private-sector, and would rather lead more balanced lives in terms of work-family commitments (Saltzstein, Ting and Saltzstein 2001). In addition, public-sector employees report

fewer working hours than private-sector employees do (Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007). Yet these work-life balance preferences have not been examined in relation to an individual's preference for government employment. This dissertation examines the relationship between work-life balance and government employment preferences to help fill this void.

There is an additional problem with the extant literature—it fails to consider nation-level characteristics that might influence an individual's preferences for employment. The relative lack of existing cross-national research in employment preferences leaves much to be explored. For one, the nature of public sector institutions may influence an individual's employment preferences. Several characteristics can help determine the nature of an institution, including the size of the public sector, welfare regime type, internal labor market characteristics, and institutional quality (see Van de Walle, Steijn, & Jilke, 2015; Van der Wel & Halvorsen, 2015). Of particular note is the effect of institutional quality on employment sector preference, in which there is little to no existing research.

Due to data limitations, there is no single direct means of examining the relationship between employment sector preferences and the quality of government. Yet one promising way to explain the effects of institutional quality on employment preference is to consider perceptions of corruption, notably by means of organizational image. Research suggests that an individual's perception of how his/her organization is perceived by external actors (clients, customers, citizens, and other stakeholders) may influence his/her identification with the organization (Carmeli and Freund 2009; Carmeli, Gilat, & Weisberg 2006; Dutton et al. 1994; Fuller 2006; Fuller, Marler, Hester, Frey, & Relyea 2006; Gkorezis, Mylonas, & Petridou 2012). Furthermore, individuals tend to identify with prestigious groups, including groups that have an attractive

public image (Dutton et al. 1994; Smidts, Pruyn, & Van Riel 2001). By considering corruption within the organizational image/perceived external prestige context, the influence of institutional quality on employment sector preferences is examined in this dissertation.

Not only may the above nation-level correlates be associated with sector preference, but prevailing economic conditions likely influence an individual's preference for extrinsic or intrinsic motives. Gallie et al. (2012) show that the importance employees in the UK place on intrinsic motives increased during a relatively strong economy. And Groeneveld et al. (2009) find that the importance individuals place on extrinsic motives and PSM tends to rise with higher unemployment. However, the extent to which an individual's duration of unemployment influences their sector choice remains inconclusive. Jin (2013) indicates that in general, unemployment is not a consistent factor in sector selection, yet unemployment may be a significant factor for sector selection in the US, Hungary, and Japan. However, there is little research which examines the association between economic correlates at the national level and preferences for public sector employment. This dissertation examines several national-level economic indicators in relation to preferences for public sector employment in order to further contribute to the rather limited findings in this research area.

Altogether, the multilevel regression models estimated in this dissertation attempt to provide a more comprehensive understanding of preferences for public sector employment. The models here include individual-level correlates (some of which have yet to be examined in the extant literature) alongside several national-level correlates. As a whole, the models address the role of work motives, work-life balance, the quality of government, and national economic conditions as they relate to preferences for public sector employment, thus filling several existing gaps within the extant public management literature.

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

Determining why an individual would choose to work for government versus the private sector is of significant concern to public personnel management. With the quiet crisis in public administration, in which government experiences difficulty in retaining employees, identifying why people select government as their employer of choice to begin with is one means of better attracting, selecting, and retaining individuals for lifelong careers in government.

Just why an individual selects one sector of employment over another has received little attention in public management research. While voluminous studies are offered in relation to the characteristics of existing government employees, what is known about an individual's initial preferences to seek out employment with the public sector is rather limited. To understand an individual's employment choices requires examining the larger organizational and management literature, in particular research concerning Person-Environment Fit.

Person-Environment Fit offers a rather all-encompassing explanation for why and how individuals fit with the many aspects of their work environments. Stemming from Person-Environment Fit is a research effort more closely focused upon public employment, that of Public Service Motivation. Public Service Motivation suggests that government employees express a unique set of work motives separate from private sector employees. This research project is guided by both Person-Environment Fit and Public Service Motivation to offer a more holistic explanation as to why individuals choose to work for government versus the private sector.

Just as these research streams contribute to the greater understanding of an individual's employment preferences, there is perhaps a missing link to this explanation which has yet to be explored. An individual's preferences for work-life balance may provide an additional element

to existing explanations of employment sector choice. Work-life balance is of increasing concern for researchers and practitioners alike, and this research project fills a void in the public management literature by exploring the relationship between preferences for work-life balance and a desire to work in government.

Moreover, it is most likely the case that not only do individual variables explain employment sector preferences, but that national characteristics may explain variation in preferences for public sector employment across nations. In particular, this research endeavor contributes to the emerging research streams within comparative public administration research by considering cross-national explanations of employment sector preferences. Of particular concern is the potential association between the quality of public institutions and public sector employment preferences across nations. Institutional quality is best examined by integrating existing research on organizational identity and image with perceptions of corruption across countries. In addition to the quality of public institutions, other national characteristics may explain cross-national differences in government employment preferences. Notably, a nation's economic health may very well be associated with a preference for public sector employment.

Taken together, the above explanations create a more comprehensive understanding of preferences for public sector employment. The following literature review investigates both individual- and national-level correlates and extends these findings to offer several hypotheses that are tested as integral elements of this research project.

Section 2.1 Person-environment fit

Explaining an individual's preferences for his/her desired sector of employment is best examined within the Person-Environment Fit (PE Fit) framework. PE Fit essentially argues that employees and organizations are more likely to achieve their goals and objectives when their

respective goals and values are congruent (Arthur, Bell, Villado, & Doverspike, 2006; A. L. Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). Simple as this explanation may seem, the extant research on PE Fit is fairly muddled. The many theories and research streams within PE Fit is cause for criticism from some scholars, who argue that PE Fit is difficult to define with any precision and can be generally misunderstood (Edwards, 2008; Kristof-brown & Billsberry, 2012). However, the numerous research streams found within the PE Fit literature offer many explanations for individuals' employment preferences and outcomes. The rich assortment of PE Fit theories lends itself to a more comprehensive explanation of individual job preferences. These explanations most often manifest themselves in Person-Organization Fit (PO Fit) and Person-Job Fit (PJ Fit). All together, these theories demonstrate the complex nature of modern-day employment and are essential to understanding the motivations for public employment.

This section of the literature review examines PE Fit in greater depth, in particular detailing organizational-related characteristics. Emerging PE Fit research within the Attraction-Selection-Attrition framework is also examined. Concluding this section is a review of the outcomes associated with PE Fit. Identifying the outcomes of PE Fit illustrates the importance of attracting individuals who fit well with their organizations and jobs.

Section 2.1.i Types of fit

There is not a single best definition for PE Fit. Whereas some scholars view PE Fit within a strict organization-employee relationship, others take a more holistic approach in which PE Fit encapsulates organizational, job, and even interpersonal relationships (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). However, most of the research tends to focus more on the fit between individuals and the organizations for which they work, culminating in the larger body of PO Fit research.

PO Fit broadly assesses the compatibility between organizations and employees (Kristof-

Brown & Jansen, 2007). For the most part, studies on PO Fit do not focus on particular job characteristics or the minutia of interpersonal relationships. Instead, broader organizational goals, values, and practices are examined in relation to those of the organization's employees. A fundamental principle within PO Fit is that both organizational and individual outcomes are affected by the value-goal congruence between the two (Chatman, 1989). To clarify the complexity of some of these organizational and employee values and goals, PO Fit is viewed from either a supplementary or complementary fit perspective (Ostroff & Schulte, 2007). Muchinsky and Monahan (1987) describe supplementary fit as a relationship between an organization and an individual in which the individual possesses a set of characteristics that are similar to existing characteristics found within the organization or among its members. In contrast, complementary fit results from an employee-organization relationship in which the employee fills an organizational need, thus making the organization "whole" (Cable & Edwards, 2004; Kristof, 1996; Muchinsky & Monahan, 1987).

Within the context of complementary fit, the relationship between an organization and its employees is also examined in terms of an organization's demands and an individual's needs. These demands and needs are imposed by the environment (which encompass the organization) and the individual (Edwards, 1991; Edwards & Shipp, 2007; Kristof, 1996; Wanous, Poland, Premack, & Shannon, 1992). In this vein, PO Fit is construed in terms of a needs-supplies perspective and a demands-abilities perspective. Needs-supplies suggests that individual-organizational compatibility occurs when the organization can satisfy the needs or preferences of an individual. The needs-supplies fit perspective is especially relevant when considering an individual's initial attraction to an organization and is particularly significant in exploring work related motives of public sector employees (Liu, Tang, & Yang, 2015). The implications of

needs-supplies fit in the public sector context are discussed in greater detail further on. Demands-abilities fit manifests itself when an individual can supply the necessary knowledge, skills, and abilities demanded by the organization (Cable & Scott, 2002; Kristof, 1996). Kristof's (1996) influential analysis of various PO Fit conceptualizations from both the supplementary-complementary and supplies-demands perspectives concludes that PO Fit is best construed as "the compatibility between people and organizations that occurs when: (a) at least one entity provides what the other needs, or (b) they share similar fundamental characteristics, or (c) both" (4).

Several outcomes are realized when such compatibility exists between an organization and its employees. An individual's commitment to his/her organization is one of the most significant results of high compatibility between organizational and employee values and goals according to recent meta-analyses (Kristof-Brown & Jansen, 2007; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Verquer, Beehr, & Wagner, 2003). The implication for public management is that greater PO Fit can be attained by attracting and selecting employees who meet the demands of the organization and whose individual desires, goals, and values can be supplied by the organization. However, increased organizational commitment is not the only result revealed from high levels of PO Fit. An individual's intent to leave the organization is negatively related to PO Fit, so much so that in some studies PO Fit is a stronger predictor of intent to leave than other PE Fit measures such as PJ Fit. Furthermore, PO Fit is related to an individual's performance within the organization, although this relationship is generally less pronounced than organizational commitment or intent to leave (Arthur et al., 2006; Hoffman & Woehr, 2006; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005).

Moreover, PO Fit is strongly related to an individual's initial attraction to an organization and the organization's intent to hire the individual (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). The former

finding has important implications for managers concerned with attracting “the right” individuals to work in the public sector. If public management is concerned with attracting individuals who will be committed to the organization and thus be less likely to leave, then these individuals need to be identified in the attraction/recruitment stage of the employment process. In addition to the above findings, PO Fit is firmly associated with an individual’s identification with and support for their organization, as well as their citizenship behaviors within the organization (Cable & DeRue, 2002). Taken together, the overall implications of PO Fit are perhaps best examined within the Attraction-Selection-Attrition framework (see Schneider, 1987).

Attraction-selection-attrition framework

The Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) framework offers a good “home” for PO Fit. ASA encapsulates the overall human resource lifecycle from pre-employment to post-employment. Thus, ASA naturally encompasses the general conclusions drawn from the extant PO Fit research, including the significant association between individual-organizational compatibility when 1) individuals are searching for employment, 2) the organization makes an intent to hire, and 3) the individual expresses intent to leave the organization (Van Vianen, Stoelhorst, & De Goede, 2013).

Schneider’s (1987) seminal work establishes the ASA framework and proposes that individuals’ similarity within an organization help define various characteristics of the organization, including organizational structures, process, and culture. Moreover, the individuals within an organization express similar needs, desires, values, and goals because they were attracted to and selected by an organization that represents their personal values. The similarity among employees within an organization helps define that organization (Schneider, 1987).

Following the ASA framework, PO Fit can be assessed at each of the framework’s stages

of the employment process. And as Van Vianen et al. (2013) argue, individual-organizational compatibility changes as one progresses through the different ASA stages. When examining the initial stage of attraction, findings suggest that several factors influence an individual's attraction to an organization. First, the location and reputation of an organization are associated with one's initial attraction to the organization (Cable & Graham, 2000; Turban & Cable, 2003). Second, an individual's exposure to an organization's name can influence his/her attraction to the organization (Turban, Lau, Ngo, Chow, & Si, 2001). Third, individuals are attracted to organizations that are perceived to be innovative, competent, and friendly (Slaughter & Greguras, 2009; Slaughter, Zickar, Highhouse, & Mohr, 2004). Finally, several studies conclude that the perceived image individuals hold of an organization is associated with their attraction to the organization. In particular, individuals are attracted to organizations that have a positive image (Allen, Mahto, & Otondo, 2007; Cober, Brown, Levy, Cober, & Keeping, 2003; Collins & Stevens, 2002; Turban & Cable, 2003). The latter conclusion is of particular importance for this dissertation and will be discussed in more detail within the context of organizational image and identity in a cross-national examination.

Extending these lines of research to PO Fit, Van Vianen et al. (2013) propose that individuals can make a better determination about their compatibility with an organization the closer (in terms of affect) they are to an organization within the attraction stage of the ASA framework. Moreover, the greater the affective distance between an organization and an individual, the less likely the individual is to focus on organizational values he/she finds unattractive. As individuals become closer with an organization, they can make more informed assessments about their compatibility with the organization. The perceptions individuals form

during the attraction stage of the ASA framework can affect the selection and attrition stages (Van Vianen et al., 2013).

Thus, when examining PO Fit within the ASA framework, the importance of identifying value-goal congruence between organizations and individuals is further recognized. In order to address PO Fit outcomes surrounding organizational commitment and intent to leave, the compatibility between organizations and individuals must first be assessed during the attraction stage of the ASA framework. It is during this stage that individuals form long lasting perceptions of an organization and decide whether or not to pursue employment with the organization. PO Fit at this stage can influence compatibility at later stages and it is therefore important for both individuals and organizations to recognize compatible relationships early on in order to promote long lasting PO Fit (Van Vianen et al., 2013).

In other words, the attraction stage of the ASA framework can determine PO Fit outcomes throughout an individual's career relationship with an organization. For organizations to promote greater value-goal congruity between themselves and their employees, they must attract those who fit best with their organizations. Doing so, culminates in many desirable outcomes for both the individual and the organization.

Section 2.1.ii Outcomes of person-environment fit

Several outcomes are realized when there is a high degree of congruity between the values and goals of individuals and their organizations. Edwards and Shipp (2007) identify three broad categories of PE Fit outcomes. The first category includes attitudinal outcomes associated with organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Diener & Lucas, 2000; Oh, Guay, Kim, Harold, Lee, Heo, & Shin, 2014; Spokane & Cruza-Guet, 2005). The second category focusses upon an individual's physical and emotional well-being, including the relationship between PE

Fit and stress (Edwards & Rothbard, 1999; Yang, Che, & Spector, 2008). The final category concludes that organizational and individual performance is significantly related to PE Fit (Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009; Hoffman & Woehr, 2006).

Job satisfaction

Among the attitudinal outcomes of PE Fit, job satisfaction has received a significant amount of attention (Edwards & Shipp, 2007). In the PE Fit context, job satisfaction is often construed as “a positive (or negative) evaluative judgment one makes about one’s job or job situation” (Weiss, 2002, p. 175). Determining job satisfaction is dependent upon measuring an individual’s perceptions of their work environment, thus leading some scholars to conclude that it is difficult to draw a direct link between job satisfaction and PE Fit (Yu, 2013). However, other studies report PE Fit to have a significant effect upon an individual’s job satisfaction (Lauver & Kristof-Brown, 2001). Lauver and Kristof-Brown (2001) examine self-reported fit (e.g. perceptions) of job satisfaction in terms of both PO Fit and PJ Fit. Their findings reveal that both types of fit are positively associated with job satisfaction among individual employees. In their analysis, job satisfaction is operationalized by such characteristics as an individual feeling a sense of satisfaction with their current job and finding genuine enjoyment from their work, among other measures. Furthermore, both PO Fit and PJ Fit are found to have similar effects upon job satisfaction, thus lending support to the broader construct of PE Fit.

Organizational commitment

Alongside job satisfaction, organizational commitment is another attitudinal outcome associated with PE Fit. At its most essential level, organizational commitment is the impetus an individual has to contribute to an organization (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001; Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). Organizational commitment is also construed as one’s

identification and involvement with an organization (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 2013), the psychological attachment one has to an organization (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986), or more generally as a bond between the organization and its employees (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990). Above all, organizational commitment is most commonly expressed in terms of an individual's continued membership (employment) in/by an organization (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001).

Taking the above constructs into consideration, researchers often divide organizational commitment into three categories, including affective commitment, continuance commitment, and normative commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991). Affective commitment is the type of commitment in which an individual identifies with a particular organization. Affective commitment is a sense of emotional attachment an individual has with their organization. Often, and for the purposes of this project, affective commitment is viewed in terms of an employee identifying with their employing organization. An employee who demonstrates affective commitment will most likely remain with his/her employing organization, because the organization fulfills his/her desires and needs. Continuance commitment results when employees recognize the costs associated with leaving an organization. This type of commitment is typified by employees who decide to stay with an organization because they perceive the costs of leaving to be too high. Individuals remain with the organization, not out of attachment, but because doing so would mean losing out on certain rewards or investments (e.g. the skills and time already devoted to the organization). Finally, normative commitment reflects an individual's sense of obligation to the organization. Individuals stay with an organization because it is their "duty" or "obligation" to do so. Normative commitment is particularly important in the public service context, in which individuals respond to social norms and are driven by a sense of loyalty to the organization's public service mission (Camilleri, 2006).

Mental and physical well-being

In addition to the attitudinal outcomes of job satisfaction and organizational commitment, an individual's mental and physical well-being is linked to PE Fit. Often, this linkage is conceptualized as workplace stress (Quick, Cooper, Nelson, Quick, & Gavin, 2003; Sonnentag & Frese, 2003). Within the literature on workplace stress, there emerge several definitions and constructs of stress. Much of the literature indicates that stress acts as an environmental stimulus that negatively affects an individual's well-being (Beehr & Newman, 1998). A more nuanced concept of stress concludes that it is a mental and physical response to the demands placed upon an individual (Martin & Schermerhorn, 1983). These two general approaches to stress focus upon a stimulus-response situation and are considered problematic by PE Fit scholars (Edwards & Shipp, 2007).

Instead of viewing stress in a stimulus-response framework, other scholars approach it from a "relational" perspective. A relational approach is broader and considers stress as the result of interactions between an individual and a situation (Edwards, 1996; Eulberg, Weekley, & Bhagat, 1988). In this context, stress can be thought of as the situational demands placed upon an individual which exceed their abilities to meet those demands (Lazarus, 2006) or that stress results when extrinsic or intrinsic rewards arising from the situation do not meet the individual's expectations (Hobfoll & Shirom, 2001). Within a relational concept, stress can be thought of in terms of the demands placed upon an individual and the individual's ability to supply those demands. Therefore, stress can be applied to the needs-supplies and demands-abilities frameworks within the PE Fit literature. An individual's well-being is partially dependent upon his/her ability to meet the demands placed upon him/her by his/her organization. Meeting the demands of the organization may result in less stress and greater mental and physical well-being

for the individual. Thus, if individuals work for organizations which satisfy their needs, they may experience less stress (Edwards, 1996; Edwards & Rothbard, 1999; Edwards & Shipp, 2007).

Performance

Beyond attitudinal outcomes and mental and physical well-being, value-goal congruity between organizations and individuals can result in increased performance (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Motowidlo (2003) defines performance as the “total expected value to the organization of the discrete behavioral episodes that an individual carries out over a standard period of time” (p. 40). Job performance research often conceptualizes performance in terms of behavior rather than results, since results can be dependent upon outside forces uncontrolled by the individual (Motowidlo, 2003). Performance can be distinguished between task performance and contextual performance. Task performance addresses an individual’s behaviors or activities that are often found within formal job descriptions (Katz & Kahn, 2013). Whereas task performance is characterized by stable and defined behavior, contextual performance describes an individual’s behavior which contributes to overall organizational performance. An individual’s contextual performance affects other facets of the organization, including psychological and social parameters (Borman & Motowidlo, 1993). In other words, task performance relates to the job at hand, while contextual performance has effects beyond simply carrying out the duties of one’s job. Contextual performance contributes to the overall culture and performance of the organization as a whole (Edwards & Shipp, 2007).

Examined within a PE Fit framework, task and contextual performance are associated with both demands-abilities and needs-supplies fit. Task performance can be satisfied in terms of demands-abilities fit. When individuals possess the knowledge, skills, and abilities required

of their job, they can meet the explicit task demands of their job. Their performance is related to their ability to meet their job demands (Motowidlo, 2003). However, recent analyses conclude that the link between PE Fit and task performance is less significant than originally thought, and in some respects non-existent (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011).

Contextual performance is another story. Contextual performance is related to needs-supplies fit. In this regard, individuals may anticipate that job performance will supply currently unfulfilled needs (Edwards & Shipp, 2007). More importantly, contextual performance can result from an individual's job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Research indicates that employees who are satisfied (i.e. whose needs are supplied by the organization) and who are committed to the organization define their responsibilities more broadly. Thus, they are focused on contextual performance, not just the routine tasks associated with their jobs (Podsakoff, Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Maynes, & Spoelma, 2014).

Moreover, studies suggest that PE Fit is related more so to organizational outcomes than it is to job or task specific outcomes (Cable & DeRue, 2002; Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009). Individuals focused on contextual performance engage in what is termed Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB). That is, they engage in prosocial behavior that is targeted towards the organization. Being an organizational citizen is a discretionary decision, not typically defined within task performance. Therefore, in order for individuals to contribute to contextual performance via OCB, they must be motivated to do so. Their motivation is a crucial catalyst for other-oriented or citizenship behaviors. And congruence between individual and organization values prompts their motivations (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). Given that motivation is critical for engaging an individual with their organization, understanding the types of motives which drive individuals is the essential next step in this literature review. Yet the broader PE Fit

literature devotes little to no attention to employee motivation within a public-sector context. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the contributions of public management scholars and their findings related to differences among public and private sector employee motivation.

Section 2.2 Types of motivation

As the above findings suggest, individuals are attracted to work for organizations that can satisfy their personal values and work motives. As such, the public sector is most often attractive to individuals motivated to serve the public, since there is a significant congruence between individual and organizational values and work motives. From this, two types of work motives emerge that can help explain an individual's preference for employment: extrinsic and intrinsic motives.

Section 2.2.i Extrinsic motives

Extrinsic motivation is that in which needs are satisfied indirectly from an external source. Extrinsic motives are rewarded by someone else. These motives are not driven by an internal desire to complete a particular task, but rather by a set of external rewards and sanctions to which an individual reacts. In short, extrinsic motives are the result of the consequences of one's actions, not the actions themselves (Houston 2000; Osterloh, Frey, and Frost 2001).

Individuals who highly value extrinsic motives are often driven by external rewards such as high pay, benefits, job security, or status within an organization (Houston 2000). Among these, pay-for-performance is perhaps one of the most common mechanisms for rewarding extrinsic motivation. Many organizations attempt to link an employee's extrinsic motivation with the goals of the organization by offering monetary rewards (Osterloh, Frey and Frost 2001). Recent efforts within the public-sector to implement performance pay systems have led scholars to examine the effects of performance pay on employee motivation. Pay-for-performance is

based on expectancy theory, which rests upon the assumptions that individuals believe they can perform the desired level of performance, their performance will lead to outcomes, and the outcomes are attractive for the individual (Roussel 1996). However, research indicates that public employees are less motivated by high income than are private sector employees (Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007; Houston 2011). For example, a study of the French Civil Service System (which has systematically attempted to adopt pay-for-performance schemes through restructuring of budgetary processes that assume market controls and incentives) concludes that reward systems should only convey the values of an organization and standards of behavior expected from its members after employee motivations are determined. In the private context, linking profit with pay makes theoretical sense, but in government performance can be more difficult to measure in a monetized way, and therefore rewarding intrinsic motivation is perhaps more effective than rewarding extrinsic motivation (Forest 2008).

All of this said, there are some extrinsic motives that public sector employees highly value, among them job security. Public sector employment typically offers greater job security than does private employment (Bonin et al. 2007; Clark and Postel-Vinay 2009), and public employees have been found to be more risk-averse than their private sector counterparts (Bellante and Link 1981; Buurman, Dur, and Van de Bossche 2009; Pfeiffer 2011; Roszkowski and Grable 2009). It has long been observed that individuals in the public sector are likely to value job security as a key work motive (Crewson 1997; Houston 2000, 2011; Perry and Hondeghem 2008). While some studies find that individuals who regard job security as an important attribute of a job are more attracted to public sector employment (Lewis and Frank 2002; Vandenaabeele 2008), others observe no correlation (Crewson 1997; Karl and Sutton 1998; Lyons, Duxbury, & Higgins 2006; Rainey 1982; Wittmer 1991). Nonetheless, while public-

sector employees may value some extrinsic motives more so than others, it is the value they place upon intrinsic motives which helps explain a significant amount of their preference for public-sector employment.

Section 2.2.ii Intrinsic motives

Those who work in the public service value intrinsic motives more than do those who work in the private sector (Crewson 1997; Houston 2000; Wittmer 1991). Whereas extrinsic motives are concerned with external rewards, intrinsic motivation is based on the internal satisfaction one gets from completing a task. Intrinsic motivation comes from the inherent value of participating in an activity purely for its own sake (Deci and Ryan 2008; Frey 1997). The satisfaction an employee gains from completing his/her work, such as a sense of accomplishment, can be classified as an intrinsic motivation. There is a unique quality to intrinsic motivation in that one undertakes an activity because one enjoys doing so. There is no external reward to be offered which incentivizes the work. The motivation to perform one's duties culminates within the employee and is thus self-determined (Frey and Osterloh 2002; Ryan and Deci 2008).

However, not all intrinsic motives are the same. Based on self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan 2008), a distinction is made between obligation-based intrinsic motives and enjoyment-based intrinsic motives. Enjoyment-based intrinsic motives are grounded in the mere satisfaction that results from completing a task, without the need for any external considerations (Frey 1997; Osterloh and Frey 2000; Osterloh, Frey, and Frost 2001). In contrast, obligation-based intrinsic motives are those in which an individual is motivated by personal or social norms for their own sake (March 1999). Examples of obligation-based intrinsic motivation include personal or group identity, and identification with one's organization (Akerlof and Kranton

2000; Frey and Osterloh 2000). According to Osterloh, Frey, and Frost (2001) interest in the activity performed by employees can increase intrinsic motivation by making employees aware of the results of their work upon the organization's mission. They suggest that intrinsic motivation can even be satisfied by effective personal communication and relationships among employees and between management and workers. For example, the messages that are conveyed by management can foster intrinsic motives among the organization (Osterloh, Frey, and Frost 2001).

Obligation-based intrinsic motivation is highly relevant for explaining why individuals are attracted to public sector employment. The social norms and group identity characteristics of obligation-based intrinsic motivation speak to the nature of public service. While public service workers value both obligation-based and enjoyment-based intrinsic motives, they value obligation-based intrinsic motives more than employees in other employment sectors (Creswon 1997; Frank and Lewis 2004; Houston 2000; Steijn 2008; Vandenabeele 2008). These obligation-based intrinsic motives are often characterized within the public administration literature as Public Service Motivation or PSM.

Section 2.2.iii Public Service Motivation

Perry and Wise (1990) coined the commonly cited definition of PSM "as an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (368). Motives are then defined as "psychological deficiencies or needs that an individual feels some compulsion to eliminate" (368). Three public service motives are identified. The rational motive assumes that employees participate in the policy formation process due to their commitment to public programs or advocacy for a special interest based on personal identification. This motive is often overlooked in early public service motivation

literature, as altruism is viewed as the dominant motive. Norm-based motives suggest that the most common normative assumption about why people choose government employment is due to their desires to “serve the public interest.” For some this motive translates as “loyalty to duty and government” or country, while social equity (providing for the well-being of others) forms other employee motivations (Perry and Wise 1990, 368). Affective motives are those in which employees serve out of a genuine conviction about the social importance of public services or programs. This type of motivation reflects a “patriotism of benevolence” or a love and protection for all people (Perry and Wise 1990, 369). While much of the literature relies upon this original concept, several adaptations have been advanced which attempt to clarify the definitional scope of PSM. Subsequent concepts illustrate two underlying trends: 1) PSM is often associated with altruistic behavior, and 2) PSM can be conceived of as a need or desire to satisfy intrinsic versus extrinsic rewards.

Early definitions are only slight variations from Perry and Wise’s original concept. For example, Brewer and Seldon (1998) conceive of PSM as a “motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service” (417). However, more recent conceptualizations adopt an altruistic component. According to Houston (2006) public servants “act out of a commitment to the common good rather than mere self-interest” (67). In particular, PSM can be defined as “characterized [by] altruistic intentions that motivate individuals to service the public interest” (Bright 2008, 151), “a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind” (Rainey and Steinbauer 1999, 23), “individual motives that are largely, but not exclusively, altruistic” (Perry and Hondeghem 2008, 6), or “a particular form of altruism or prosocial motivation that is animated by specific dispositions and values arising from public institutions and missions” (Perry,

Hondeghem, and Wise 2010, 452). These definitions encompass a unique sense of altruism applied to the public sector; however, some have suggested that PSM is not unique to public employees or just less prevalent among private employees (Gabris and Simo 1995; Crewson 1997).

To provide greater clarity about just what constitutes public service motives, several motivational dimensions have been proposed in the literature. Perry (1996) establishes a four-dimension scale used to measure an individual's PSM. By sampling a group of MPA and MBA students using a 5 point Likert-type scale, Perry devised the following measurement dimensions. The first dimension measures attraction to policy making. Similar to Perry and Wise's (1990) earlier work, this dimension is grounded in more rational motives of self-interest. Individuals are drawn to government out of a desire to participate in the policy making process (namely the formulation stage). The second dimension measures commitment to the public interest. Individuals serve the public due to this norm-based motive that rests upon altruistic assumptions. The third dimension measures compassion. Based on Frederickson and Hart's (1985) assertion that civil servants are motivated by a "patriotism of benevolence," this dimension measures one's "love of all people" and community. The fourth dimension measures self-sacrifice. People are willing to "substitute service to other for tangible personal rewards." Two additional dimensions have been composed, but are not confirmed as positively correlated with public service motivation: those being civic duty and social justice (Perry 1996, 7).

Perry's dimensions are used by others as a "baseline" to create additional measurement components. Research results from Brewer, Selden, Facer, and Rex (2000) indicate that individuals can be placed into four categories: Samaritans, Communitarians, Patriots, and Humanitarians. Samaritans are highly motivated to help other people, especially those

underprivileged and in distress. Samaritans believe there are many important public programs that are worth pursuing, but are still hesitant to “sacrifice their own interests” (Brewer, et al. 200, 259). Communitarians are motivated by civic duty and public service. Public service is the highest form of citizenship for this group, and they value doing good deeds more than money. Patriots are dedicated to causes larger than themselves and the overall public good. They place “duty before self and would risk personal loss to help someone else” (Brewer, et al. 2000, 260). They act out of concern for the public rather than their own interests. Lastly, Humanitarians are motivated by social justice. They are similar to Samaritans in that they value government programs. They value inclusion for all groups of society. Humanitarians satisfy the “making a difference” criteria so often expressed by public servants. Among all of these groups, financial incentives are not a driving factor (similar to much research on intrinsic vs. extrinsic rewards) nor are politics and policymaking (Brewer, et al. 2000).

Further revisions to Perry’s measurement scale result in a rather significant degree of alteration to the attraction to policy making dimension. Kim (2008) revises the attraction to policy making dimension by modifying the wording to reflect a more positive and valid measurement of policy making. Perry’s original wording for this dimension is more focused on measuring one’s attitude about politics, i.e. whether one likes or dislikes politics, than it is on the policy making process. Kim refines the dimension by measuring the degree to which a respondent has 1) an interest in making public programs beneficial for one’s community, 2) shares one’s views on public policies with others, and 3) has a great deal of satisfaction in seeing programs that one has been involved in helping other people (Kim 2008, 154). Kim, Vandenberg, Wright, Andersen, Cerase, Christensen, and De Vivo’s (2013) work represents another example in which the measurement scale has been revised. Their revised measure of

Perry's four-dimension scale is applied in a survey administered across countries. However, it is not completely generalizable across nations, suggesting that PSM differs according to national context. Italy, Korea, Lithuania, and the Netherlands exhibited the most need for modifying their measurement techniques, whereas the other nations (mostly Western Europe and the US, which produce the most theoretical work on PSM) only exhibit the need for slight modifications (Kim et al., 2013).

Additional research, which does not rely upon Perry's four-dimension measurement scale, arrives at similar conclusions. Measurement criteria used by Rayner et al. (2011), based on surveys of senior public servants and academics at an international conference in Belgium, illustrate that an overwhelming majority agree that public service ethos (which is a similar concept as PSM) exists. Moreover, the survey participants generally conclude that a public service ethos distinguishes between public and private employees. Results suggest that working in the public sector is the best way to serve this ethos. Based on their survey, Rayner et al. (2011) develop indicators to measure public service ethos as a construct. Their analysis demonstrates that a three-factor model including Public Service Belief, Public Service Practice, and Public Interest best explains a public service ethos construct. This construct rests upon why individuals are motivated to join the public service, how they deliver public services, and to what extent they believe in a public service ethos (Rayner et al. 2011).

Section 2.3 Merging Public Service Motivation with Person-Environment Fit

Recent efforts within public management research recognize the contributions and relevance of PE Fit research with respect to employee motivation and organizational fit. In particular, these efforts examine PE Fit theories in relation to public vs. private sector employment. Research suggests that 1) both the type of job and job sector matter (Houston

2011), 2) job satisfaction is dependent upon employee-organizational congruence (Bright 2007), and 3) PSM contributes to an individual selecting a service-oriented job (Christensen and Wright 2011).

Literature in this vein indicates that common measurements of PSM do not account for as much significance in explaining individual job satisfaction as does PO Fit. Problems have been exposed trying to make a link between PSM and job performance, and oftentimes conclusions are formed trying to directly link PSM as a causal mechanism of job performance (Alonso and Lewis 2001; Frank and Lewis, 2004). For example, Wright and Pandey (2008) test the mediating effects of PO Fit on job satisfaction in the context of PSM. They explain that if the employee displays high levels of PSM and works for a public organization that meets their value needs, then PO Fit will explain job satisfaction more so than PSM. While PSM may not have a direct effect on job satisfaction, it still indirectly affects job satisfaction by way of directly influencing PO Fit. That is, individuals who respond to public service related motives choose to work for public organizations that can satisfy their values. Therefore, PSM may still be a decisive factor in employee job satisfaction, organizational attraction, and employee retention (Wright and Pandey, 2008).

Wright and Pandey (2008) reinforce Bright's (2007) contention that PO Fit may be the "missing link" to making the connection between employee performance and levels of PSM. Bright's survey of public service employees from the Midwest, Southeast, and Northwest, ranging from doctors to police officers and secretaries to social workers measures PSM using Perry's four-dimension scale. P-O Fit is directly and indirectly measured by comparing respondent perceptions of fit between employee and organization values, goals, culture, sense of belonging, etc. Job Performance is measured based on self-reported supervisor ratings of

employees. Findings suggest that 1) PSM is positively related to P-O Fit, 2) P-O Fit is positively related to job performance, and 3) PSM has no significant relationship to job performance when P-O Fit is taken into account. Thus, P-O Fit is more important in terms of job performance than PSM. However, PSM is a contributor to job compatibility, therefore PSM is tangentially viewed as a predictor of job performance via P-O Fit (Bright 2007).

While some research narrows its focus to the mediating effects of PO Fit on PSM, recent efforts argue that PSM is actually mediated by PJ Fit more so than organizational congruence (PO Fit). Results from a study in which pre-law college students are surveyed based on the likelihood of accepting an offer, service orientation, salary, and a subset of PSM measures imply that PJ Fit is a more important mediating factor than PO Fit (Christensen & Wright 2011). Christensen and Wright (2011) find that PSM is not significantly associated with the likelihood of an individual selecting public employment based on organizational mission. When controlling for PJ Fit, PSM is not by itself more likely to increase one's acceptance of a public sector job. These findings imply that PSM is not as important a contributor to PO Fit as assumed by other studies. The study indicates that PSM plays an important role in terms of PJ Fit. Individuals with higher PSM are more likely to select a job that is service-oriented, regardless of sector, thus PJ Fit is said to explain more about job selection than organizational type (sector) (Christensen & Wright 2011).

Research proposing that PJ Fit make PO Fit an insignificant mediating factor not only contradicts prior PO Fit research, but also poses challenges to studies which imply that organizational characteristics are a significant contributor to an individual's degree of PSM (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Wright, 2007). If organizations matter, then PSM literature has yet to fully test the organizational influences on an individual's PSM. Perry and Wise (1990) argue

that motivation is not just a product of self-interest, but affective and norm-based influences as well. Building upon this, Moynihan and Pandey (2007) test the influence of organizational characteristics on an individual's degree of PSM. Based on data and analysis from the National Administrative Studies Project, they conclude that hierarchy and red tape are negatively associated with PSM, and that "employees who experience employee-friendly organizational reforms that seek to cut red tape and empower employees display higher levels of PSM" (43). Several studies conclude that the length of organizational membership (tenure) is negatively associated with employee PSM levels (Kamdron, 2005; Moynihan & Pandey 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999). Overall, the most significant predictors of PSM are socio-historical criteria, such as education and professional membership, rather than organizational influences (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).

Section 2.3.i Public Service Motivation and Employment Sector Attraction

An individual's public service related motives not only have implications for job satisfaction (Christensen & Wright, 2011), but also for sector attraction and sector switching (Steijn 2008; Hansen 2014). Steijn (2008) concludes that private sector employees with high PSM are more interested in public sector employment than those with low PSM and that public employees whose needs for PSM are met by their employer have greater job satisfaction and are less likely to quit than those whose needs are not met. The implications related to sector switching indicate that private sector employees will seek out public employment if they have higher PSM levels (Steijn 2008).

Whereas Steijn (2008) examines sector preferences among private sector employees, Hansen (2014) is concerned with "why public employees leave public organizations to work in the private sector" versus transferring to a different public organization (590). Results from a

2007 Danish study of respondents who worked in government and switched to another public organization or switched to the private sector indicate that 1) salary, 2) a desire for more flexibility and a flatter organization, 3) influence on strategic decision making, 4) room for drive and creativity, and 5) creating value for the end-user are decisive motivating factors for public employees who shift jobs to the private sector. Job security and working for the benefit of society (commonly recognized public service motives and traits) are less important among individuals who switch from employment with government to employment with a private business (Hansen 2014).

Several studies have focused on the antecedents and effects of PSM (Camilleri, 2006; Castaing, 2006; Lee, 2005; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997, 2000). Research findings tend to support the conclusion that indicators of an individual's PSM exist prior to entering the workforce and that higher degrees of PSM may attract or drive an individual to enter the public service (Christensen & Wright, 2011; Clerkin & Cogburn 2012; Taylor, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008). Early studies investigate parental socialization, religious socialization, professional identification, political ideology, and individual demographics to determine the causal relationship between PSM and these variables. Indicators of parental socialization, including an individual's parents' modelling of altruistic behavior and positive relationships with children during their formative years are positively associated with PSM. Similar positive relationships are exhibited among select indicators of religious socialization, including communal worldviews and a closeness to God (Perry 1997).

Interestingly, church involvement and membership in professional associations are negatively associated with PSM. Perry (1997) suggests that religious doctrines and the opportunity costs between church attendance and civic commitments may explain some of the

negative relationship with PSM (Perry 1997). Overall, studies indicate that “an individual’s formative experiences are significant for inculcation of public service motivation” (Perry 1997, 192).

Identifying the antecedents of PSM such as those proposed by Perry (1997) serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, these studies fill a literature gap. On the other hand, understanding what motivates people not only at work, but to choose that work to begin with, has public management implications for attraction, selection, retention, and dismissal. Carpenter, Doverspike, and Miguel (2012) argue that PSM is related to job attraction among entry level employees and that individuals with higher levels of PSM perceive a greater “congruence between their needs and values” with public and non-profit organizations than those in the private sector (511). PSM is positively related to job attraction and PO Fit with public organizations more so than private organizations (Carpenter, Doverspike, and Miguel, 2012).

Similar results demonstrate that PSM moderately predicts sector choice among individuals. Survey results gathered from undergraduate students enrolled in introductory American politics courses in which respondents are measured against Perry’s four-dimension PSM scale suggest that the relationship between sector preference and PSM may be influenced by a single dimension, self-sacrifice (Clerkin and Cogburn 2012). This presents a rather uncomfortable implication for the commonly accepted dimensions of Perry’s scale. If only one dimension is found to have a significant influence on sector preference, then the applicability of the other three dimensions in terms of sector selection is called into question, similar to the criticism leveled at the APM dimension of the scale (Kim 2008).

Further studies consider sector preference in relation to both PSM and PO Fit (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005; Vandenabeele 2008). PSM can increase the fit between government

organizations and public employees through congruence in values, while at the same time the opposite is associated with private organizations. Furthermore, a positive correlation exists between PSM and attractiveness in “high publicness organizations” compared to low ones (Vandenabeele 2008, 1092). Interestingly, according to Vandenabeele (2008), attraction to policy making is a dominant dimension of sector selection and the relationship between PSM and PO Fit, contrary to other studies (Kim 2008; Kim & Vandenabeele 2010).

While variables such as education, gender, parental and religious socialization, and political affiliation serve as antecedents to PSM and have been studied by a number of scholars (Camilleri 2006, Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Perry 1997, 2000), research about individual preferences for employment in the public sector is rather limited in application and scope. Related research on sector attraction indicates that job security is a significant attraction to government employment, but more so than high pay and meaningfulness to society, which are also associated with attraction to government employment (Lewis and Frank 2002).

At this point, several general conclusions can be drawn about those who work and want to work in government. First, individuals are searching for work environments (organizations and jobs) that are congruent or consistent with their own personal goals and values. Among these values are work motives, most often categorized as intrinsic and extrinsic motives (and their associated rewards). Public employees and those who express a desire to work for government often place a greater value upon a mixture of work motives which emphasize intrinsic rewards rather than a mixture which emphasizes extrinsic rewards. Public management scholars commonly identify this emphasis upon intrinsic motivation as Public Service Motivation. Therefore, the following hypothesis is offered.

H1: The greater the importance that an individual assigns to public service related motives, the more likely an individual is to prefer government employment.

At the same time, certain extrinsic rewards are valued by public employees and those who want to work in government more so than private-sector employees. A common extrinsic motive/reward cited within the public management research literature is job security. Given these generalized findings within the existing literature, the following hypothesis is tested.

H2: The greater the importance that an individual assigns to job security, the more likely an individual is to prefer government employment.

However, extrinsic motives are believed to go only so far. Several studies indicate other extrinsic motives, especially those which correspond with tangible and immediate benefits, are less valued among public sector employees than private sector employees. In particular, salary and pay rates are typically valued more so by private sector employees than public employees. As such, an additional hypothesis concerning extrinsic motivation is presented.

H3: The lower the importance that an individual assigns to high income, the more likely an individual is to prefer government employment.

All together, these work motive hypotheses correspond to the prevailing conclusions offered throughout the public management literature. Yet these work motives only describe one component of why individuals choose to work for government rather than the private sector. An additional component that may explain employment sector preferences can be found within the research on work-life balance.

Section 2.4 Work-Life Balance

While work motives are examined in great detail throughout the public management literature, another factor that may explain employment sector preferences concerns work-life

balance. Work-life balance has received scant attention among public management scholars, especially when considering why people choose to work for government. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the relationship between employment sector preferences and work-life balance to determine if this is an important “missing link” in the public management literature. Changes in individuals’ working and private lives over the past several decades have prompted concern over the issue of work-life balance from practitioners and academics alike. In the face of globalization, the marketization of public services, and rapidly changing work environments, researchers and practitioners are increasingly interested in how individuals assess both their work and private lives (Crompton, Lewis, & Lyonette, 2007; Esping-Andersen, 2009; Eikhof, Warhurst, & Haunschild, 2007). Quality of life is dependent upon individuals having the ability to establish common routines in their everyday lives. These routines are all the more difficult to establish given the increasingly blurred lines between work and private life (Gallie & Russell, 2009). Individuals are contending with more and more demands across all aspects of their lives, all the while work continues to intensify (Lewis, Brannen, & Nilsen, 2009).

The role of work-life balance in determining individuals’ preferences for public sector employment is rarely considered within the general work-life balance literature as well the existing public management research. However, given the many correlates associated with work-life balance, it is all the more important to examine this construct. Before conclusions can be drawn about the influence of work-life balance and attraction to government employment, an overview of the extant work-life balance research is warranted. This section of the project examines the various approaches to studying work-life balance and findings associated with working-time commitments and work-life balance preferences across countries.

Section 2.4.i Approaches and Definitions of Work-Life Balance

Work-life balance lacks a unified definition or common approach for analysis (MacInnes 2008). This is surprising given the particular importance placed upon work-life balance by the research and policy communities. Numerous policy initiatives have been implemented to address work-life balance concerns across several nations (Dulk, Peters, & Poutsma, 2012), yet there is still a need for consistent definitions of work, life, and balance. While the lack of a unifying construct does exist, efforts have been made to identify common elements associated with work-life balance across the research and policy communities (MacInnes 2008).

Some define work-life balance as a combination of both work (often operationalized as professional employment) and private-life (namely parenting) (OECD 2002). However, the changing nature of work and family-life demands a more parsimonious study of the work-life balance construct. Original concepts of work-life balance often defined work as employment for which one is paid. In this approach, work is viewed as alienating and restricting the individual from private-life activities. And private-life is often seen as the realm in which the individual can realize their self-actualization and live out their concept of a happy life (Thompson, 1967). These approaches are perhaps not as applicable to modern work and family roles. The traditional male-breadwinner household has given way to households in which both parents are working and that their work may often “spill over” into their private lives (MacInnes 2008).

Given the increasingly complex and dynamic demands placed upon work and private-life, contemporary conceptualizations of work-life balance focus more upon time commitments and role conflict than on traditional notions of work and family responsibilities (Frone, 2003; Greenhaus, Collins, & Shaw, 2003). According to Frone (2003), work-family balance is defined as “low levels of inter-role conflict and high levels of inter-role facilitation” (145). From this

perspective, work-life balance is not just about separating work and family life, but about managing conflict between the demands of work and family-life while integrating elements of work and family life into one-another. Furthermore, Greenhaus et al. (2003) conclude that work-life balance involves individuals being simultaneously satisfied with both their work and family lives.

While these perspectives examine work-life balance in a more holistic fashion than original conceptualizations do, there is much to be left in defining the boundaries between work and life. For the most part, work and life are defined as fulfilling roles. Work is associated with employment, and life is most often associated with family commitments or leisure activities (MacInnes 2008). Yet what remains to be adequately defined is the idea of balance. Although balance may be difficult to succinctly define, there are some key attributes associated with it. Perhaps most importantly, balance involves establishing a boundary between work and family commitments. And at the core of establishing this boundary is “time.” Promoting work life balance not only involves work and family roles, but is dictated by the amount of time devoted to those roles. Time is the underlying factor of the work-life balance debate (MacInnes 2008).

Section 2.4.ii Working Time Trends

Trends in working time over the past several decades are useful contributions to understanding the significance of work-life balance concerns among the modern workforce. Working-time trends vary by country and years analyzed depending on which studies are examined. For example, on average, hours worked among employees in the US have generally increased since the 1980s. For a 24-year period beginning in 1982 the average weekly work hours of all workers in the US 16 years of age and older grew from 37.6 hours to 39 hours. A similar pattern holds true for hours worked by men, albeit with periodic declines. Compared to

men, women witnessed a steadier and more consistent increase in average number of hours worked (Bluestone and Rose 2000). Recent analyses of the Current Population Survey conducted in the US indicate these trends extend well into the first decade of the 21st Century. Men and women continue to increase their working time commitments in the US (Mishel, Bivens, Gould, & Shierholz, 2012). Among the most important findings for workers in the US concerns the working time commitments for families. Bluestone and Rose (2000) conclude that joint working-time for dual parent households increased by 600 hours between the 1970s and 1990s. This increase has important work-life balance implications, especially to the amount of time individuals can commit to their families.

However, while workers in the US may report a general increase in the average number of hours worked over the past several decades, they represent an opposite trend to many other nations. The general trend in most OECD nations, and in particular many European nations, is a decrease in the average number of hours worked over the past several decades (Lehndroff, 2000; Messenger, 2011; OECD, 1998). Among European nations, the overall trend is toward fewer working hours. Between 1995 and 2006, most European nations witnessed a reduction in the average number of hours worked for both men and women (Messenger, 2011). Similar trends are also evident outside of Europe. As reported by the OECD (1998), Japan, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand all realized reductions in the total number of hours worked per capita. Yet, working-time reports are generally limited beyond OECD and Western European nations. Eastern European and Central Asian nations lack comparable working-time statistics (Messenger, 2011).

Given the trend toward fewer work-hours in most countries, a couple of explanations can be offered about these trends exist. On the one hand, the percentage of workers who are

employed part-time has increased across most of the nations in which working-time statistics are available (Lehndorff, 2000). On the other hand, the policy community in several nations expresses a commitment to tackling working-time commitments. Many Western European nations have implemented work-hour laws that regulate the labor market. The 35-hour workweek in France is a common example of such a regulation. Moreover, European Union member states have adopted the supranational EU Working Time Directive, generally limiting the average workweek to 48 hours (Messenger, 2011). Underlying these initiatives is a concern for work-life balance, with a general acceptance that quality of work is dependent upon a healthy balance between work and private/family commitments (European Foundation, 2002).

The decrease in hours worked combined with an increase in part-time employment has led to additional concern about a work-hour mismatch. Scholars contend that there is a mismatch between the number of hours worked compared to the number of hours an individual prefers to work (Lee, McCann, & Messenger, 2007; Reynolds, 2004; Reynolds & Aletraris, 2006). Typically, findings suggest that part-time workers prefer to work more hours than they currently work and that full-time workers prefer to work fewer hours than they currently work (Reynolds, 2004). This work-hour mismatch has important linkages with work-life balance. Research indicates that work-life conflicts drive individuals' work-hour preferences, with the overall implication that individuals' typically prefer fewer work-hours when conflict between work and family life arises (Reynolds, 2005).

When comparing work-hours across employment sectors, studies suggest that public sector employees report working fewer hours than private sector employees (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007). However, little to no research exists in terms of work hour preferences among those who desire to work in government rather than the private sector. Given that 1) current

public employees report fewer working hours, 2) work-hour mismatches may be linked with a desire for greater work-life balance, and 3) the public sector is commonly perceived as providing greater job stability/security (Houston, 2000), a work hour preference hypothesis is offered.

H4: The greater the importance that an individual assigns to full-time employment, the more likely an individual is to prefer government employment.

Section 2.4.iii Work-Life Balance Preferences Across Countries

Understanding the implications of work-life balance upon modern employment requires going beyond exploring just working-time commitments. Work-life balance involves many characteristics, including role conflict, work and life satisfaction, and employee health and well-being, among others. Recent cross-national studies indicate that differences in work-life balance exist according to several metrics, including welfare regime type, economic conditions, service sector organization, job demands and resources, and household demands and resources (Bäck-Wiklund, van der Lippe, den Dulk, & Doorne-Huiskes 2011).

Cross-national comparisons of individuals in various European service sectors indicate that several criteria influence individuals' work-life balance perceptions (Präg, das Dores Guerreiro, Nätti, Brookes, & den Dulk 2011). First, an individual's work engagement, or how good they feel about their work, is dependent upon job resources, and varies by country. Job resources related to work engagement include working-time, work intensity, training, supervisor and employee relationships, and job autonomy (Bakker, Hakanen, Demerouti, & Xanthopoulou, 2007; Lewis et al., 2009). Moreover, work engagement varies by country (Präg et al., 2011). Additionally, stress is a common indicator of overall work-life balance. Further cross-national comparisons conclude that stress is often caused by demands placed upon individuals at work, and family commitments. Although stress may be created by both work and family demands,

work-related stress is found to be greater than stress caused by private life. In particular, countries in which employees work longer hours have higher levels of work-related stress than countries in which employees work fewer hours. An especially intriguing conclusion is that service sector workers, including individuals employed by government in public hospitals, report lower levels of family related stress than other types of employment (Präg et al., 2011). One explanation for this finding is that these individuals have more time to devote to family activities than do individuals in other professions, such as information technology.

In addition, job demands and resources are significantly related to work-life balance satisfaction. Those demands which place significant pressure on employees and thereby lower their work-life balance satisfaction include working hours, job insecurity, and the general pressure placed upon employees (Szücs, Drobnič, den Dulk, & Verwiebe 2011; Voydanoff, 2005). While job demands decrease an individual's work-life balance satisfaction, certain job resources can increase their satisfaction. Among these job resources are an employee's control over their work conditions, working-time, and working-location, social support offered via work, and support for work-life balance policies offered at work (Abendroth & Dulk, 2011; Szücs et al., 2011; Valcour, 2007).

Just as job demands and resources are correlated with work-life balance satisfaction, so too are household demands and resources. Of note among these various household demands which reduce an individual's work-life balance satisfaction are disagreements about household work and the number of children living at home. However, certain household resources may enhance an individual's work-life balance satisfaction. Such resources include a partner (either married or living together), flexibility with childcare, and having a quality social network (Abendroth & Dulk, 2011; Szücs et al., 2011).

Variation in work-life balance satisfaction also exists among different employee categories. Comparisons of professional and non-professional (manual) workers indicate that by and large professional employees report lower levels of work-life balance satisfaction than non-professional employees. The variation between professional and non-professional employees is likely due to the significant work demands commonly placed upon professional employees, especially the longer work hours reported among professional employees (Beham, Etherington, & Rodrigues 2011). Further differences among employee categories indicate that part-time workers are more satisfied with their work-life balance than full-time employees are, once again suggesting that the number of hours worked is a significant factor in explaining job demands and work-life balance (Beham et al., 2011). However, it is important to note that reducing or increasing work-hours by and of themselves may not be the direct cause of reported work-life balance satisfaction. The intensification of work demands is perhaps a more accurate predictor of work-life balance satisfaction. In other words, simply reducing an individual's work hours does not necessarily lead to an increase in work-life balance satisfaction. So long as career demands and work pressure remain high, then work-life balance satisfaction may remain low (Beham et al., 2011; Lee, MacDermid, Williams, Buck, & Leiba-O'Sullivan, 2002). Moreover, the work demands also contribute to findings which suggest that older individuals are often more satisfied with their work-life balance than younger individuals. Older individual's work-life balance satisfaction is related to the general trend in which older employees experience less intense workplace demands than younger individuals (Beham et al., 2011). What is implicit in the literature on work-life balance is that people feel their lives are dominated by their work commitments. For this reason, work-life balance is treated as a desire to place more effort on one's life outside of work. With this definition in mind and from the conclusions which can be

drawn about individual preferences for work-life balance, the following hypothesis is developed linking work-life balance with a preference for government employment.

H5: The greater the importance that an individual assigns to time spent pursuing activities outside the job, the more likely an individual is to prefer government employment.

Moreover, an individual's general satisfaction with his/her work-life balance varies cross-nationally. Work-life balance satisfaction is viewed as the ability of an individual to sufficiently meet his/her work and family obligations (Valcour, 2007). When comparing work-life balance satisfaction across countries, Nordic nations are typically associated with higher levels of satisfaction. Nations in which employees report less support from their supervisors are further correlated with lower work-life satisfaction. This association is enhanced when lack of supervisor support is related to employees requesting a reduction in work-hours (Präg et al., 2011).

Further studies expose many of the intricate differences across nations and sectors in terms of satisfaction with work-life balance (Szücs, Drobnič, Dulk, & Verwiebe, 2011). In particular, Szücs et al. (2011) not only considers satisfaction with work-life balance, but also overall life satisfaction as it relates to the general discourse on work and family/private life commitments. Confirming other research (Präg et al., 2011) Szücs et al. (2011) report that Nordic countries are associated with the highest levels of satisfaction with work-life balance among the nations examined. Interestingly, no significant differences are apparent between men and women with regards to work-life balance satisfaction.

When examining life satisfaction, it is important to take into consideration welfare-regime types, as there is a correlation between life satisfaction and welfare-regime types.

Notably, those nations that correspond with a social-democratic regime report the highest levels of life satisfaction among their respondents (Szücs et al., 2011). These social-democratic regimes are characterized by generous state support for welfare programs (Esping-Andersen, 2013). The lowest life satisfaction is found among liberal welfare states characterized by minimum levels of state involvement with social welfare provisions (Szücs et al., 2011). Falling in-between these regime types are corporatist states which rely on insurance provisions and strong family support to provide social welfare services (Esping-Andersen, 2013). Corporatist nations report life satisfaction levels in-between social-democratic and liberal welfare state regimes (Szücs et al., 2011). Overall, nations that provide greater state support for social welfare are associated with higher levels of satisfaction than those nations with lower levels of state-support (Beham et al., 2011). Moreover, Szücs et al. (2011) conclude that work-life balance satisfaction is a significant influence on overall life satisfaction.

Extending work-life balance satisfaction to consider institutional and employment sector characteristics indicates several unique findings. When examining organization/institutional types, individuals employed with public hospitals (which are government institutions) are associated with higher levels of work-life balance satisfaction (Szücs et al., 2011). This is a particularly important finding, as it suggests employment with the public sector provides a greater work-life balance than the private sector. The strong association between employment with public hospitals and work-life balance satisfaction holds across nations and among both men and women. However, some private sector institutions, especially banking/insurance are also associated with high degrees of work-life balance satisfaction (Szücs et al., 2011).

Section 2.5 Nation-Level Institutional and Economic Correlates

Just as individual level characteristics (e.g. values and goals, work motives) may explain why people choose to work for government rather than the private sector, there are institutional and national characteristics that may explain some of the variation in a preference for government jobs cross-nationally. However, existing cross-national research on employment sector preferences is extremely limited. Studies considering national characteristics typically do so in the context of those who are already employed in government, rather than attempting to gauge their preferences for wanting to work in government. Yet existing studies are useful for this present research project in several ways. In addition to individual level characteristics, this project examines certain institutional and national considerations as well, in particular institutional quality and national economic health.

Section 2.5.i Institutional Quality

While the role of individual work motives and preferences for work-life balance may explain employment sector choice, the nature of public institutions may just as well explain employment preferences. Recent research by Van de Walle, Steijn, and Jilke (2015) considers employment sector preferences across countries, taking into consideration cross-national differences. However, Van de Walle et al. (2015) only examine the type of civil service system (career-based or position-based), but do not address the quality of public institutions. Nonetheless, their findings indicate that national characteristics are an important component of explaining employment sector preferences across countries.

With Van de Walle et al.'s (2015) cross-national analysis in mind, this project examines national context more broadly by exploring the relationship between institutional quality and a preference for government employment. The most promising venue for examining such a

relationship is by way of social identity theory and organizational image. Social identity theory argues that people classify themselves according to certain social categories. Examples of how individuals may view themselves are as members of an organization, according to their religious beliefs, or gender to just name a few (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). A stream of research emerging from social identity theory is that of organizational identity. Organizational identity expands upon social identity to argue that individuals identify with workplace organizations which reflect their values and help the individual address their own social identification. In so many words, individuals support organizations that embody the individual's social identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). An individual's identification with an organization is also derived from the organization's image (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994).

Organizational image studies posit that individuals identify with prestigious groups, including groups that have an attractive public image (Dutton et al. 1994; Rynes 1991; Smidts et al. 2001). In particular, Dutton et al. (1994) conclude that an attractive organizational image is positively associated with several characteristics of an individual's self-concept. Attractive organizations may contribute to an individual's sense of uniqueness, sense of self, and self-enhancement (Dutton et al. 1994). On the other hand, if individuals perceive a negative organizational image, they may identify less with the organization. With a negative organizational image, an employee may no longer engage in previously designated work roles (Kahn, 1990).

An individual's attraction to an organization or employment sector is influenced by many characteristics associated with organizational image. An organization's image is shaped by many factors, including many attractive traits that individuals associate with the organization. Examples of such traits include the perceived friendliness, innovativeness, and competence of an

organization (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003; Slaughter & Greguras, 2009; Slaughter et al., 2004). Further studies indicate that individuals prefer employment with organizations of which they ascribe a positive image (Allen et al., 2007; Cober et al., 2003; Collins & Stevens, 2002; Turban & Cable, 2003).

Furthermore, research suggests that the perceived external prestige of an organization by its employees has a significant influence on their commitment to and identification with that organization (Carmeli and Freund 2009; Carmeli et al. 2006; Dutton et al. 1994; Fuller et al. 2006a, 2006b; Gkorezis et al. 2012). Essentially, an individual's perception of how his/her organization is perceived by external actors (clients, customers, citizens, and other stakeholders) may influence his/her identification with the organization. Even the confidence one has in his/her nation's government may have a positive influence on his/her attraction to work in the public sector (Rose 2013).

Extending these findings, Cohen, Zalmanovitch, and Davidesko (2004) consider the implications of sectoral image to draw distinctions between public and private sector employment. Drawing upon earlier findings by Kilpatrick, Cummings, and Jennings (1964), which suggests that an individual's behaviors and attitudes toward the public sector are related to the image they have about government, Cohen, et al. (2004) test the mediating effect public sector image has on personal psychological variables and public sector job preference. Their findings suggest that public sector image strongly mediates this relationship. Thus the image an individual has of the public sector effects their attraction to the public sector. Cohen, et al. (2004) also conclude that demographic backgrounds effect an individual's image of the public sector; therefore, prior socialization is an important factor that shapes sectoral image (see also

Moss & Frieze, 1993). Given that individuals identify with organizations with attractive public images the following hypothesis is tested in a cross-national context:

H6: The higher the quality of public institutions in a country is perceived to be, the greater will be the preference for government employment in a country.

Section 2.5.ii National Economic Health

In addition to institutional quality, a nation's economic health may explain some of the variation in public-sector employment preferences across nations. The public sector is believed to be attractive in nations with struggling economies (Groeneveld, Steijn, & van der Parre, 2009). This argument stems from the perception that the public sector is more attractive to risk-averse individuals due to the relative job security it affords its employees (Boudarbat, 2008). During times of national economic hardship, job security is argued to be more important, thus making the public sector more attractive (Van de Walle et al., 2015). Groeneveld et al. (2009) find that the importance individuals place on job security to rise with higher unemployment. In particular, individuals who value job security are more likely to prefer employment with the public sector during times of economic hardship. Yet when a nation's economy improves, these same individuals may search for jobs in the private sector.

However, other studies suggest that the relationship between a nation's economic health and employment sector preferences may not be so straight forward (Jin, 2013; Llorens & Stazyk, 2011). First of all, the extent to which an individual's duration of unemployment influences his/her choice remains unknown. Jin (2013) indicates, that in general, unemployment is not a consistent factor in sector selection. Furthermore, Van de Walle et al., (2015) find limited support to conclude that a nation's economic health is related to employment sector preferences. In a related manner, Llorens and Stazyk (2011) test the relationship between unemployment and

government employee turnover rates and fail to find a significant relationship between the two, especially regarding unemployment rates.

Other studies suggest an inverse relationship between employment with government and unemployment rates (Selden & Moynihan, 2000). For example, Selden and Moynihan (2000) find that unemployment is positively associated with turnover rates among state government employees in the United States. While these studies (Llorens & Stazyk, 2011; Selden & Moynihan, 2000) are concerned with employee turnover rates, their results suggest the relationship between economic conditions and working for government is inconclusive. As such, it is worth exploring economic conditions in more detail in this project. Given the muddled relationship between economic conditions and government employment, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions. Therefore, the following hypothesis is offered as a component of this research project:

H7: The greater the economic difficulties that a country faces, the greater will be the preference for government employment in a country.

Section 2.6 Concluding Remarks

Explaining preferences for employment with the public sector is dependent upon individual and national-level characteristics. As has been demonstrated, individual level explanations are considered under the broader Person-Environment Fit framework and its related public management application: Public Service Motivation. Those who work for and express a desire to work in government are often characterized as responding to a mixture of work motives, with greater value placed upon such intrinsic motives as meaningful work, the usefulness of a job to society, and general altruistic motivation. At the same time, these individuals value certain extrinsic rewards, such as job security, more so than private sector

employees. Many of the intrinsic motives valued by those who work in government are often associated with a public service mission and those who value them are more likely to work in government, seeing as the public sector can satisfy an individual's values and goals more so than the private sector.

While the mixture of work motives associated with public sector employment is fairly well-established, the association between work-life balance and public employment remains to be examined. In particular, this research project identified the relationship between a desire for greater work-life balance and a preference for employment with government. Combining work-life balance and work-motives offers a more complete explanation as to why individuals choose to work for government. Moreover, the role of national and institutional characteristics is perhaps just as important for explaining variations in employment preferences across nations. Notably, two national-level correlates may explain cross-national variations, including the quality of public institutions and a nation's economic health. As individuals are found to be attracted to quality organizations, the quality of government institutions may offer a significant explanation as to variations in preferences for public sector employment in a cross-national context. Just as important, a nation's economy is likely to have a significant association with a preference for employment in government.

Examining both individual and national-level correlates together provides a more comprehensive understanding of preferences for employment with the public sector. Taking both into consideration helps fill an existing void in the public management literature. Most importantly, this research agenda addresses the growing concerns among public personnel practitioners and academics alike in attracting and retaining a high quality government workforce.

CHAPTER III DATA AND METHODS

Considering the data sources and operationalization of variables used in this research project is the necessary next step in order to conduct an informed statistical analysis. This chapter first describes the sources of data used for this research, including both individual and national level data. Next, the operationalization of the key dependent variable, a preference for employment with the public sector, is described. In addition to identifying and describing the dependent variable, the various individual level independent variables are discussed in detail. As this project examines both individual and national level hypotheses, the numerous national level independent variables are also described here. Finally, the statistical methodology used to analyze this data is discussed, notably the multilevel modeling techniques employed to examine the simultaneous effects of individual and national-level correlates upon public sector employment preferences.

Section 3.1 Data sources

The individual-level data used for this project is derived from the International Social Survey Programme's 2005 Work Orientations III survey. Various research institutes across the globe combined their efforts to form the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), with the goal of studying numerous topics of importance to the social science research community. In the 1980s, several existing research surveys combined their efforts toward this goal, including the General Social Survey (conducted by the National Opinion Research Center), Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften (known as ALLBUS deriving from Manheim, Germany), and London-based Social and Community Planning Research. These units, along with the Australian National University organized the ISSP in 1984 and have grown to include 53 nations. The ISSP seeks to facilitate a cross-national comparison of key social science

research topics, and to do so it supplements national surveys conducted in each one of the member nations with a common module designed specifically for cross-national research purposes (International Social Survey Program 2016). The Work Orientations module used for this research was first conducted in 1989, with a second iteration in 1997. The third installment of this survey was completed for 2005, and a fourth version was administered in 2015. At the time of this writing, the 2015 survey has yet to be published; therefore, the 2005 survey is used for this research.

The ISSP surveys are standardized across countries, with a focus upon those issues that are most important to member nations. Due to the ISSP's efforts, the social science community has expanded its comparative research interests of contemporary and relevant social topics (Smith 2009). The ISSP surveys are considered generalizable and representative of the countries in which they were conducted. Each survey is scrutinized in terms of administration and sampling towards these ends (Scholtz, Faaß, Harkness, & Heller 2008).

With respect to this particular research endeavor, the 2005 Work Orientations III module includes 31 countries representing various geographic locales, including Central and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Asia, South America, Africa, the Mediterranean, North America, and Oceania. The sample size for each country is at least 900 survey respondents, with most between 1,000-1,500. Survey data was collected by standardized questionnaires in a written, oral, or mail-in format. The data collection fieldwork was completed between 2005 and 2007 (International Social Survey Programme 2013).

Section 3.2 Countries included

This research project undertakes a cross-national comparison of preferences for government employment. Not only are preferences for government versus private sector

employment often overlooked in the public management literature, there is an even greater dearth of comparative public management research on this topic. Only a handful of studies are devoted to cross-national comparisons of employment preferences (see Houston 2013; Van de Walle et al., 2015). It is the intent of this particular project to fill this scholarly void and contribute to the research field's understanding of cross-national differences in employment sector preferences.

Moreover, by considering employment preferences cross-nationally, it becomes possible to examine to what lengths individual preferences are shaped by national context. Social science researchers express sincere interest in the association between individual behavior and social environments (Pedhazur 1997). Yet much of the research concerning the characteristics of government employment is only conducted one nation at a time. And rarely are an individual's preferences for public sector employment versus private sector employment examined to begin with. The ISSP survey used in the project addresses both of these shortcomings, the former which is satisfied by testing employment preferences across the following nations: Australia, Belgium (Flanders), Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Japan, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

Section 3.3 Individual-level variables

As previously mentioned, the source of all individual-level data is the 2005 ISSP Work Orientations III module. The survey questions used to operationalize the dependent variable and the numerous independent variables are identified and described in the following section.

Section 3.3.i Dependent variable

The dependent variable, *Preference for public sector employment*, for this analysis is derived from responses to the following question. “Suppose you were working and could choose between different kinds of jobs. Which of the following would you personally choose? ... 1) working in a private business 2) working for the government or civil service ... 3) Can’t choose.” For this analysis a binary variable is created, in which working for the government or civil service is coded as 1 and working in a private business is coded as 0. This is the same approach employed by other studies examining this dependent variable using the 2005 Work Orientations III module (Houston 2011; Van de Walle et al. 2015).

Section 3.3.ii Independent variables

Descriptions of the independent variables used in this research is found below. As explained in Chapter 2, numerous independent variables may explain employment sector preferences. These variables can be broadly organized under the following categories: work-motives and work-life balance. In addition to these categories, several socio-demographic explanations are explored as part of this analysis.

Work motive correlates

The ISSP survey includes a battery of questions that can be used to measure an individual’s work motives. Both extrinsic and intrinsic work motives are measured in the survey. In particular, obligation-based intrinsic motives are examined, which can be used to measure an individual’s public service motivation. Altogether, the following variables address extrinsic and intrinsic work motives commonly examined throughout the public management literature.

An individual's work motivation is measured using the following survey items. Survey participants are asked "For each of the following, please [indicate] how important you personally think it is in a job. How important is ... job security, high income, a job that allows someone to help other people, a job that is useful to society?" Responses are given on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from "Very important" to "Not important at all." To measure an individual's extrinsic motives, responses to *Job security* and *High income* are included in the analysis. *Helping other people* and *Job useful to society* are used to examine the relationship between obligation-based intrinsic motives or public service-related motives and an individual's preference for government employment. While these items are originally coded on a five-point scale that ranges from "very important" to "not at all important," they are recoded as binary variables. The binary recoding indicates that a respondent regards the work motive to be either 1 "very important" or 0 all other responses. The variables are recoded because the response distributions for these questions are heavily skewed. For example, over 90 percent of respondents indicated either "very important" or "important" for the item pertaining to job security.

Work-life balance correlates

The ISSP also asks questions related to work-life balance. In particular, the following question directly measures work-life balance. Respondents are asked "Suppose you could change the way you spend your time, spending more time on some things and less time on others. Which of the things on the following list would you like to spend more time on, which would you like to spend less time on, and which would you like to spend the same amount of time on as now?" Responses include, 1) time in a paid job, 2) time doing household work, 3) time with your family, 4) time with your friends, 5) time in leisure activities. Responses are

indicated on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Much more time” to “Much less time.” The variables *Time in a paid job* and *Time doing Household work* are used to measure work-related activities, whereas *Time with family*, *Time with friends*, and *Time in leisure activities* are used to measure private-life activities.

Additionally, the variable *Full-time work* is used to measure individuals who desire full-time employment at the time of the survey administration. The original ISSP question asks respondents: “Suppose you could decide on your work situation at present. Which of the following would you prefer?” ... “A full-time job (30hrs or more per week),” “A part-time job (10-20 hours per week),” “A job with less than 10 hours a week,” “No paid job at all,” and “Can’t choose.” From these responses a binary variable is created for this dissertation, with “1” representing those who want “A full-time job (30hrs or more per week)” and “0” representing all other responses.

Socio-demographic correlates

The analyses also include individual background factors (demographic attributes) as control variables. Fortunately, demographic influences can also be examined as a result of the ISSP survey responses. Several demographic characteristics are observed to be correlated with a preference for public sector employment throughout other studies. Among these are being employed in government, gender, age, and level of education (Lewis and Frank 2002; Vandenberg 2008). For example, it has been found that those employed in the public sector have more positive attitudes toward government institutions and officials than those employed in other sectors (Brewer and Sigelman 2002; Christensen and Laegreid 2005). To examine this attribute, the variable *Government employee* is created based on survey responses in which respondents indicate whether they work for the private or public sector. Responses include

“work for government,” “public owned firm, national industry,” “private firm, others,” self-employed,” can’t choose,” and “no answer; don’t know.” Those who work in government or for a publicly owned firm national industry are treated as government employees when creating the variable *Government employment*. All other responses are treated as private sector/other.

Another demographic attribute examined is gender. Women are observed to be more attracted to public employment than men because of the supportive role that government has performed in addressing equality in employment (Blank 1985), which has resulted in women being disproportionately employed in public-oriented professions (Christensen and Laegreid 2005; Gornick and Jacobs 1998; Marlowe 2004). In terms of research on job choice, Steijn (2008) and Vandenabeele (2008) find women to prefer government employment more than men. ISSP survey respondents are asked to indicate their sex, with responses being “male” or “female.” The dummy variable *Female* is generated to represent those who indicated female in their response.

Other demographic attributes typically controlled for are respondent age and education. While Lewis and Frank (2002) report age to be negatively correlated with preference for public sector employment, Steijn (2008) and Christensen and Wright (2011) find these variables to be uncorrelated. For this project, the variable *Age* is a continuous variable and represents responses from 15 - 98. In terms of education, Steijn (2008) observes a negative correlation and Lewis and Frank (2002) find sector preference to be uncorrelated with education. This research project examines education in terms of the number of years of schooling reported by survey respondents. The variable *Education* is created based on survey responses ranging from 0 years to 21 years of education. Original responses included up to 49 years of education, but these are condensed to

represent 21 years of schooling given that the frequency of responses above 21 years of education is minimal.

Demographic attributes that have received little attention are religiosity, political identification, and family-related variables, yet these may be related to employment sector preference. Freeman and Houston (2010) find in a study using the 2004 U.S. General Social Survey that public servants have a stronger commitment to, and are more active in, their religious communities. In a follow-up study, Freeman, Freeland, and Houston (2015) examine survey data from 37 countries and find that respondents employed in government are more likely than others to report that they frequently attend religious services.

To examine the relationship between an individual's religiosity and preference for employment with government, the variable *Religious attendance* is created for this analysis. The ISSP reports respondents' attendance of religious services according to the following response categories: "several times a week," "once a week," "2 or 3 times a month," "once a month," "several times a year," "once a year," "less frequently," "never," and "don't know, varies too much." *Religious attendance* is treated as binary variable and measures religiosity according to those who attend religious services at least once per month.

Furthermore, political attitudes also likely influence views of the civil service as desirable employment. The left-right dimension is a common approach for organizing political ideologies and parties across western democracies (Blais, Blake, and Dion 1993; Budge and Robertson 1987; Warwick 2002). This organizing scheme refers principally to "classic economic policy conflicts—government regulation of the economy...as opposed to free enterprise" (Budge and Robertson 1987, 394-5). Inglehart (1990) characterized a left orientation as a commitment to the reduction of income inequality through the creation of the welfare state. Przeworski (1985)

similarly characterizes the left as committed to full employment and equality through government spending and a safety net of social services as compared to the right's "belief in the rationality of the market" (205). Thus, the political left is associated with a more expanded, positive role of the state in society compared to the political right. This leads Blais et al. (1993) to conclude that "the more leftist a government, the greater the size of government" (43). There is also a tendency for public employees to be more likely to vote for left-leaning politicians. For instance, Dunleavy (1980) contends that in post-industrial societies, sector of employment provides a significant cleavage politically whereby public sector workers are more left-leaning than are private sector workers. Research corroborates this purported correlation between employment sector and party/candidate choice (Blais, Blake, and Dion 1991; Garand, Parkhurst, and Seoud 1991; Jensen, Sum, and Flynn 2009; Knutsen 2005; Lewis and Frank 2002).

Political party identification is represented with two binary variables from the ISSP: *Left political party* and *Right political party*. ISSP coders devise a left/right political spectrum based on the following political party ID responses: "far left," "left, center-left," "center, liberal," "right, conservative," "far right," "other," and "no party." *Left political party* represents responses to "far left" and "left, center-left." *Right political party* represents response to "right, conservative" and "far right." The political party affiliation response categories that are not represented by this set of dummy variables are "center, liberal," "other," and "no party," which are thus treated as the base category for interpreting the estimated party coefficients.

Lastly, among demographic correlates, family-related variables may be associated with a preference for government employment. Given that family commitments are often a central component of most work-life balance equations, this study will include two family-related variables. First, the variable *Child in the household*, identifies those individuals who live with at

least one child in their household. The ISSP response categories for this variable range from “single household” to up to “12 adults with children.” To simplify the response, the variable is recoded as a binary variable, with “1” representing individuals who live with at least one child in their household and “0” representing “single households.” The second family-related variable is *Married*, which represents those who are either “married” or “living as married.” Original ISSP response include “married, living as married,” widowed,” “divorced,” “separated, but married,” and “single, never married.” For the purposes of this study, the variable is recoded as a binary variable, with “1” representing those who are “married” or “living as married” and “0” representing all other responses.

Individual-level unemployment correlates

In addition to the above work motives, work-life balance, and socio-demographic variables, three variables measuring unemployment at the individual-level are included in this dissertation. The first variable is *Want a job*, and represents individuals who are unemployed and desire employment either now or in the future. This is coded as a binary variable with “1” representing those who want a job now or in the future and “0” representing those who do not want a job or can’t choose. The second variable is *Looking for work*, and represents those who are unemployed and are actively looking for work. It is a binary variable with “1” representing those who are looking for work and “0” representing those who are not looking for work or can’t choose. The final variable is *Unemployed* and is used to measure those who are unemployed not by choice. The ISSP question asks respondents who are unemployed “what was the main reason that your job ended?” Responses include “I reached retirement age,” “I retired early, by choice,” “I retire early, not by choice,” “I became permanently disabled,” “My place of work shut down,” “I was dismissed,” “My term of employment/contract ended,” “Family responsibilities,” “I got

married,” and “Can’t choose.” From these response a binary variable is created, for which “1” represents those who are unemployed not by choice and combines the following response “I retired early, not by choice,” “I became permanently disabled,” “My place of work shut down,” and “My term of employment/contract ended.” “0” represents all other responses.

Section 3.4 Nation-level variables

To test the national context of preferences for public sector employment, numerous national-level variables are examined. In particular, two primary categories of national-level variables are examined: institutional quality, and economic health. In addition to these primary national-level correlates, the size of a nation’s public sector workforce is also considered. A description of the data for each of these national-level correlates is described below.

Section 3.4.i Institutional quality correlates

As outlined in Chapter 2, an institution’s image informs people’s perceptions of that institution’s quality. Of particular importance is the perception of corruption that individuals may have of an institution. Therefore, corrupt institutions are considered to be of poor quality. For this project, institutional quality is indirectly measured by examining public sector corruption. The ideal data source to measure public sector corruption is the Corruption Perception Index published by Transparency International. The Corruption Perception Index is commonly recognized as the most reliable and comprehensive measure of public sector corruption currently available (Das and DiRienzo, 2009; Judge, McNatt, and Xu, 2011).

The Corruption Perceptions Index includes data from numerous corruption surveys conducted across countries. In other words, the Corruption Perceptions Index aggregates the results of numerous other studies to create a comprehensive index. Examples include Freedom House Nations in Transit, the International Institute for Management Development, and the

World Economic forum, to name a few. Each of the surveys used to compute the Corruption Perceptions Index ranks the countries surveyed. Perceptions of corruption are derived from residents, non-residents, country experts, and business leaders. Corruption Perception scores range from 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (highly clean) (Lambsdorff, 2005). The variable *Corruption perceptions index* is created for this project to represent a nation's Corruption Perception Index score.

An additional measure of institutional quality is the quality of nation's regulatory regime. For this dissertation, the Regulatory Quality index from the Worldwide Governance Indicators project is used to examine the quality of a nation's regulatory regime. The variable *Regulatory quality* represents the country scores for the Regulatory Quality index. The index measures "the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development" (Kaufmann, Kraay, & Mastruzzi, 2006, 4). The scores range from -2.5 (low quality) to 2.5 (high quality).

Another institutional characteristic explored in this analysis is the size of a nation's government workforce. The variable *Percent employment in the public sector* is created based on data gathered from the United Nations International Labor Organizations ILOSTAT database. Formerly the LABORSTA database, the ILOSTAT database publishes data concerning several employment characteristics. For this project, a nation's total employment (all sectors) and total public sector employment are used to determine the percentage of a nation's workforce employed by government.

Section 3.4.ii Economic correlates

A nation's economic health may be another national-level correlate which can explain variation in preferences for government employment across nations. Several variables are used

to examine the relationship between economic health and public sector employment preferences. The World Bank serves as the data source for each of the following variables. The World Bank was established in 1944 to assist developing nations with financial resources and publishes commonly used statistics concerning economic development indicators (World Bank 2016). The first set of economic variables relates to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is used to measure a nation's overall level of economic development. Included in measures of gross domestic product are consumption, investment, net exports, and government expenditures. There are numerous indices of a nation's gross domestic product, and this project measures GDP by percentage growth for one, five, and ten year intervals. The growth rates are based on a nation's gross domestic product per capita in 2005 international dollars adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP). Using gross domestic product in purchasing power parity allows for a more standardized comparison of national economic development across countries. The GDP growth variables are *1 year GDP growth*, *5 year GDP growth*, and *10 year GDP growth*. The year 2005 is the base year for each variable, compared against GDP for the years 2004, 2000, and 1995.

In addition to GDP growth rates, a nation's consumer price index is also included in the analysis. Consumer price index is represented by the variable *Consumer price index* and measures the change in the price of a basket of goods for each of the countries included in the analysis. *Consumer price index* is one means of measuring a nation's inflation rate and thus provides an indication as to trends in economic health, in addition to GDP growth rates. *Consumer price index* is indexed to the year 2010 for this project since a 2005 indexed data set is not available from the World Bank database.

I also include *Unemployment rate*. The *Unemployment rate* variable measures the percentage of a nation's workforce that is not currently working, but actively seeking

employment. Measuring unemployment along with gross domestic product and the consumer price index provides a more comprehensive view of a country's overall economic health. Taken together, *Unemployment rate*, *1 year GDP growth*, *5 year GDP growth*, *10 year GDP growth*, and *Consumer price index* capture a nation's economic health. Of particular importance for this project is unemployment, given that the project is concerned with employment preferences.

Section 3.5 Estimation methods

This research project employs two stages of statistical analysis. In the first stage, descriptive statistics are provided for each of the variables. The descriptive statistics report the distribution of the dependent variable and each of the independent variables considered in the analysis. In addition to these descriptive statistics, a multilevel analysis is conducted to test both the individual and country-level correlates at the same time. The multilevel modeling approach considers the possible influence of country-level variables upon a preference for public sector employment. Results from the descriptive and multilevel analyses are provided in the subsequent chapter. A more detailed description of multilevel modeling and its appropriateness for this research project is described in the following section.

The social science research community has come to recognize that much of the data which it examines contains a hierarchical structure (Goldstein 1987). The hierarchical structure underlying this data requires the use of more advanced statistical methods than ordinary least squares regression to determine the effect of different data levels upon the dependent variables being studied. Numerous examples abound of such hierarchical data. Common examples of hierarchical data include patients nested within different hospitals, students grouped in different classes within different schools, and children grouped within the larger family unit (Longford 1995). Multilevel models allow the social science researcher to account for the fact that

individuals are influenced by their environment. Individual behavior is within the context of the environment in which they interact and therefore is influenced by characteristics beyond the individual themselves. At the same time, the environment is also a function of the individual. Just as the environment influences the individual, the individual influence their environment (Hox 2002).

The social science researcher is wise to take this relationship into account when conducting statistical analyses involving hierarchically structured data. The multilevel modeling approach provides the researcher with the ability to test the relationship between different levels of data at the same time within a single model. If different data levels are not analyzed together, then conclusions may be drawn which do not reflect the inferred nature of the problem. Conclusions about the individual as well as group level effects may be inaccurate without a multilevel model. By taking the different data levels into account within a single multilevel model, the researcher can offer a more informed and accurate conclusion as to individual and group level data (Courgeau 2003b). The multilevel model is ideal for social science research since it accounts for both the individual and social levels of data.

Hierarchical models are referred to by many names including variance component model (Longford 1987), random coefficients model (de Leewu and Kreft 1986; Longford 1993 1995), mixed effects models (Little, Milliken, Stroup, and Wolfinger 1996), and hierarchical linear models (Bryk and Raudenbush 1992; Raudenbush and Bryk 2986, 1988). In a multilevel model the dependent variable is regressed on numerous correlates at multiple levels of analysis. The dependent variable is measured at the lowest level of data among the analysis under consideration. Multilevel models are commonly employed in research fields in which a hierarchical structure exists for the data under analysis.

Educational research, in which students are grouped within classrooms which are then grouped within schools, was the first of the social science disciplines to use the multilevel modelling approach (Goldstein 2003). Not only has multilevel modeling been used with success in education research, but several other fields of study have recognized its benefits as well. Human geography studies (Jones 1991), research on demography (Courgeau 2003a), and epidemiology studies (Greenland 1998; Morgenstern 1998) are just a few fields in which multilevel modelling has been used across.

As previously stated, multilevel models are appropriate in circumstances in which the data being analyzed is hierarchically structured. Using a hierarchical model addresses two problems within social science research. First, it addresses a conceptual problem. Cross-level inferences pose a significant problem for social science research, which can be overcome by the use of multilevel modeling (Hox 2002). Cross-level inferences arise when the researcher draws conclusions about a group based on the individual-level data (Pedhazur 1997). Such an inference is problematic for social science research given that it may lead the researcher to construct incorrect conclusion and thereby draw improper implications from their study. According to early scholars, cross-level inference may prompt misleading results, among other risks (see Lindquist 1940; Thorndike 1939). Using a multilevel model can help the researcher avoid the problems associated with cross-level inference. At the same time, multilevel models illuminate the influence of different levels of data at the same time, thus portraying a clearer picture of the social phenomena being investigated. Only investigating one level of data at a time or even assuming that there is a one “best” level of data is problematic. Multilevel models take into consideration all levels of data in the analysis and speak to the dynamic nature of social phenomena (Hox 2002).

Just as multilevel modeling addresses the conceptual problem of cross-level inference, it also addresses an important statistical concern. For example ordinary least squares regression analysis considers data at only one level of analysis. Previous research commonly pooled different levels of data into a single level. However, pooling multiple levels of data into a single level is not advisable. Doing so implies that the characteristics associated with the other levels in the analysis are not important, which ties in directly with the conceptual problems mentioned earlier (Pedhazur 1997). If the researcher pooled multiple levels of data into a single level, then he/she violated the assumption that observations are independent of each other. By violating this assumption, the regression coefficients will report underestimated standard errors. Failing to use multilevel analysis when data are hierarchically structured assumes that cases within a cluster are independent when they are not. The result is that standard errors are underestimated, and therefore the likelihood of rejecting null hypotheses of no relationship inappropriately increases. If the researcher solely employs a least-squares analysis, then he/she fails to recognize that individuals who are members of a particular group are more likely different than individuals who are members of another group (Pedhazur 1997). In other words, both individual and group dynamics are important for the researcher to consider. The multilevel model addresses these concerns and takes into consideration all of the levels of data present in the analysis. Standard errors are thus more accurate in a multilevel model than they would be in a typical regression analysis since each level of data is treated as having unique characteristics.

To summarize, hierarchically structured data is best analyzed with a multilevel model. Individual-level data is treated as level-1, as it is nested or clustered within nations which are treated as level-2 (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). The multilevel model has a unique advantage over ordinary regression analysis since it does not assume individuals are independent of each

other. Rather, the multilevel model assumes that individual attitudes are a function of national context. Not only does the multilevel model account for the influence of national context upon individual level attitudes, it better accounts for heterogeneity across national clusters than does the typical regression analysis (Gelman and Hill 2006). Perhaps most importantly, the use of multilevel model prompts the researcher to ask important questions about social phenomena which might not have been asked otherwise (Raudenbush and Willms 1991). To estimate the preference for public employment in a multilevel context, Hierarchical Linear Modeling or HLM software is used. Specifically, HLM version 7.01 is used to estimate the multilevel models for this project.

CHAPTER IV

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CORRELATES AND DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

To examine the extent to which certain characteristics help explain preferences for public sector employment, this chapter explores individual level correlates and their associated descriptive statistics across the 31 nations under study. The dependent variable is described first, in order to determine how levels of public sector employment preferences differ across countries. Next, descriptive results for the work motives, work-life balance, socio-demographic, family-related socio-demographic, and individual-level economic variables are reported.

Section 4.1 Descriptive analysis of the dependent variable

Descriptive results of the dependent variable--a preference for public sector employment—in 31 countries are reported in this section. Invalid responses are reported first, followed by key summary statistics measuring central tendency. Concluding this section is an analysis of how preferences for government employment differ by country.

Section 4.1.i Preference for public sector employment across nations

The first research question I ask is: To what extent do preferences for public employment differ by nation? Responses are binary, with a score of 1 assigned to responses indicating a preference for public sector employment and a score of 0 assigned to responses indicating a preference for business/private sector employment. The overall mean for all countries is 0.453, and the overall standard deviation is 0.472. There is variation in the national averages and standard deviations, thus suggesting that individual-level correlates need to be examined in order to understand these preferences. Moreover, preferences for employment sector by country indicate variation across countries and the need to examine national-level correlates as well. Table 1 reports preferences for both public and private sector employment by nation. The average preference for private-

Table 1. Percent of respondents per employment sector by country

Country	Government/ civil service	Private business	Total N
Cyprus	81.2	18.8	916
Slovenia	74.3	25.7	864
Russia	64.6	35.4	1,438
South Korea	67.0	33.0	1522
Bulgaria	61.0	39.0	959
Czech Republic	58.9	41.1	1,127
Spain	58.9	41.1	1,076
Hungary	58.7	41.4	931
Latvia	57.0	43.0	994
France	52.7	47.3	1,247
South Africa	53.8	46.2	2,536
Israel	52.1	47.9	1,026
Mexico	51.8	48.2	1,245
Germany	46.8	53.2	1,435
Japan	46.2	53.8	693
Portugal	44.8	55.2	1,540
Canada	43.7	56.4	724
Philippines	42.9	57.1	1,065
Finland	36.5	63.5	1,032
Norway	36.2	63.9	1,029
Ireland	36.0	64.0	900
Belgium (Flanders)	35.3	64.7	1,088
Australia	33.1	66.9	1,557
Netherlands	31.2	68.8	648
Great Britain	31.1	68.9	671
United States	30.8	69.2	1,458
Switzerland	28.1	71.9	934
Sweden	24.0	76.0	1,110
Denmark	22.8	77.2	1,234
New Zealand	21.6	78.4	1,051
Dominican Republic	20.4	79.6	1,847
Total	45.28	54.72	35,897

sector/business employment is 54.72% across all 31 countries in the study. The average preference for public-sector/government employment is 45.28% across all countries. The nations with the highest preference for government employment are Cyprus (81.22%), Slovenia (74.31%), and South Korea (67.02%). Those nations with the lowest preference for public sector employment are the Dominican Republic (20.41%), New Zealand (21.60%), and Denmark (22.77%).

As illustrated in Figure 1, of the top ten nations with a majority preference for public-sector employment, six are in Central or Eastern Europe (Slovenia, Russia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Latvia). These nations were formerly communist regimes, in which government was the only employer. The strong preference for public sector employment suggests that there is a lingering effect of communism in these nations.

Section 4.2 Descriptive analyses of the independent variables

This section reports the descriptive results for each of the independent variables used in this study. Valid and invalid responses and percentage distributions are reported for each independent variable. Additional summary statistics, including mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum are also reported where appropriate.

Section 4.2.i Work motives

Four variables examining work motives are included in the analysis. Respondents indicate how important certain characteristics are in a job, which are thereby used to measure an individual's work motives. Work motive variables include *Job Security*, *High income*, *Helping other people*, and *Job useful to society*. Responses for the work motive variables are coded as binary responses, with 1 assigned to the response category "Very Important" and 0 assigned to all other responses.

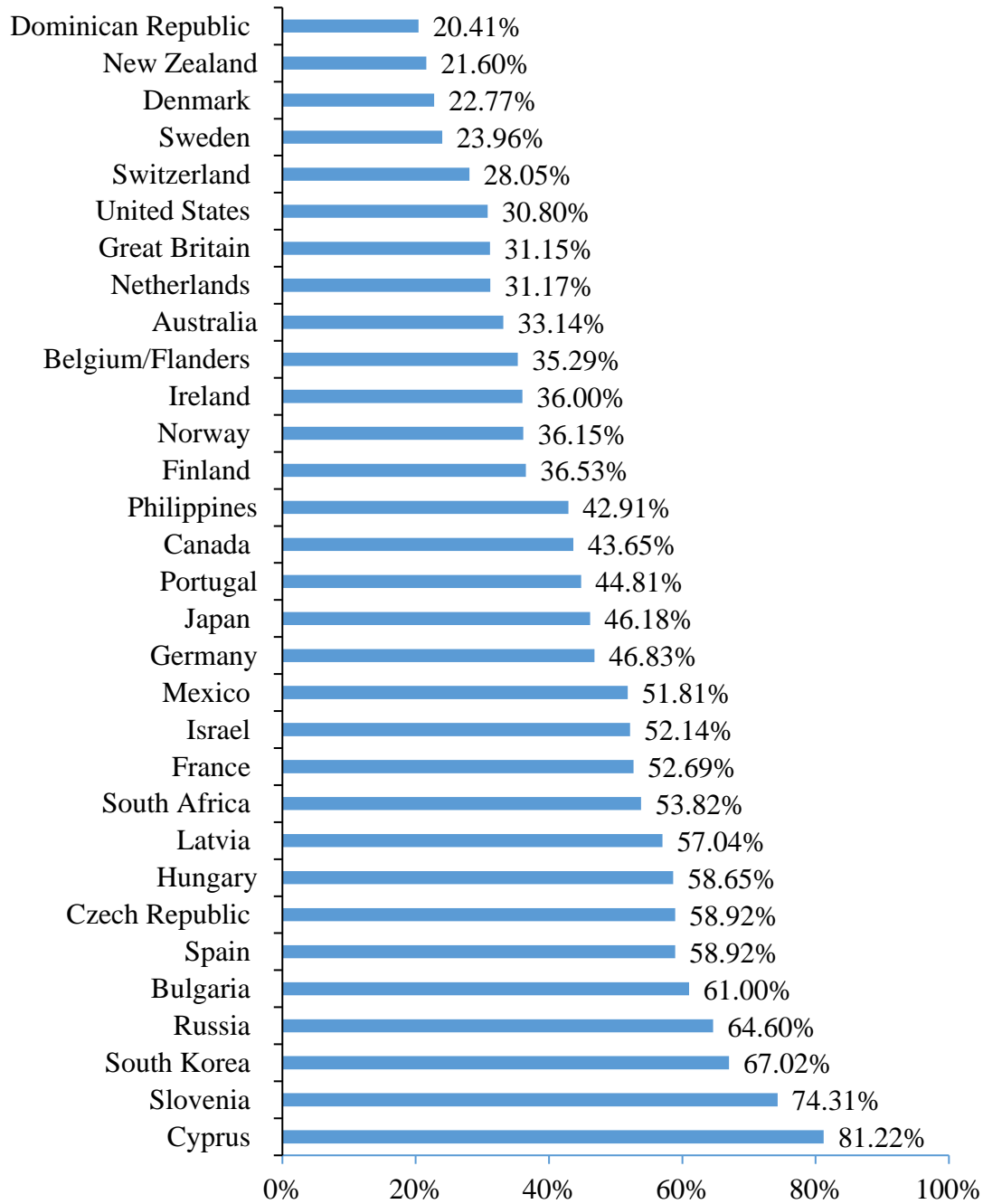


Figure 1. Percent of respondents who prefer government employment by country

The first work motive variable is *Job security*. There is a total of 1,002 invalid responses, or 2.4% of all responses. Missing data drops the total responses from 44,365 to 43,363. *Job security* has an overall mean score of 0.573 and standard deviation of 0.479. Percentage distributions by country for *Job security* indicate on average that nearly 58% of respondents across all countries believe job security to be “very important.” Figure 2 indicates that mean responses range from 31.92% (Denmark) to 80.1% (Ireland).

The second work motive variable is *High income* and has a total of 1,032 invalid responses, thus reducing the total number of valid responses to 41,204 or 2.4% of all observations. *High Income* has an overall mean of 0.351 and standard deviation is 0.432 for all countries. Percentage distributions by country for *High income* indicate on average that 40% of respondents across all countries believe high income to be a “very important” characteristic in a job. According to the percentage distributions in Figure 3, responses range from 6.75% (Netherlands) to 77.01% (Bulgaria). A cursory analysis suggests that the high income motive tends to be more important in less-economically developed nations (e.g. Bulgaria, Latvia, and the Philippines) than it is in more developed nations (e.g. Denmark, Netherlands, and Switzerland). Such disparity across countries is further reason to consider national economic context for this study (see Chapter 5).

The third work motive variable examined in this study is *Help other people*. There is a total of 1,211 invalid responses, which decreases the total number of valid response to 42,194 or 2.9% for all observations. In terms of summary statistics, the variable *Help other people* has an overall mean of 0.299 and an overall standard deviation of 0.438 for all 31 countries. Percentage distributions by country for *Help other people* indicate on average that 30% of respondents

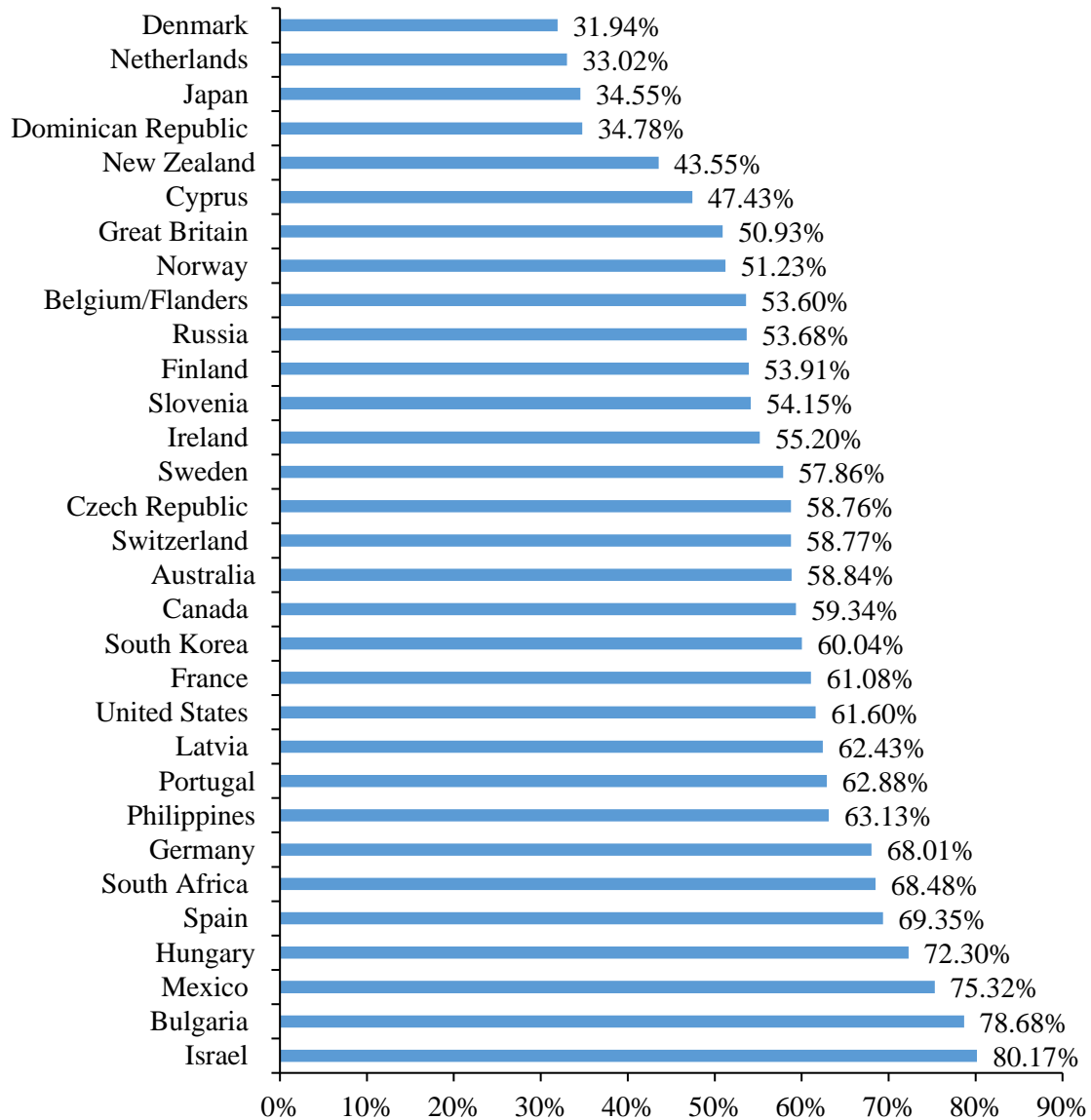


Figure 2. Percent of respondents who regard job security as “very important” by country

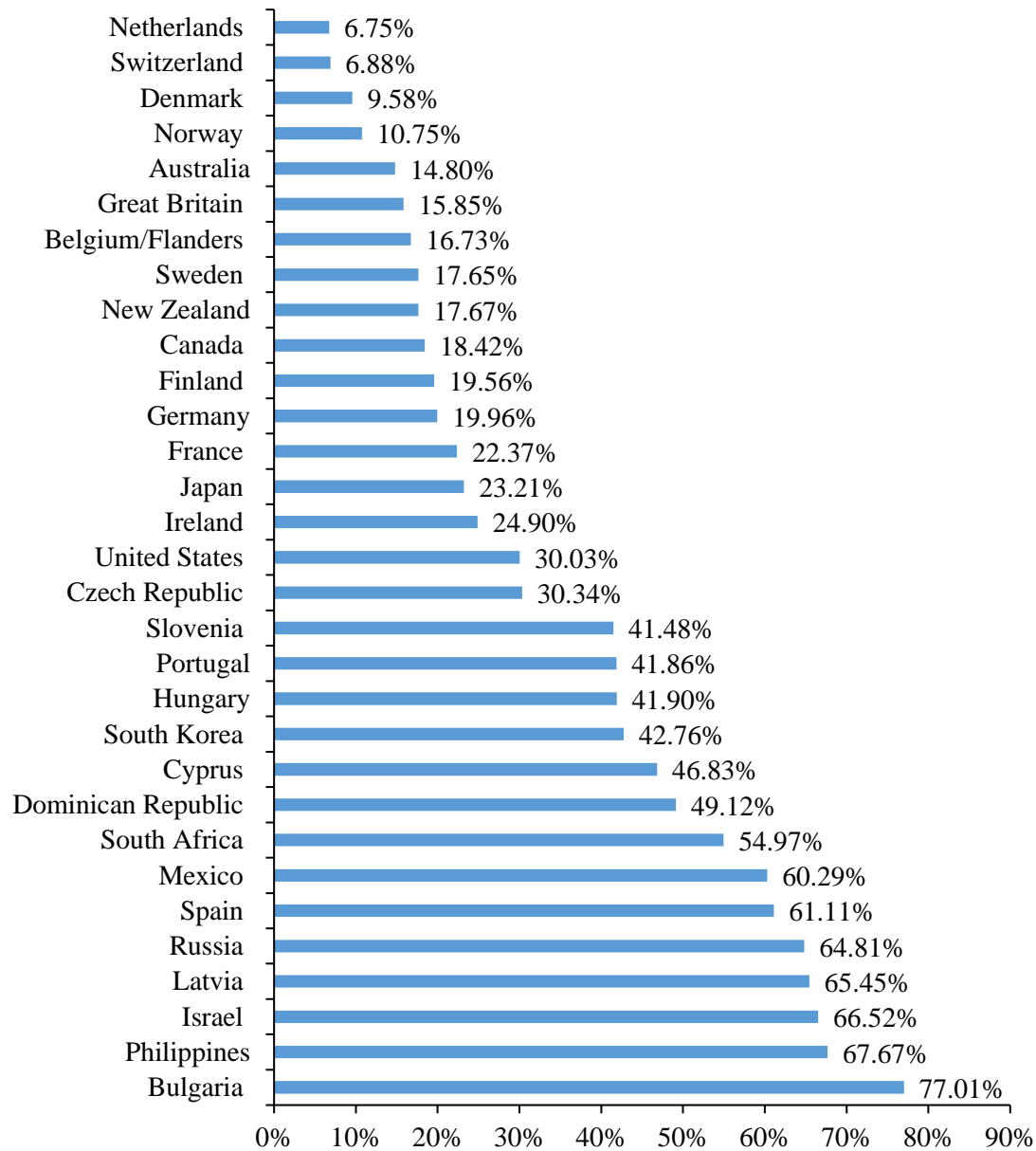


Figure 3. Percent of respondents who regard high income in a job as “very important” by country

across all countries believe helping other people to be a “very important” characteristic in a job. Figure 4 indicates that responses range from 14.73% (Japan) to 59.83% (Israel).

The final work motive variable is *Job useful to society*. On average, 3.0% of responses are missing across all countries. There is a total of 1,232 invalid responses, thus decreasing the total valid responses to 40,962. Descriptive analysis for this work motive indicates an overall mean of 0.289 and an overall standard deviation of 0.434 for all countries. Percentage distributions by country for *Job useful to society* indicate that on average 30% of respondents across all countries believe helping other people to be a “very important” characteristic in a job. Figure 5 indicates that responses range from 12.35% (Finland) to 57.02% (Israel).

Section 4.2.ii Work-life balance variables

Work-life balance is examined according to a series of responses in which individuals indicate if they would like to spend more or less time in certain activities. These activities include spending more or less time in a paid job, doing household work, with family, with friends, or in leisure activities. Variables are coded as binary response, with 1 = “spending a bit more time” or “much more time” and 0 = all other responses.

To begin, the work-life balance variable *Time in a paid job* is examined. Of the total responses, there are 8,820 invalid responses. Total valid responses are 33,975 as a result. Overall, 19.8% of responses are invalid for the 31 countries included in this study. Descriptive results indicate an overall mean score of 0.278 and an overall standard deviation of 0.407 for this variable. Percentage distributions by country for *Time in a paid job* indicate that on average 30% of respondents across all countries want to spend more time in a paid job. Figure 6 indicates that responses range from 10.27% (Denmark) to 72.72% (South Africa). Notably, many of the nations with the highest percentage of respondents indicating they want to spend more time in a

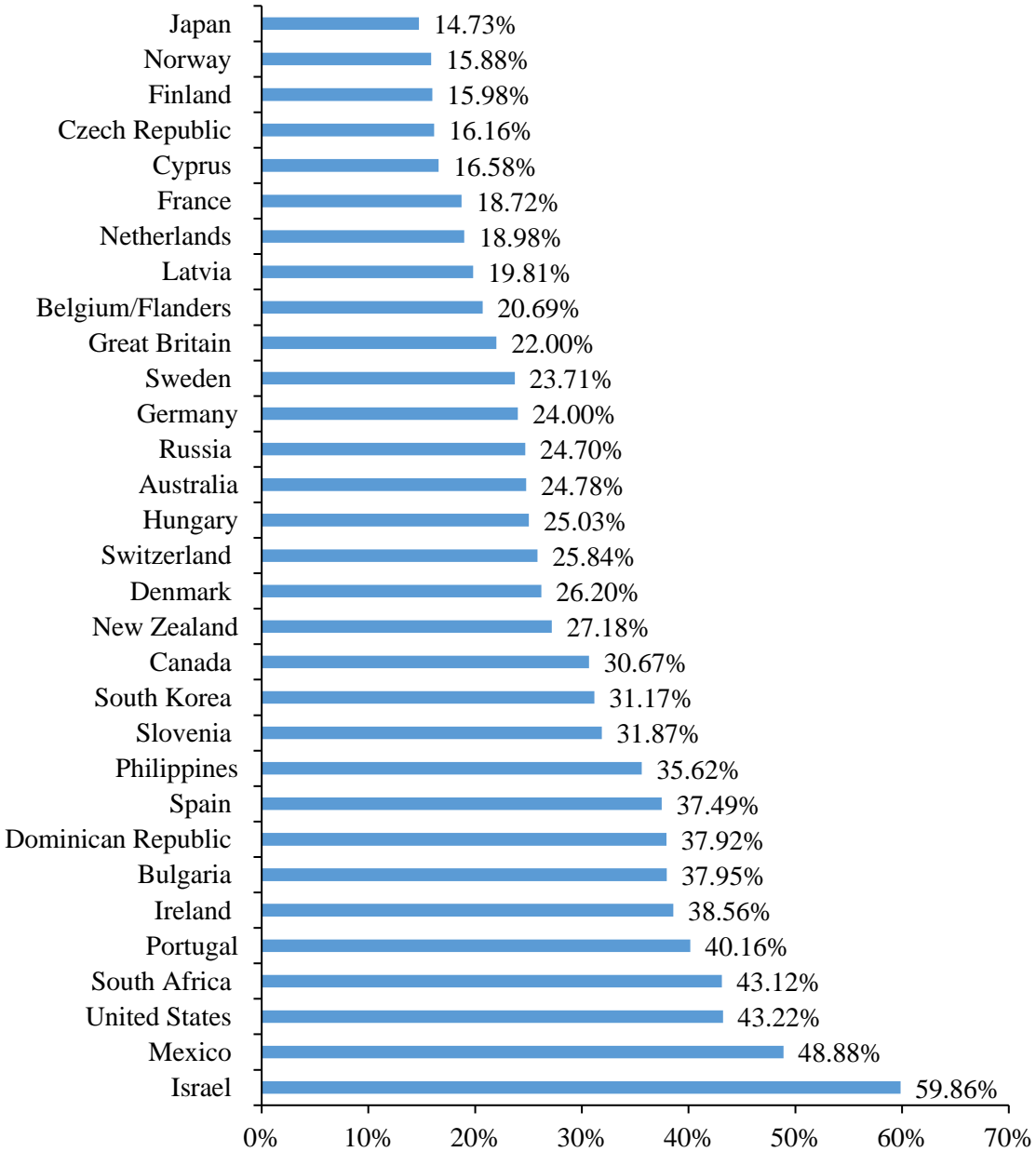


Figure 4. Percent of respondents who regard helping other people in a job as “very important” by country

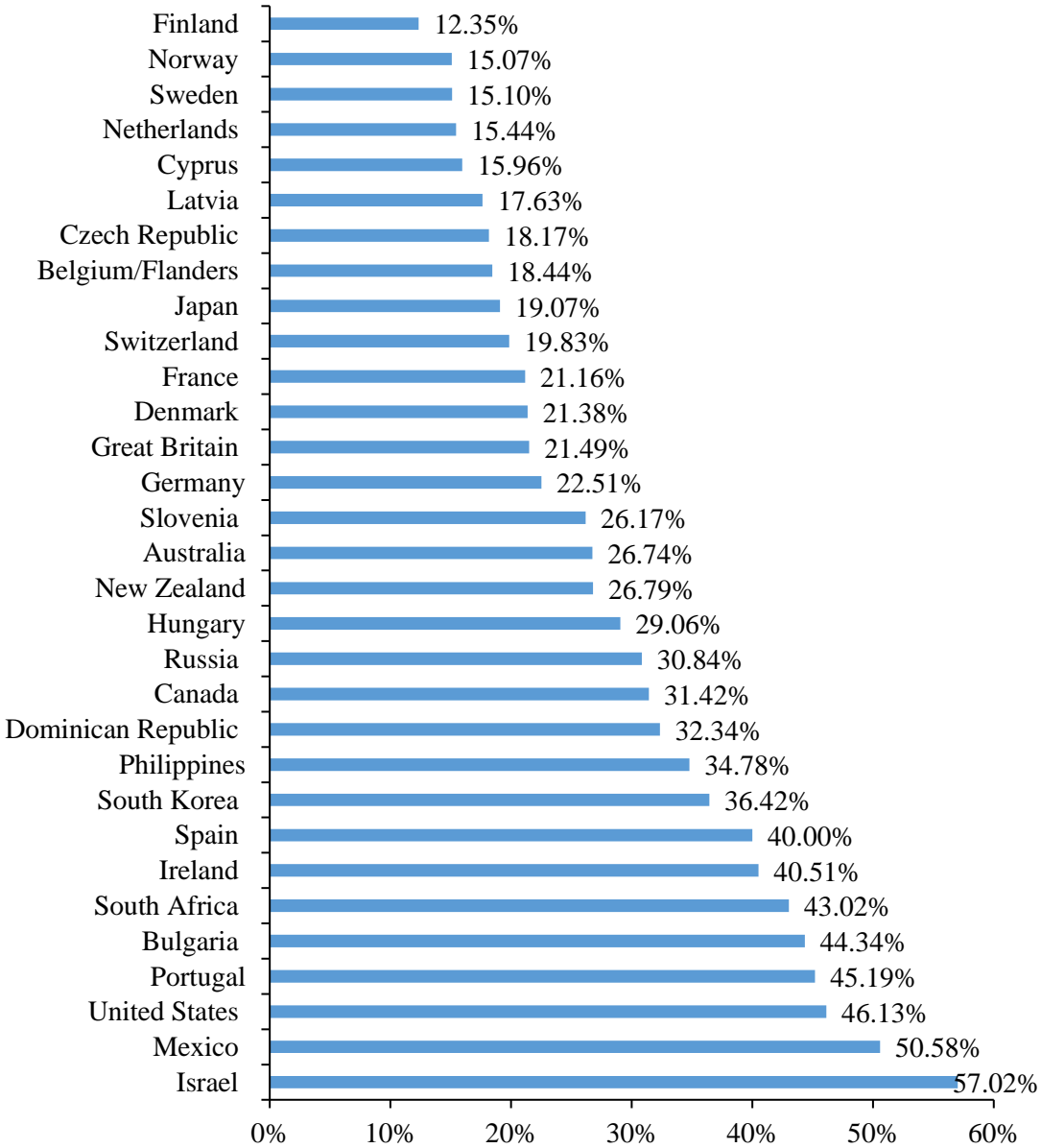


Figure 5. Percent of respondents who regard a job that is useful to society as “very important” by country

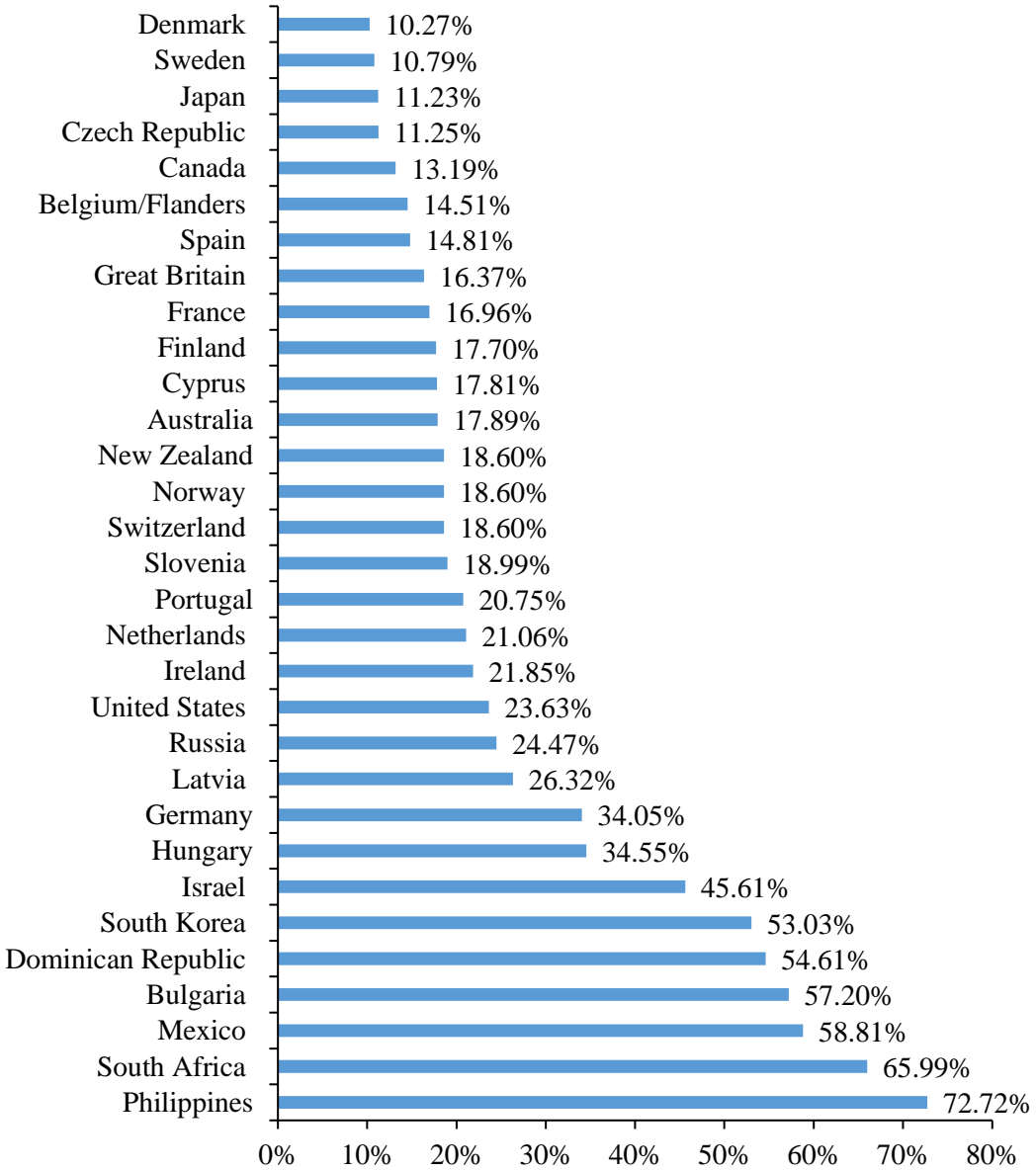


Figure 6. Percent of respondents who want to spend more time in a paid job by country

paid job appear to be less economically developed than are those nations with the lowest percentage of respondents indicating a preference to spend more time in a paid job. As with the distributions for the variable *High income*, national economic context seems to be an important consideration here as well.

Time doing housework is the second work-life balance variable analyzed in this study. It has a total of 2,642 invalid responses, thereby reducing the total valid responses to 39,552, or 6.6% across all countries. Descriptive results indicate an overall mean score of 0.232 and an overall standard deviation of 0.406. Percentage distributions by country for *Time doing housework* indicate that on average 24% of respondents across all countries want to spend more time doing household work. Figure 7 indicates that mean responses range from 9.46% (Cyprus) to 51.43% (Philippines). Less than 50% of respondents in all but one country (Philippines) want to spend more time doing household work. It is interesting to note that the nations in which the highest percentage of respondents expressing a desire to spend more time doing household work are similar to those nations in which respondents express a desire to spend more time in a paid job (e.g. the Philippines ranks as having the highest percentage for both variables).

The third variable examining work-life balance is *Time with family*. It has a total of 2,041 invalid responses, therefore reducing the total valid responses to 40,153, or 5.2% of all observations. Descriptive results indicate an overall mean score of 0.617 and an overall standard deviation of 0.470. Percentage distributions by country for the variable *Time with family* indicate that on average 63% of respondents across all countries want to spend more time with family. Figure 8 indicates that responses range from 25.33% (Cyprus) to 83.0% (United States). It should be noted that in all but three countries (Cyprus, Japan, and Bulgaria), 50% or more of the respondents indicate they want to spend more time with their families. Such results suggest a

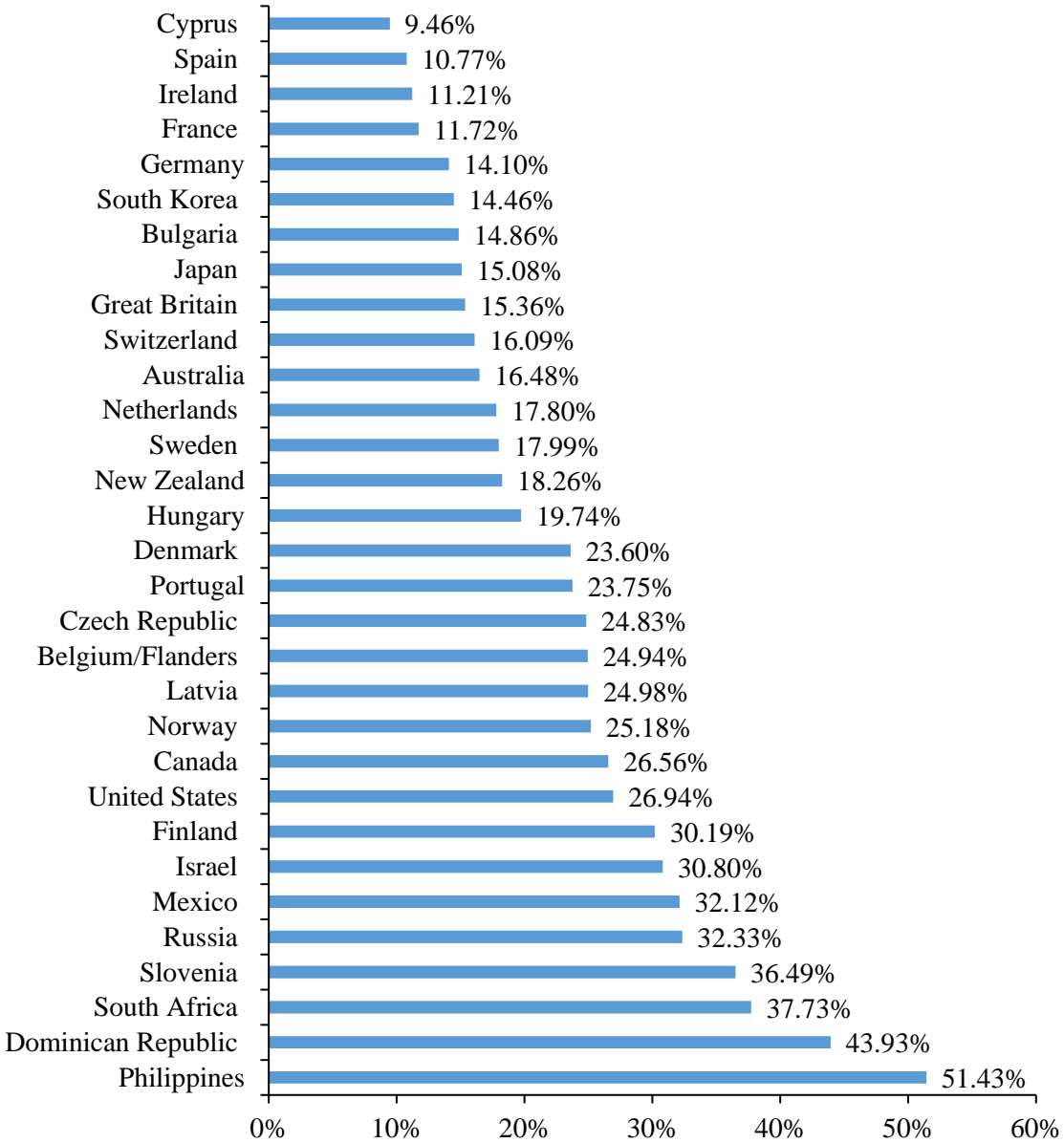


Figure 7. Percent of respondents who want to spend more time doing housework by country

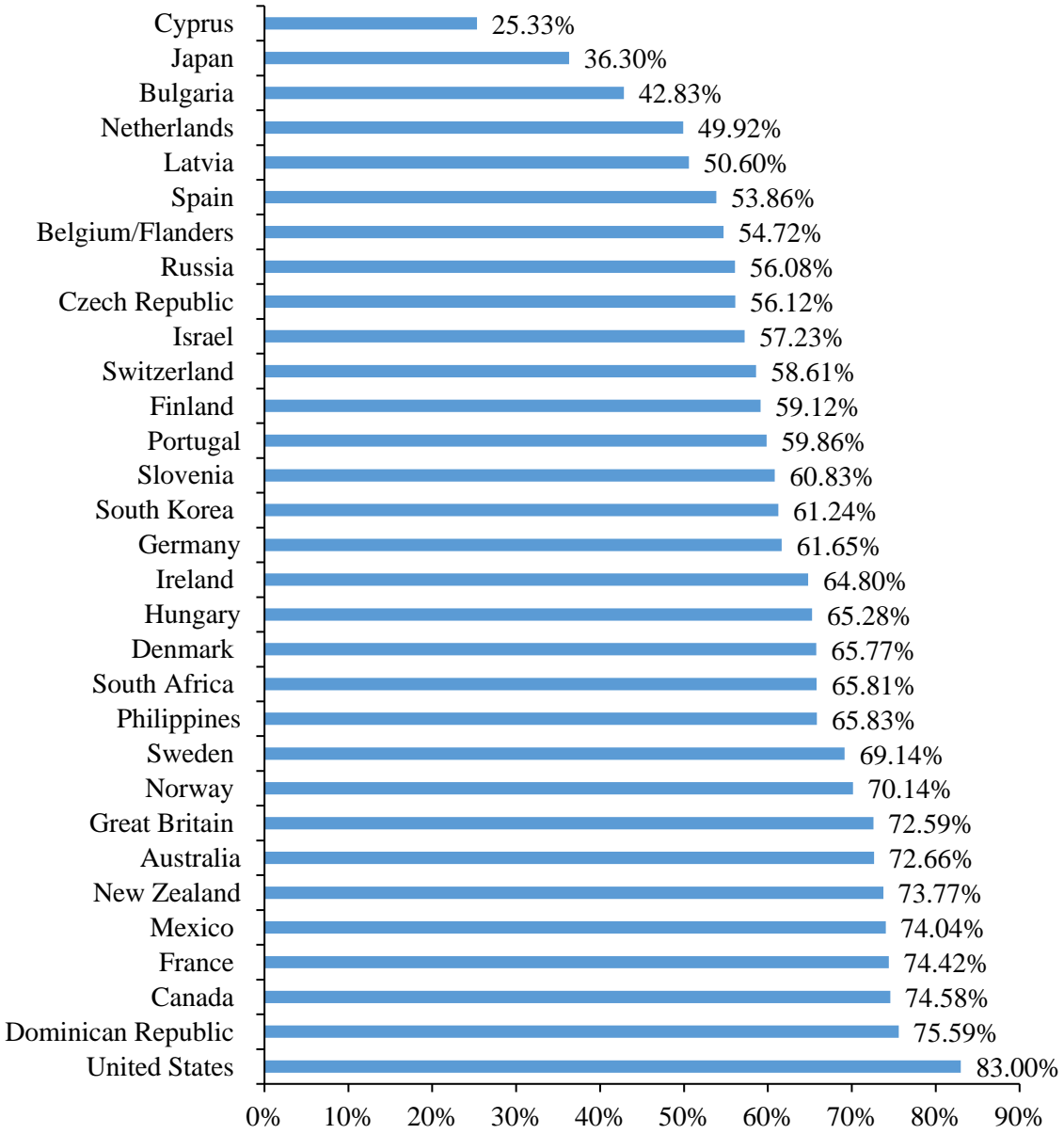


Figure 8. Percent of respondents who want to spend more time with family by country

general desire among the majority of individuals to devote more time to their families, thus implying an imbalance between individual's family lives and other commitments (i.e. work). However, a cursory comparison between spending more time in a paid job and spending more time with family does not reveal an outright inverse relationship. That is, the work-life balance equation may be more than just dividing time between work and family commitments, thus illustrating the need to include the other work-life balance variables in this study (e.g. *Time doing housework*, *Time with friends*, and *Time in leisure activities*). All together, these variables address the more dynamic nature of work-life balance; more so than just evaluating work and family-time commitments.

Time with friends is the fourth work-life balance variable in this study. The variable has a total of 1,807 invalid responses, thus bringing the total valid responses to 40,387, or 4.3% of the total for all observations. Descriptive results for *Time with friends* indicate an overall mean score of 0.514 and an overall standard deviation of 0.483. Percentage distributions by country indicate that on average, 50% of respondents across all countries want to spend more time with friends. As illustrated in Figure 9, responses range from 14.54% (Philippines) to 72.02% (Norway). Of particular interest is the overall finding that less developed nations appear to have a lower percentage of respondents who prefer to spend more time with their friends. This contributes further evidence suggesting that national characteristics (e.g. national economic conditions) influence an individual's preferences.

An additional work-life balance variable examined in this study is *Time in leisure activities*. This variable has a total of 1,984 invalid responses, reducing the total valid responses to 40,210, or 4.6% across all observations. Descriptive statistics report an overall mean score of 0.584 and an overall standard deviation of 0.471. See Figure 10 for percentage distributions.

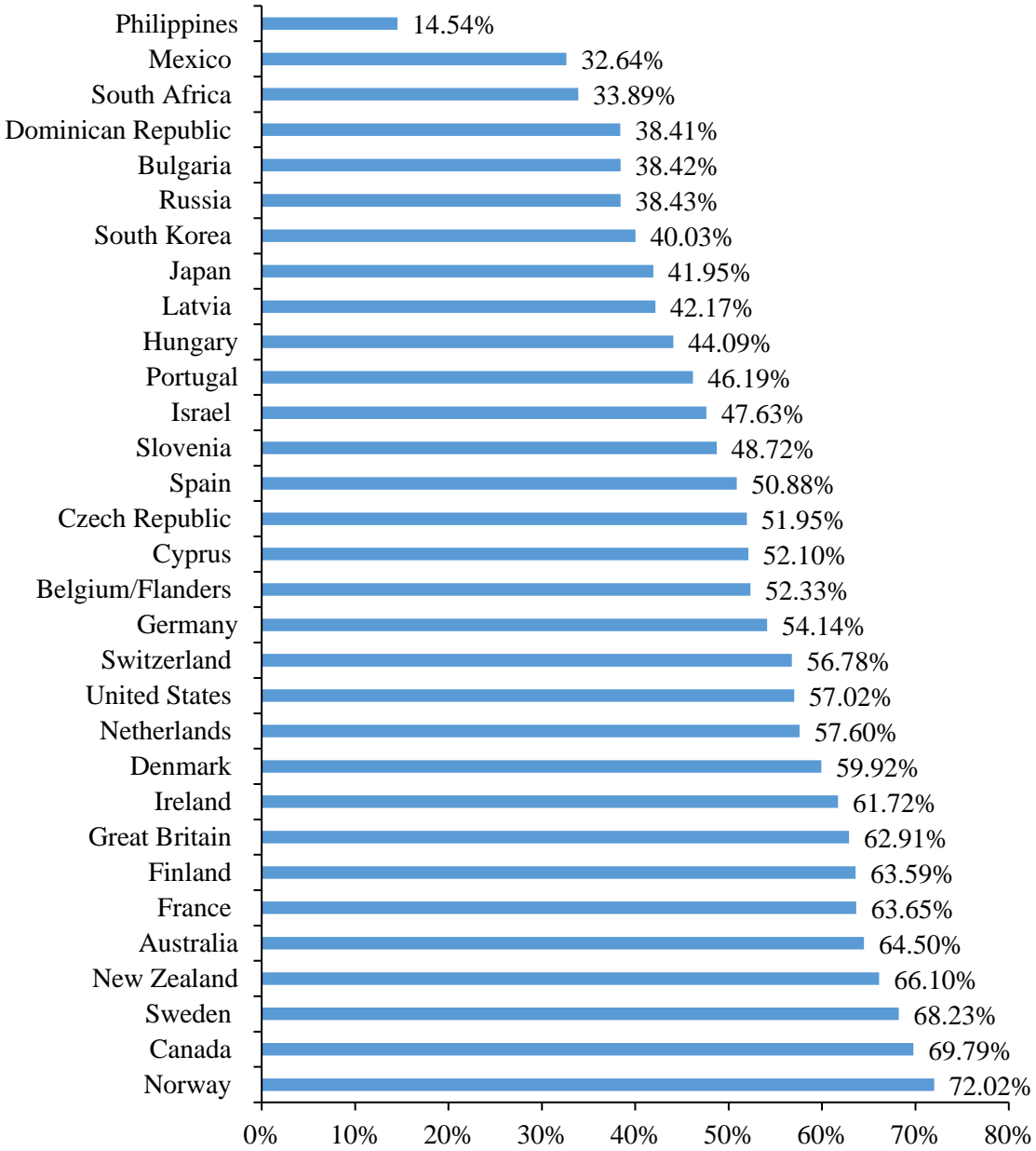


Figure 9. Percent of respondents who want to spend more time with friends by country

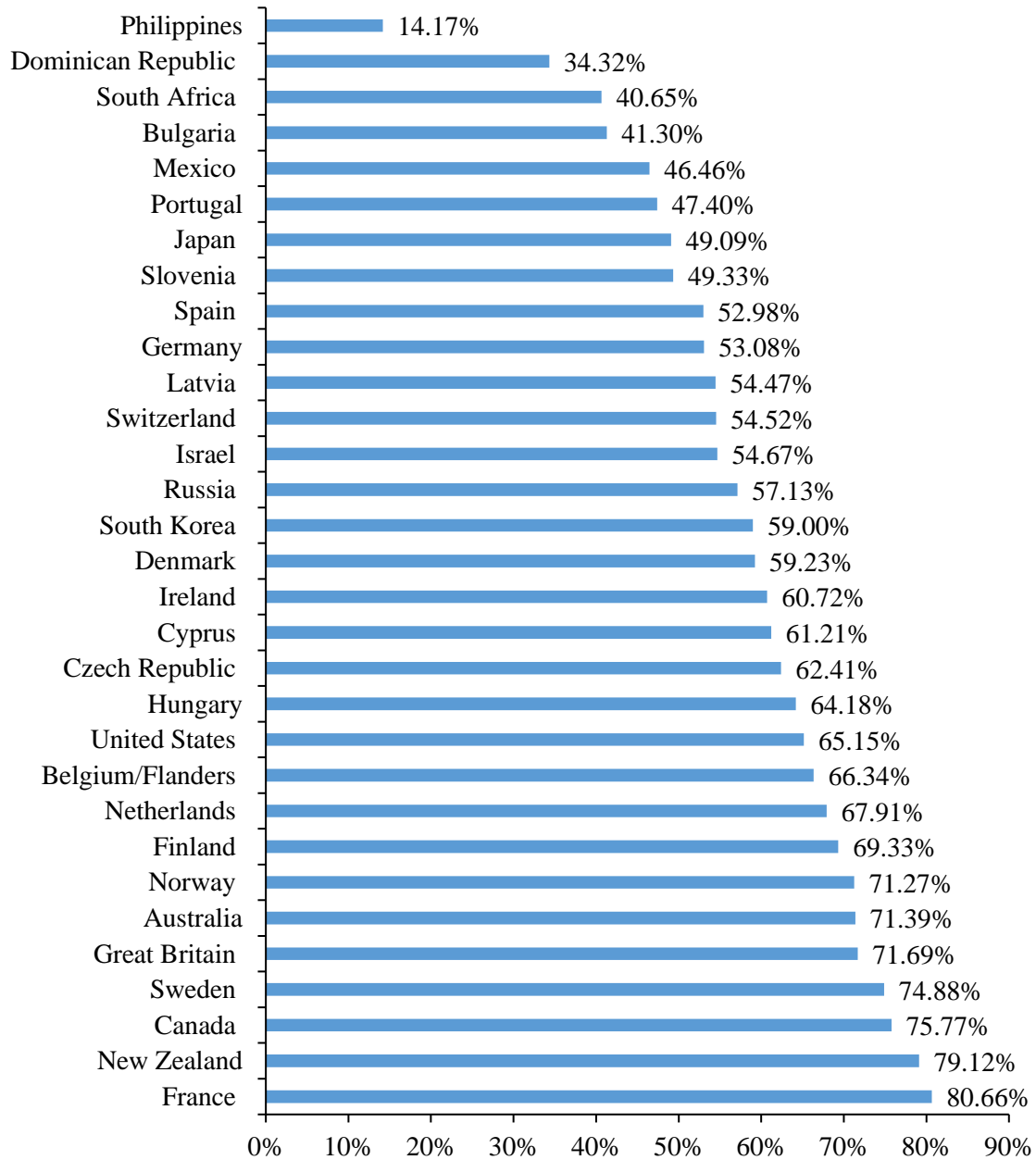


Figure 10. Percent of respondents who want to spend more time in leisure activities by country

On average 57% of respondents across all countries want to spend more time in leisure activities. Responses range from 14.17% (Philippines) to 80.66% (France). Just as with the variable *Time with friends*, responses for the variable *Time in leisure activities* suggest that respondents in less developed nations want to spend less time in leisure activities than respondents in more advanced nations do. Again, cross-national differences appear to influence results, even among the independent variables.

The final work-life balance variable analyzed in this study is *Full-time work*, with a total of 2,029 invalid responses. The invalid responses reduce the total valid responses to 40,165, or 4.9% across all observations. Descriptive statistics report an overall mean score of 0.571 and an overall standard deviation of 0.484. Percentage distributions by country for *Full-time work* indicate that on average 58% of respondents across all countries want a full time job of 30 hours or more per week. Figure 11 indicates that responses range from 37.73% (Switzerland) to 76.27% (South Africa). Similar to the other work-life balance variables, there appears to be a difference in the results for *Full-time work* according to a nation's economic and political development. A higher percentage of respondents in less developed nations appear to prefer full-time employment than respondents in more developed nations. Overall, a preliminary conclusion may be drawn, which suggests that individuals living in less developed nations desire more work than their peers in more developed nations.

Section 4.2.iii Socio-demographic variables

In addition to the work motive and work-life balance variables examined in this study, several socio-demographic correlates are included as control variables. Controls include *Female*, *Age*, *Education*, *Married*, *Government employment*, *Child in the household*, *Right political party*, and *Left political party*.

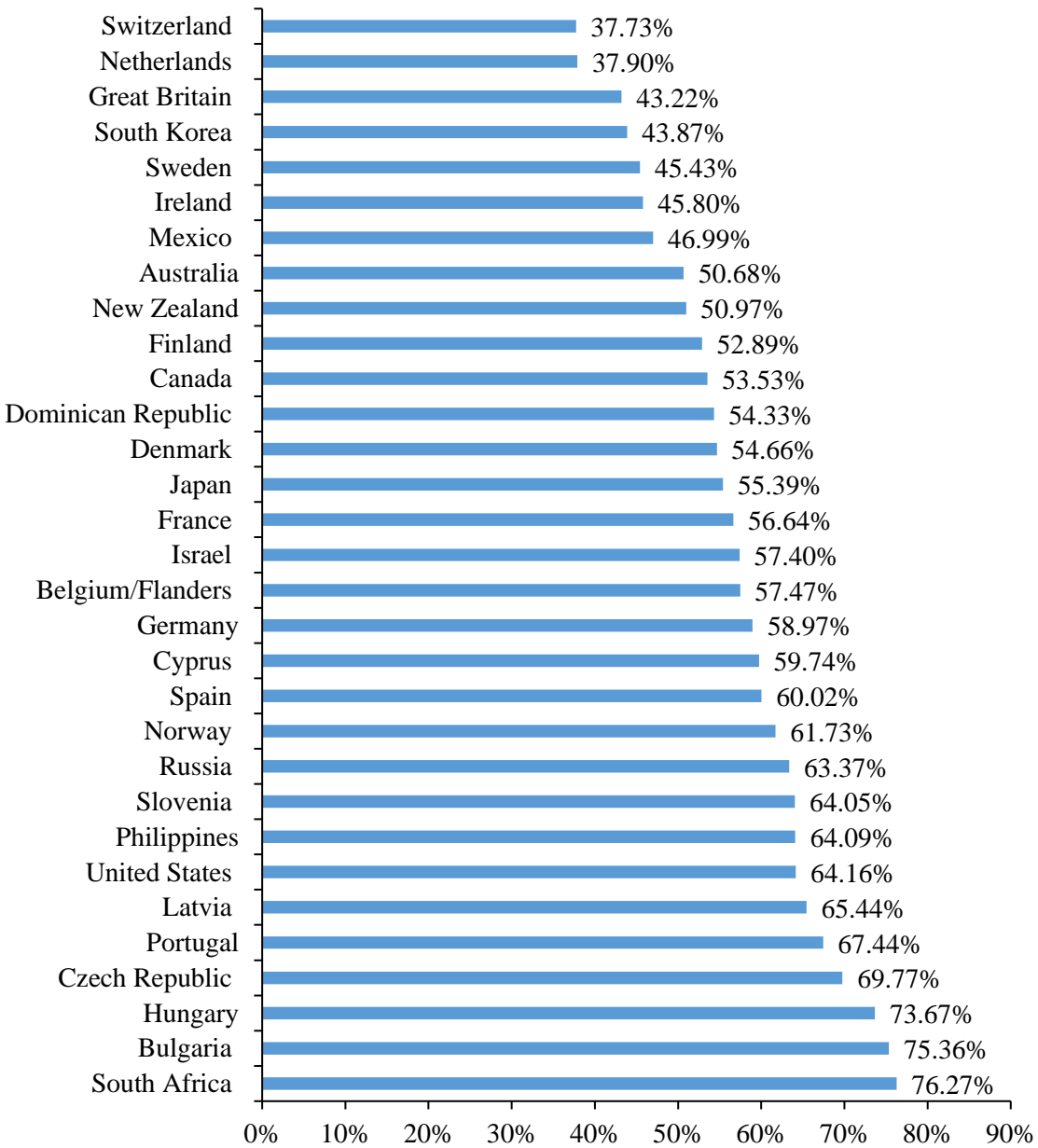


Figure 11. Percent of respondents who prefer full-time employment by country

First, the variable *Female* represents those respondents identifying their sex as female in the ISSP survey. Percentage distributions by country for *Female* indicate on average that 55% of respondents across all countries identify their sex as being female. According to Figure 12 responses range from 49.24% (Canada) to 62.79% (South Africa). In all but one of the countries (Canada) listed, females represent at least 50% of the population.

The second socio-demographic variable is *Age* and represents respondents' age in years. Descriptive statistics for *Age* are reported in Table 2 and indicate an overall average age of about 46 years. Mexico and the Dominican Republic have the lowest average age among their respondents at roughly 37 years. The highest average age is found in Japan with an average age of nearly 53 years.

The third socio-demographic variable, *Education*, represents respondents' education in years. Descriptive statistics for *Education* are reported in Table 3 and indicate an overall average age of about 12 years. Respondents in Portugal have the lowest average years of education at less than 8 years. Respondents in France report the highest average number of years of schooling at over 14 years.

Government employment is the fourth socio-demographic variable in this study. It is a binary variable which represents responses indicating if an individual is employed in government (=1) or private business (=0). There is a total of 9,164 invalid responses, thus reducing the total number of valid responses to 33,030 or 20.7% across all observations. Germany is missing 100% of the responses for this variable. The other nations with the highest percentage of invalid responses are Bulgaria (55%) and Israel (47.1%), as illustrated in Figure 13. Percentage distributions by country for *Government employment* indicate on average that 18.62% of respondents across all countries work for government. As illustrated in Figure 14, responses

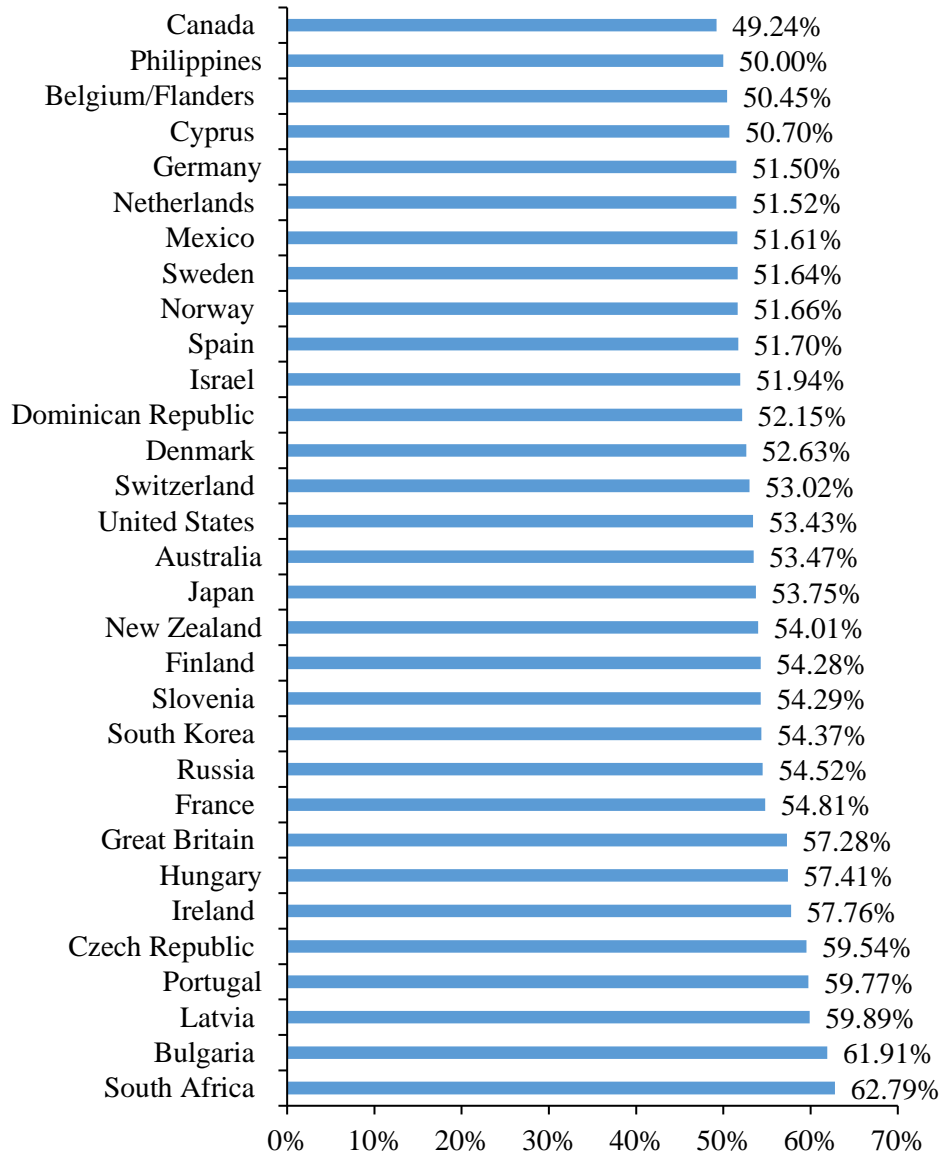


Figure 12. Percent of respondents who are female by country

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for age (in years) by country

Country	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Australia	1956	50.25256	16.75732	18	89
Belgium/Flanders	1338	46.19581	17.03695	18	85
Bulgaria	1117	50.3957	17.74403	18	89
Canada	870	51.55747	15.59944	18	89
Cyprus	1000	42.581	15.56739	18	74
Czech Republic	1172	45.62287	15.92825	18	89
Denmark	1598	46.86483	14.6231	18	89
Dominican Republic	1958	37.89888	15.76948	18	89
Finland	1345	45.43271	16.30349	15	75
France	1620	45.28765	15.516	18	89
Germany	1699	49.34197	17.18904	18	89
Great Britain	913	51.02081	17.83854	18	89
Hungary	1010	49.13069	18.30067	18	89
Ireland	991	46.64682	17.27228	18	89
Israel	1152	46.23958	18.8599	18	89
Japan	921	52.70793	18.35728	16	89
Latvia	1067	45.32427	16.17516	18	74
Mexico	1401	37.17202	14.45341	18	87
Netherlands	925	48.48108	15.23058	19	89
New Zealand	1309	47.88617	16.70485	18	88
Norway	1322	44.42133	14.43543	18	79
Philippines	1200	41.80833	15.18921	18	89
Portugal	1837	49.2945	18.53216	18	89
Russia	1605	44.63427	16.85667	18	88
Slovenia	1001	46.4036	17.60031	18	89
South Africa	2878	40.4795	16.29746	16	89
South Korea	1613	44.61934	16.60141	18	89
Spain	1203	45.46218	17.97222	18	89
Sweden	1371	46.70314	16.37004	18	79
Switzerland	1078	49.93321	17.43589	18	89
United States	1508	47.1313	16.40346	18	89
Total	41978	46.35263	16.61037	15	89

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for education (in years) by country

Country	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Australia	1912	13.37343	3.784029	0	21
Belgium/Flanders	1246	12.49599	3.360469	0	21
Bulgaria	1091	11.32997	3.635353	0	21
Canada	868	13.8341	3.677311	1	21
Cyprus	925	11.36216	3.721599	0	20
Czech Republic	1212	12.23762	2.146486	5	21
Denmark	1205	13.55021	3.388741	6	21
Dominican Republic	1752	8.75742	4.474045	0	19
Finland	1034	12.206	4.454907	1	21
France	1521	14.15845	3.563043	5	21
Germany	1631	10.80625	3.18073	0	18
Great Britain	899	12.09232	2.805367	6	21
Hungary	965	11.68808	3.584069	0	21
Ireland	966	12.63251	3.53554	0	21
Israel	1116	12.87814	3.305577	0	21
Japan	819	12.1514	2.820035	0	21
Latvia	953	12.41238	3.041543	2	21
Mexico	1264	9.587025	5.015449	0	21
Netherlands	866	13.9515	3.666118	6	21
New Zealand	1300	13.53462	3.248905	0	18
Norway	1316	13.58739	2.893674	9	21
Philippines	1192	9.045302	3.775118	0	21
Portugal	1778	7.424072	5.01569	0	21
Russia	1435	11.55889	3.276834	0	21
Slovenia	889	11.18785	3.265922	0	21
South Africa	2884	9.169903	4.099218	0	21
South Korea	1428	11.04972	4.810601	0	18
Spain	1053	10.10541	5.054014	0	21
Sweden	1277	11.852	3.902518	0	21
Switzerland	1042	10.78215	3.227158	2	21
United States	1511	13.10986	3.242696	0	20
Total	39350	11.7391	3.644283	0	21

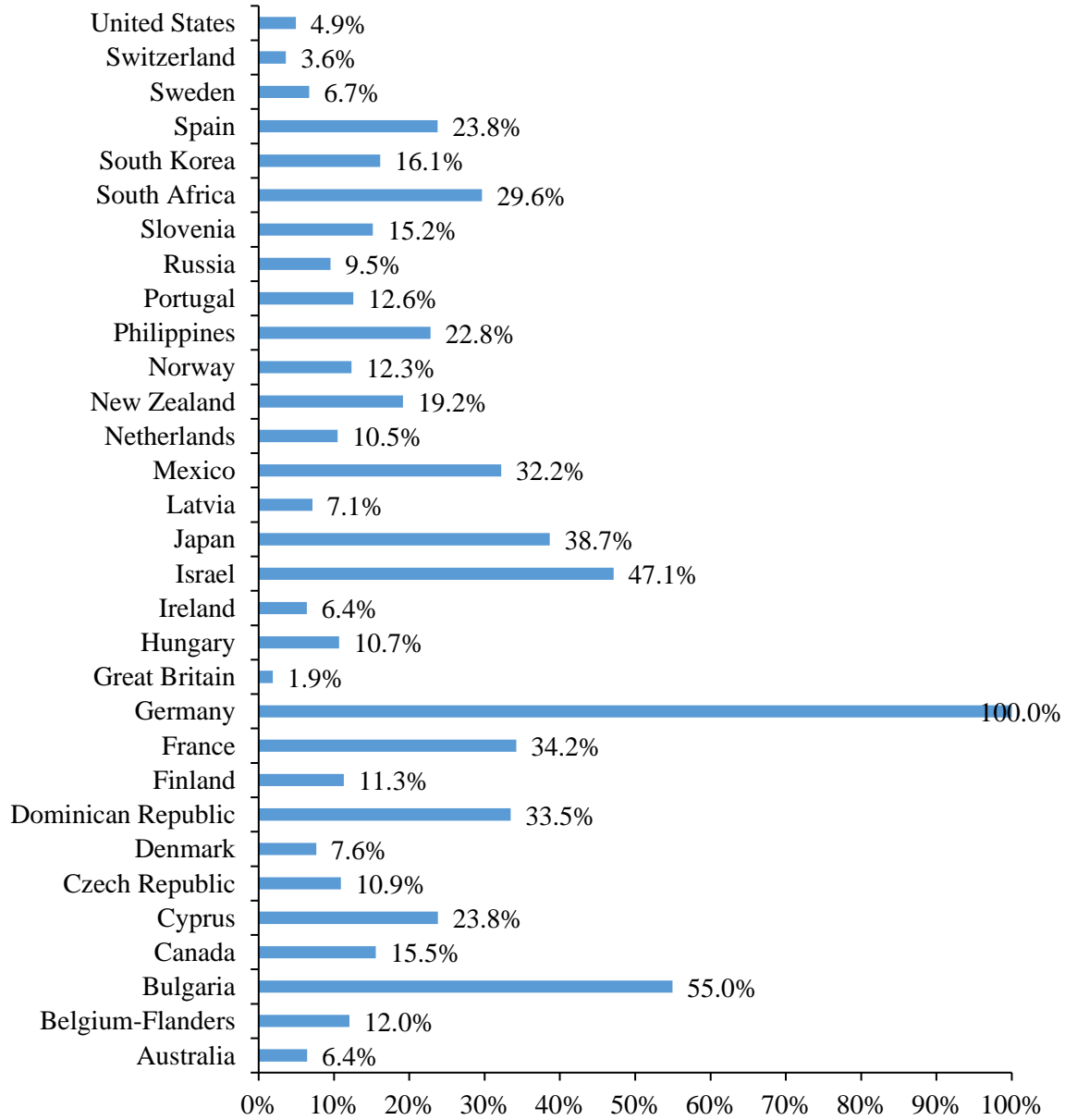


Figure 13. Percent of respondents with missing data for government employment by country

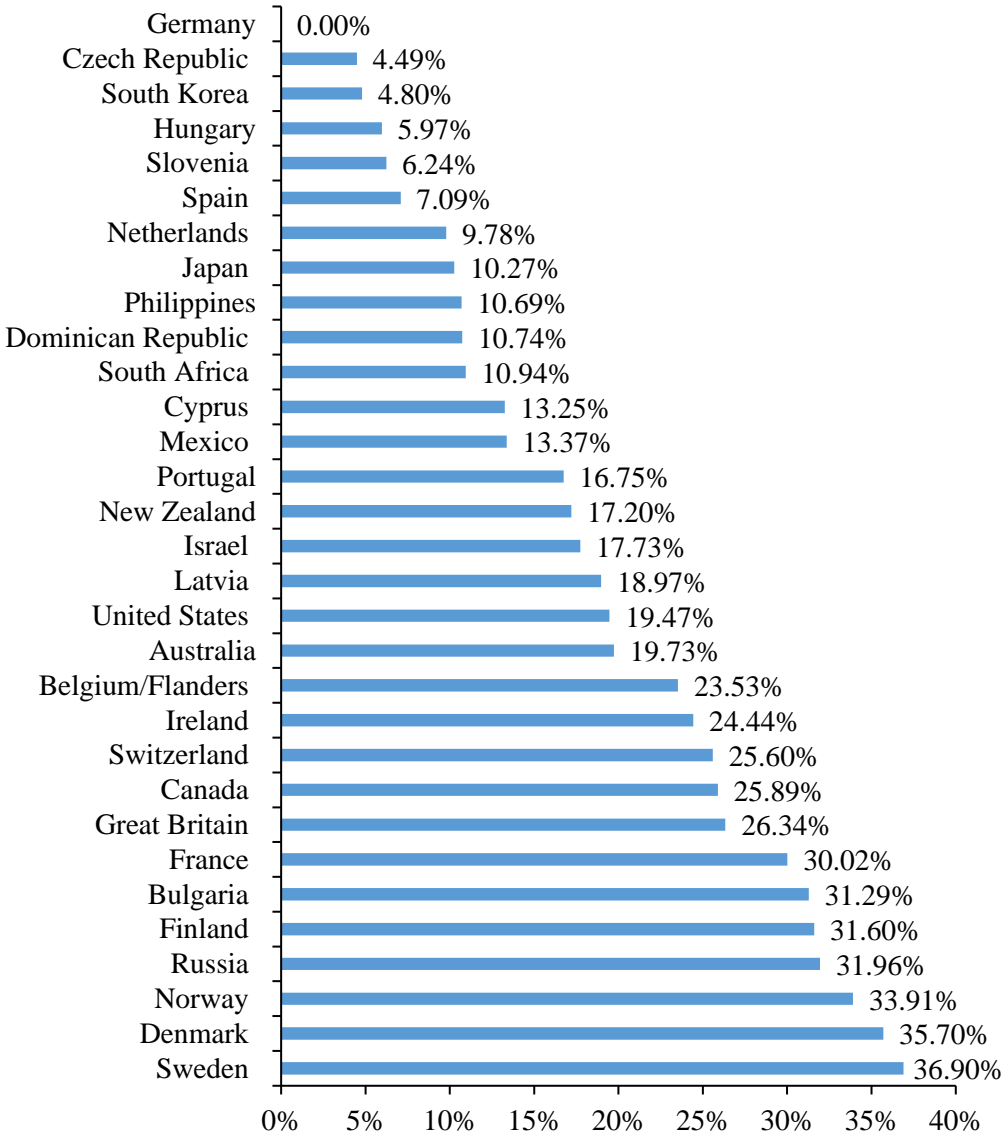


Figure 14. Percent of respondents who work in government by country

range from 4.49% (Czech Republic) to 36.90% (Sweden). Notably, the three nations with the highest percentage of people employed by government are Scandinavian (Sweden, Denmark, and Norway).

Finally, the variable *Religious attendance* is a binary variable with those attending religious services at least once per month coded as 1, and those who do not attend services or do so less frequently coded as 0. There is a total of 1,805 invalid responses for this variable. On average, about 30% of respondents across all countries report attending religious services at least once per month. The percentage distributions illustrated in Figure 15 indicate that response range 6.13% (Denmark) to 87.11% (Philippines). Only five nations (Philippines, South Africa, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Ireland) report at least 50% of their respondents attending religious services at least once per month.

Section 4.2.iii Political party affiliation

This study also examines the influence of political attitudes on the preference for government employment. Political attitudes are operationalized by responses to a question asking individuals about the political party with which they identify. The ISSP has categorized each political party for each country along a liberal-conservative (or left-right) continuum. There are a total of 13,463 invalid responses for political party affiliation across all responses along a left-right continuum, thus reducing the total number of valid responses to 28,731 or 28.4% of all observations. According to Figure 16 Belgium, France, Israel, Russia, and South Africa are missing 100% of the responses for political party affiliation. Individuals identifying with a left-leaning political party are reported using the variable *Left political party*. Percentage distributions by country for *Left political party* indicate on average that 32% of respondents

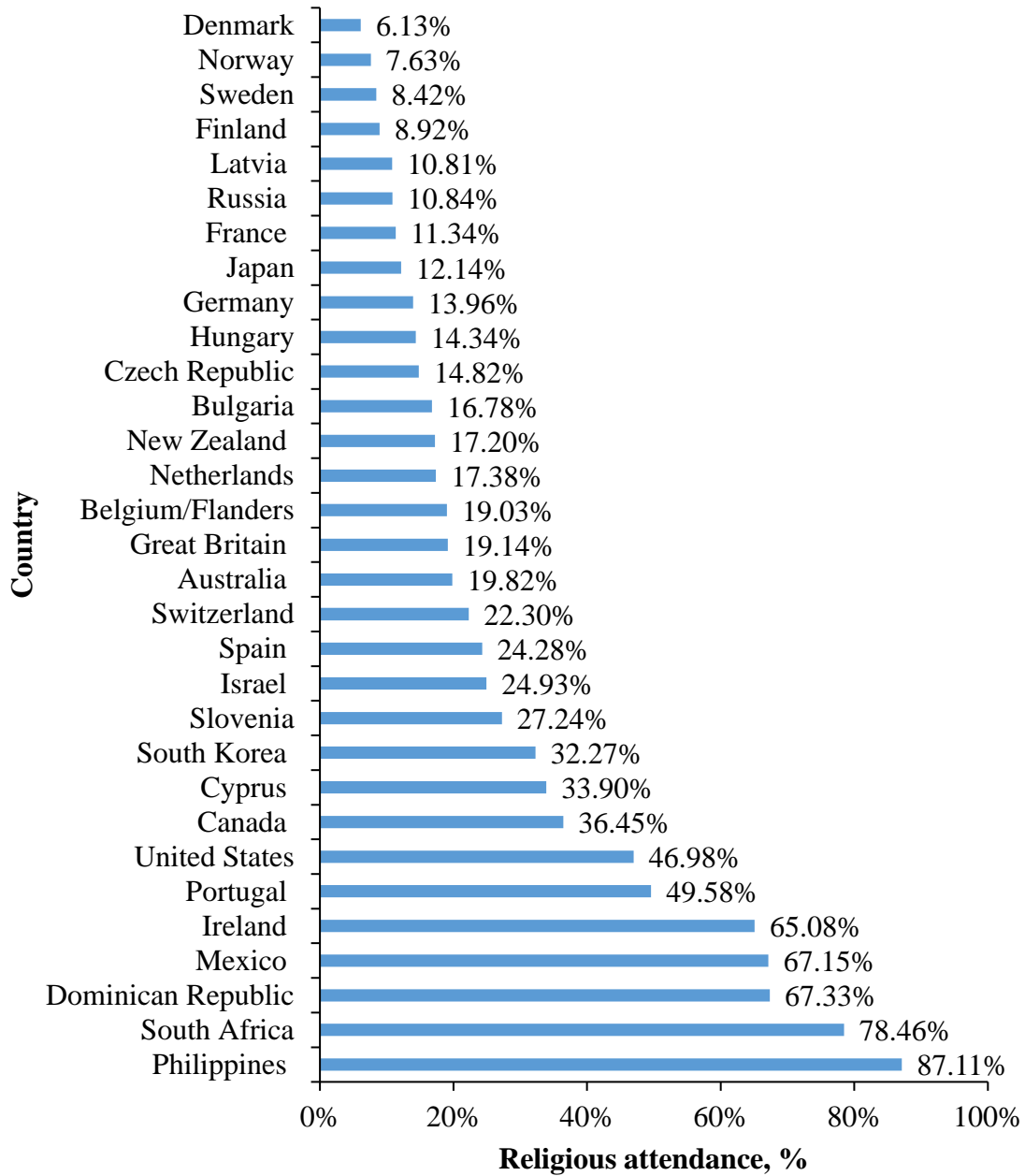


Figure 15. Percent of respondents who attend religious services at least once per month by country

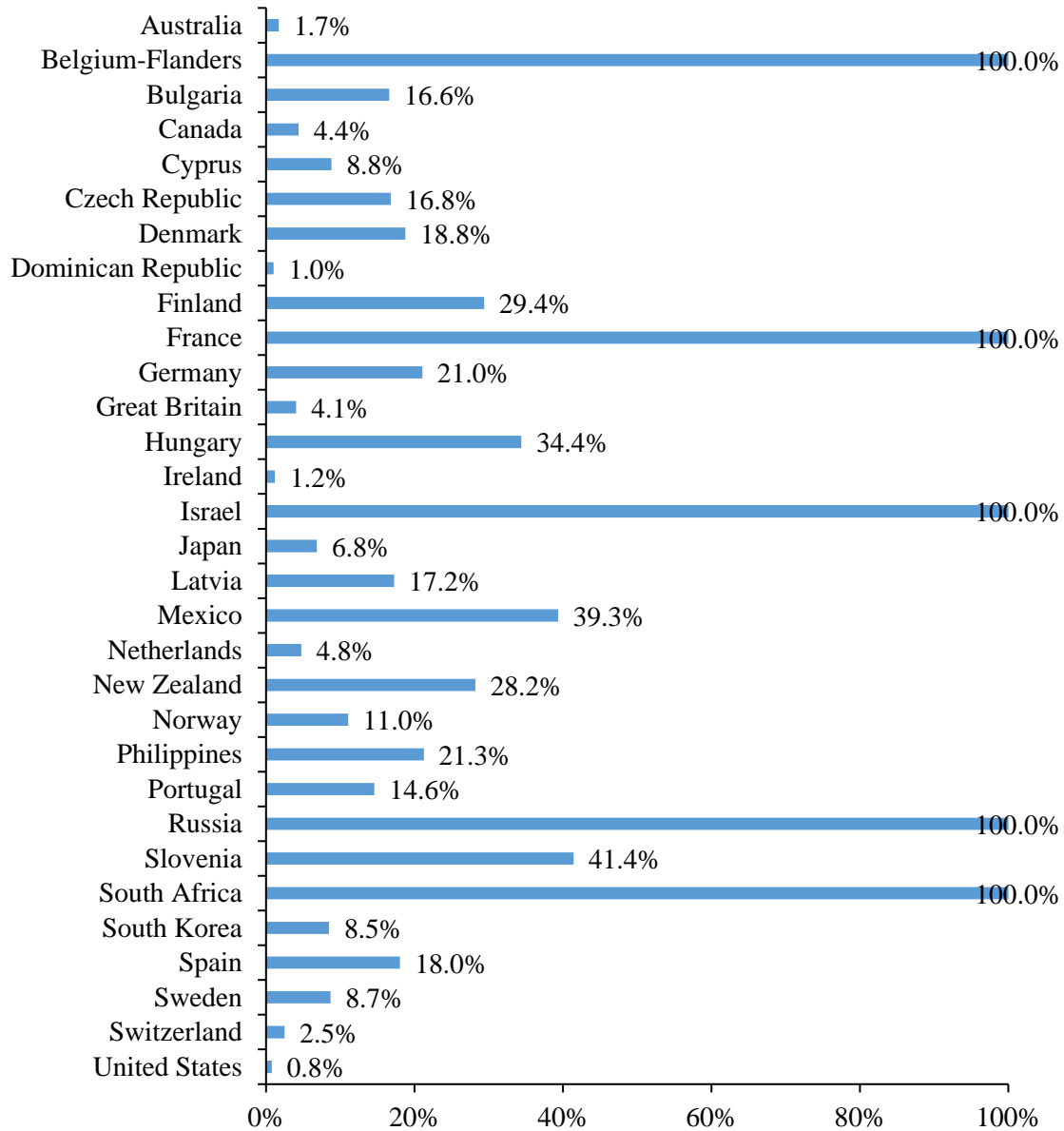


Figure 16. Percent of respondents with missing data for political party identification by country

across all countries identify with a “left,” “center left,” or “far left” political party as coded by ISSP coders. Figure 17 indicates that responses range from 3.26% to less than 20% of respondents identify with a left-leaning political party in Japan, the Philippines, Latvia, Canada, New Zealand, and Switzerland.

Individuals identifying with a right-leaning political party are reported using the variable *Right political party*. Percentage distributions by country for *Right political party* indicate on average that 27% of respondents across all countries identify with a “right,” “conservative,” or “far right” political party as coded by ISSP coders. Figure 18 indicates that responses range from 1.47% (Portugal) to 47.53% (Denmark). Less than 40% of respondents identify with a right-leaning political party in all but Denmark, Hungary, and Australia. It should also be noted that Portugal has only 23 respondents identifying with a right-leaning political party and Latvia has only 77. Such low responses may present challenges when estimating the regression models.

Family-Related Socio-Demographic Variables

Given the centrality that family plays in the work-life balance equation, family-related socio-demographic variables are examined in this study. The variable *Child in the household* is a binary variable representing respondents living with at least one child in their household (=1). Individuals without any children living in the household are coded as 0. Percentage distributions by country for *Child in the household* indicate on average that nearly 42% of respondents across all countries have at least one child in their household. Figure 19 illustrates that responses range from 25.77% (Great Britain) to 75.42% (the Philippines). Just as with the variable *Child in the household*, whether or not an individual is married is controlled for with a family-related socio-demographic variable.

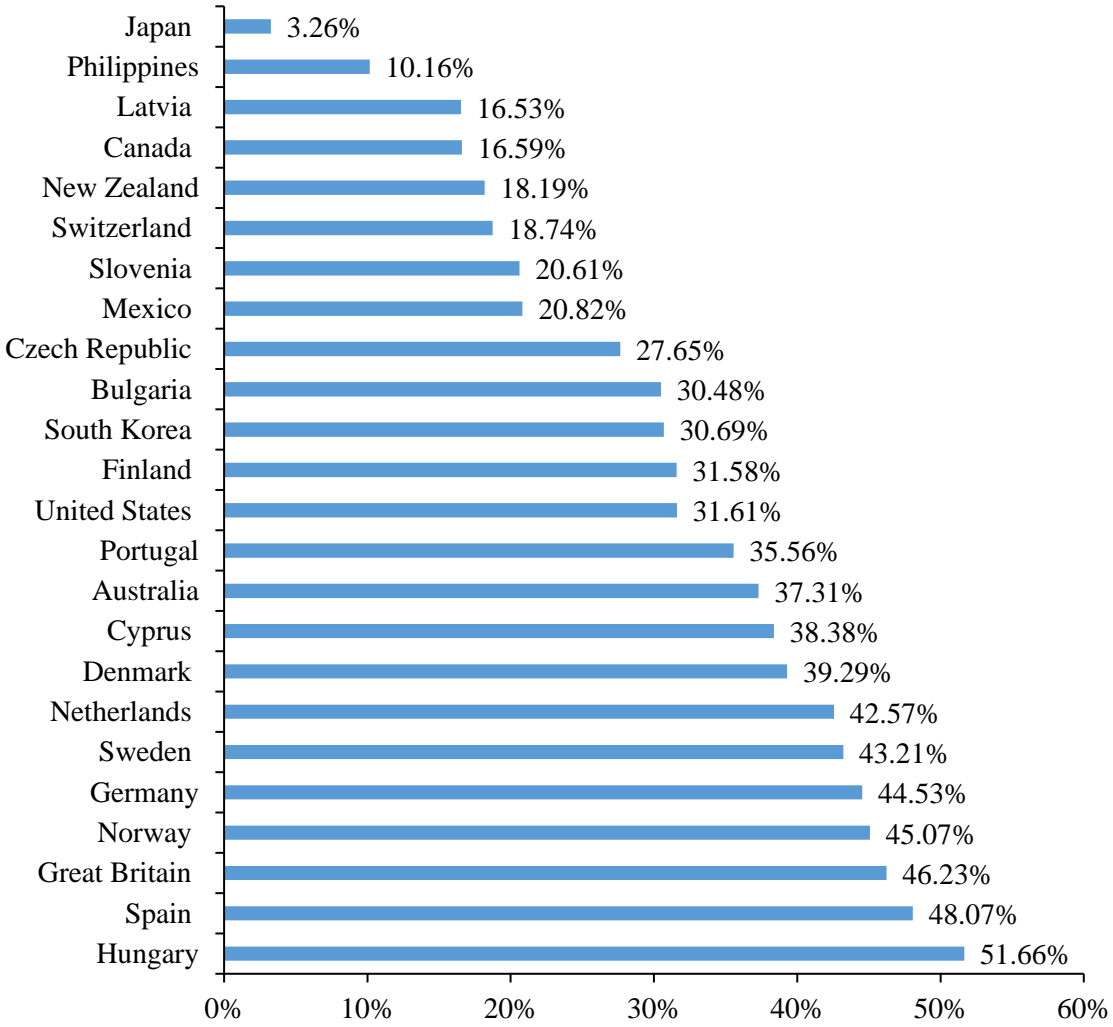


Figure 17. Percent of respondents who identify with a left-leaning political party by country

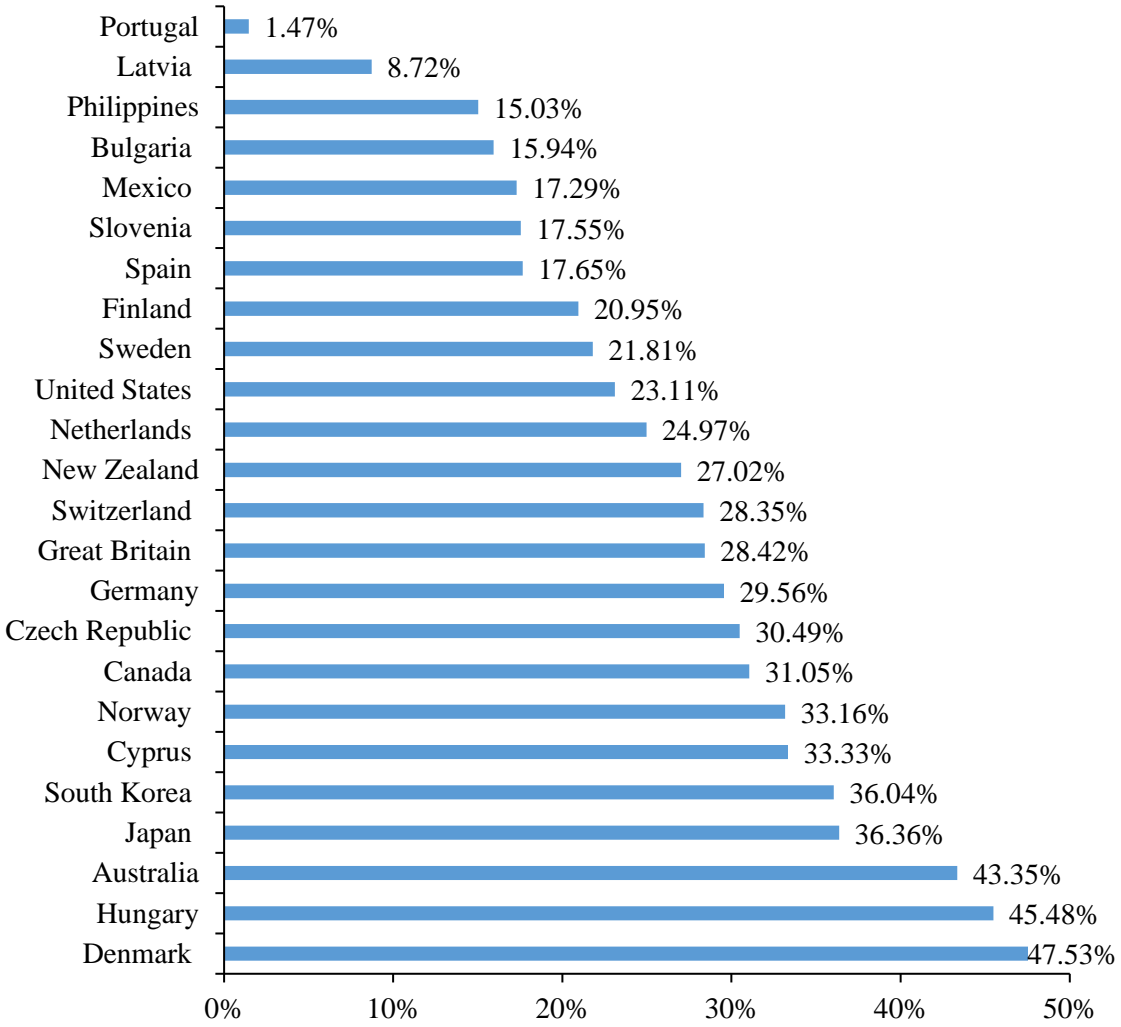


Figure 18. Percent of respondents who identify with a right-leaning political party by country

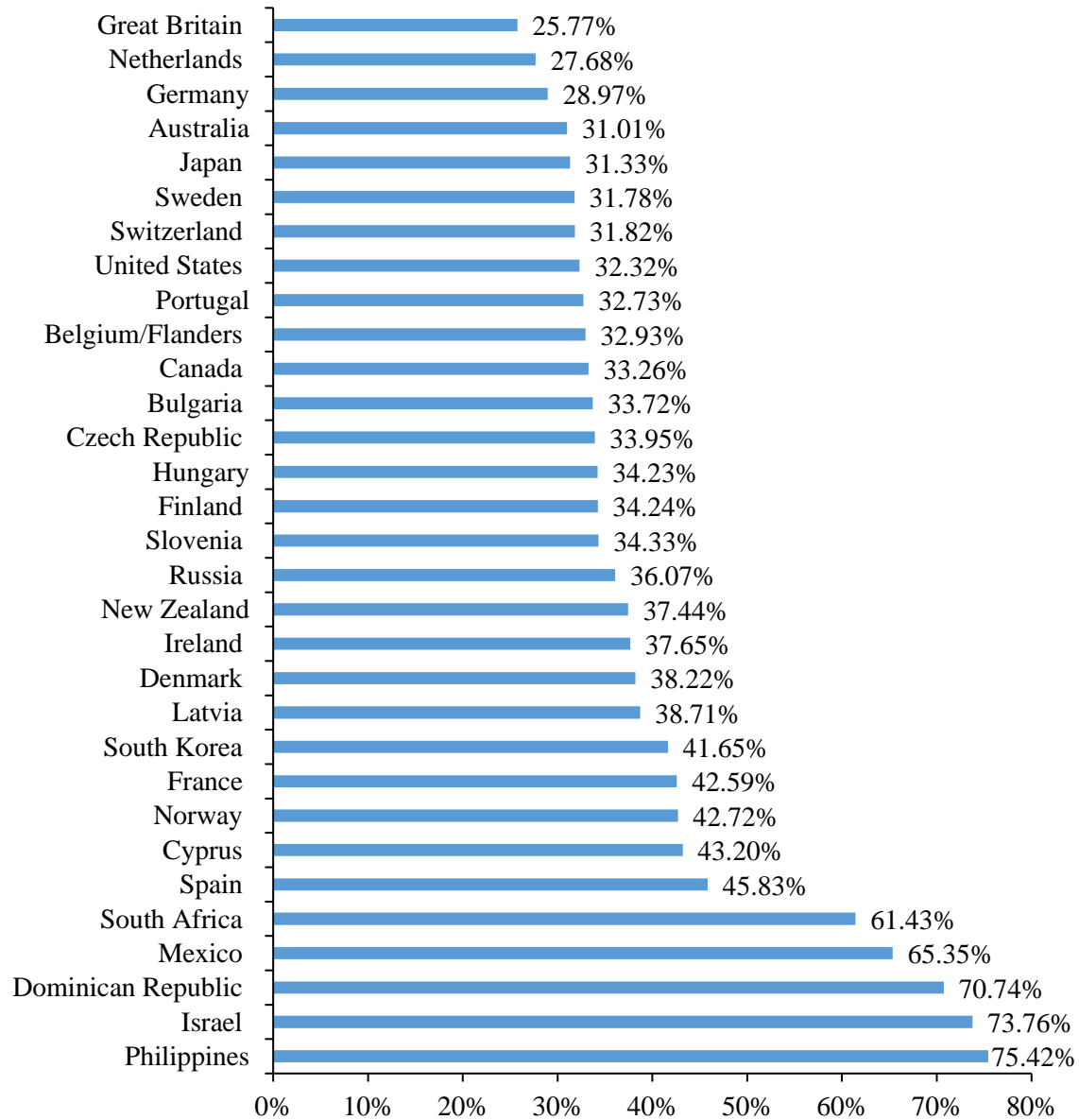


Figure 19. Percent of respondents with a child in the household by country

The variable *Married* is a binary variable which identifies respondents who reported being married or living as married (1). Other responses are coded as 0. Percentage distributions by country for *Married* indicate on average that 57 % of respondents across all countries are either married or living as married. Per the results illustrated in Figure 20 at least 50% of respondents are married or living as married in all but two countries (the Dominican Republic and South Africa). Responses range from 21.98% (Dominican Republic) to 70.48% (Sweden).

Section 4.2.iv Individual-level unemployment variables

In addition to the above socio-demographic variables, this study also examines key individual-level economic variables. The first of these is the variable *Unemployed*, which reports the responses of those individuals who are unemployed due to being dismissed, early retirement, or their contract/term of employment ending. These responses are only completed by individuals who report not being employed at the time of the survey. The responses do not report unemployment rates as a percentage of the total population, but rather the reasons for why an individual is unemployed, specifically those individuals who are unemployed not by choice. This variable has a total of 28,879 invalid responses, thus reducing the total number of valid responses to 12,315 or 70.81% of all observations. All but two nations (Sweden and Great Britain) have invalid responses of 50% or more as illustrated in Figure 21. The percentage distributions by country for the variable *Unemployed* indicate that of those individual who are not working 26% indicate being unemployed not by choice. As the results illustrated in Figure 22 indicate, responses range from 12.09% (Japan) to 42.04% (South Africa).

The second individual-level economic variable examined in this study is the variable *Want a job*, which reports the responses of those individuals who are unemployed and desire employment now or in the future. These responses are only completed by individuals who report

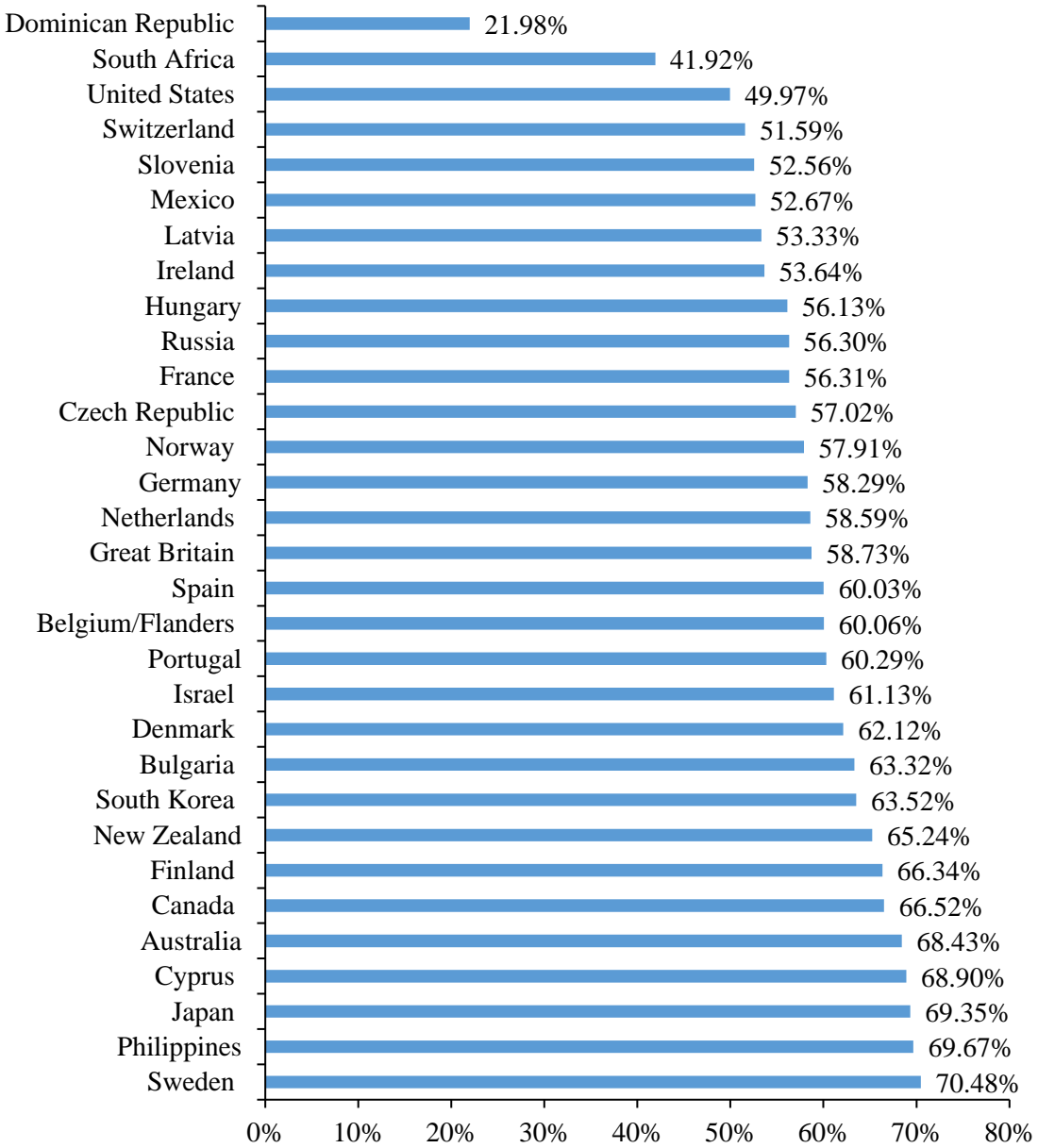


Figure 20. Percent of respondents who are married or living as married by country

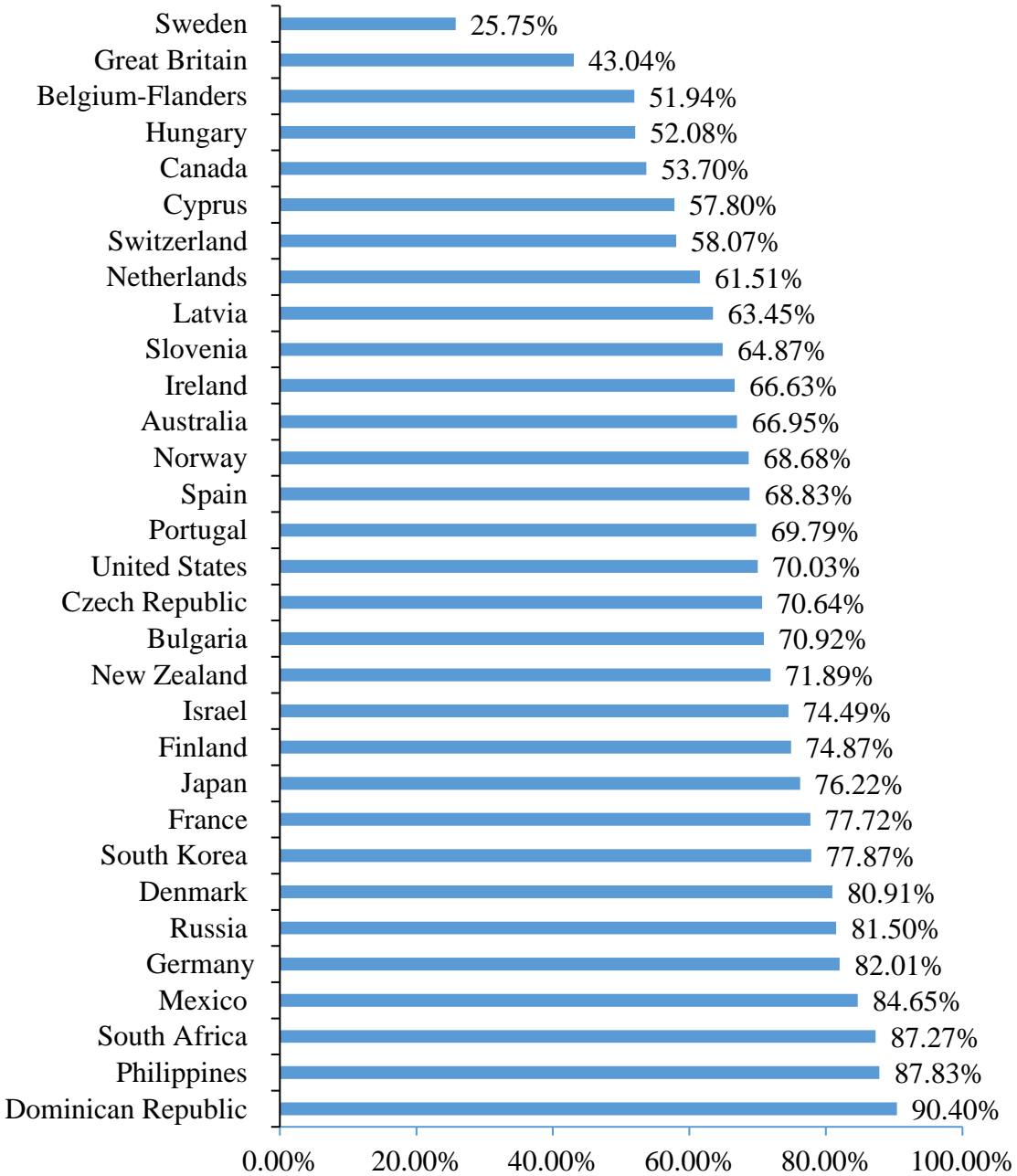


Figure 21. Percent of respondents with missing data for employment status by country

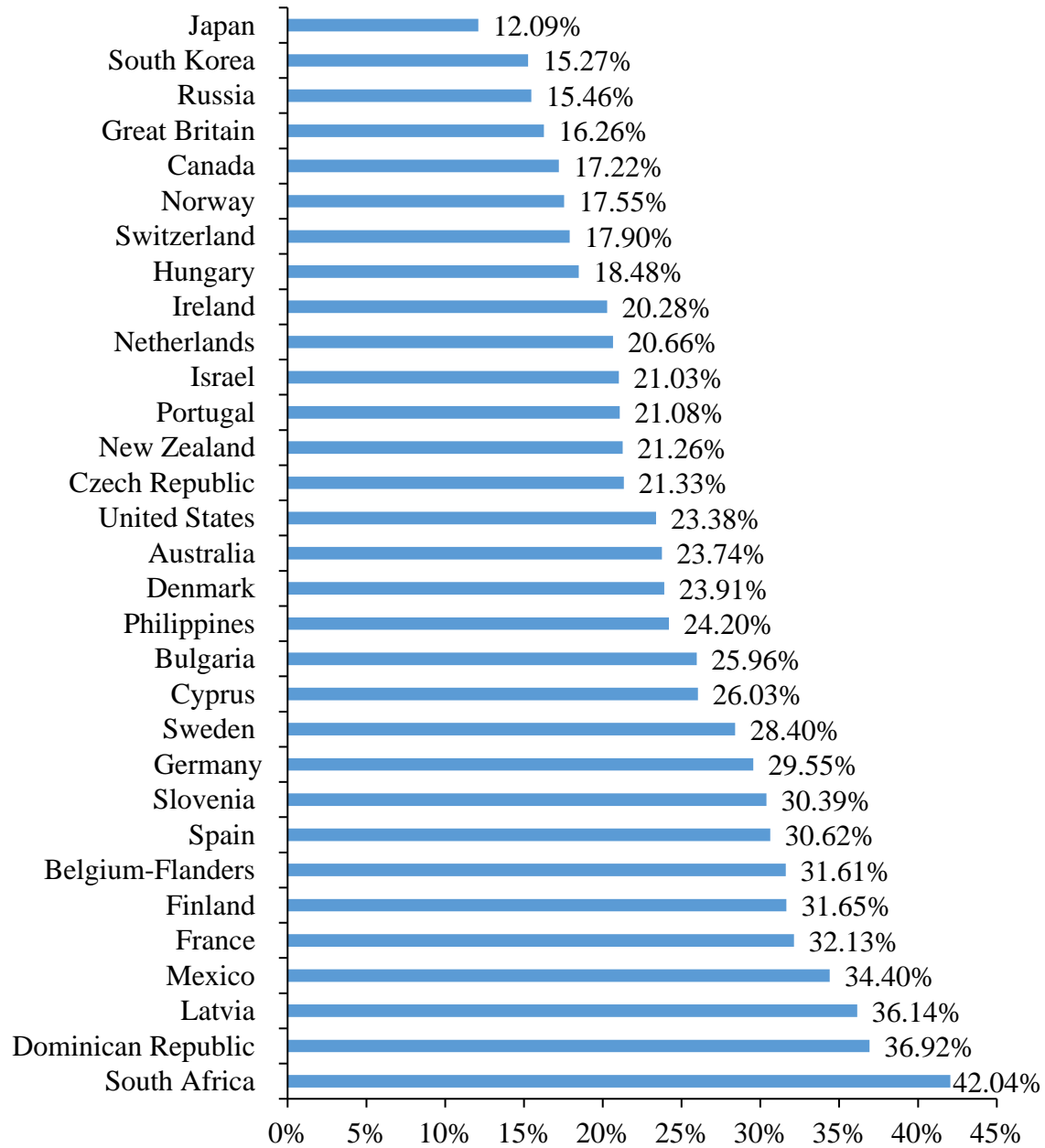


Figure 22. Percent of respondents who are unemployed not by choice by country

not being employed at the time of the survey. The variable *Want a job* has a total of 25,408 invalid responses, thereby reducing the total number of valid responses to 16,786 or 60.22% of all observations. Since the variable only applies to those individuals who were unemployed at the time of the survey, all nations are missing at least 45% of the responses for this variable, except for South Africa (31.38%), according to the results illustrated in Figure 23. The percentage distributions by country for *Want a job* indicate that of those individual who are not working nearly 50% indicate they prefer to be employed. Figure 24 indicates that responses range from 30% (Belgium-Flanders) to 76% (Dominican Republic).

The final individual-level economic variable included in this study is *Looking for work*, which reports the responses of those individuals who are unemployed and are actively searching for employment. These responses are only completed by individuals who report not being employed at the time of the survey. The variable *Looking for work* has a total of 25,215 invalid responses. The total number of valid responses is 16,979 or 59.76% of all observations. Since the variable only applies to those individuals who were unemployed at the time of the survey, all nations are missing at least 45% of the responses for this variable, except for South Africa (31.35%) as reported in Figure 25. The percentage distributions by country indicate that of those individuals who are not working, about 23% indicate they are looking for work. Responses range from 8% (Japan) to 50% (South Africa) according the distributions illustrated in Figure 26. Overall, based on a brief analysis of the distributions across countries for the individual-level economic variables, there does not appear to be a clear correlation between responses and national economic development.

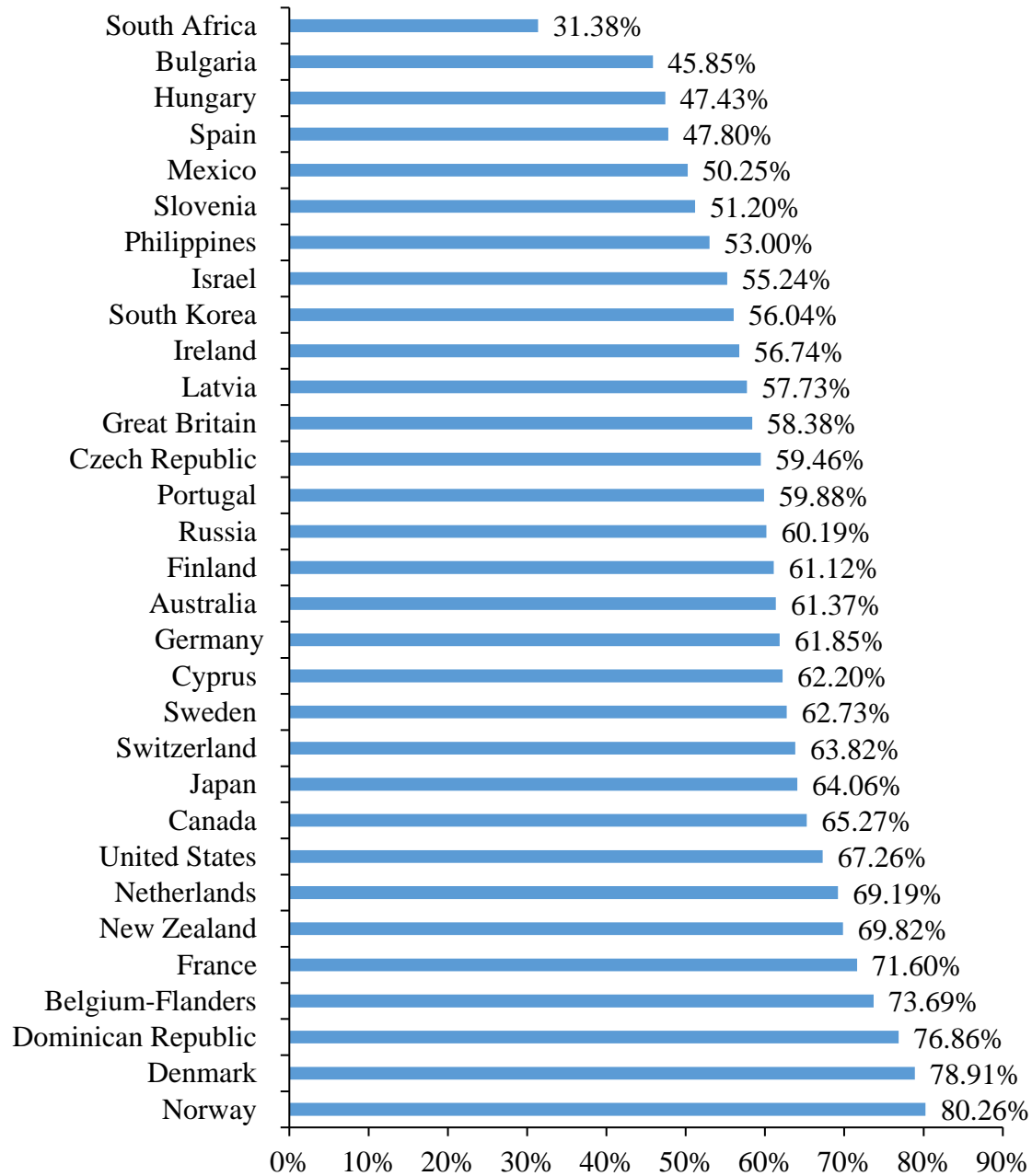


Figure 23. Percent of respondents with missing data who are unemployed and want a job by country

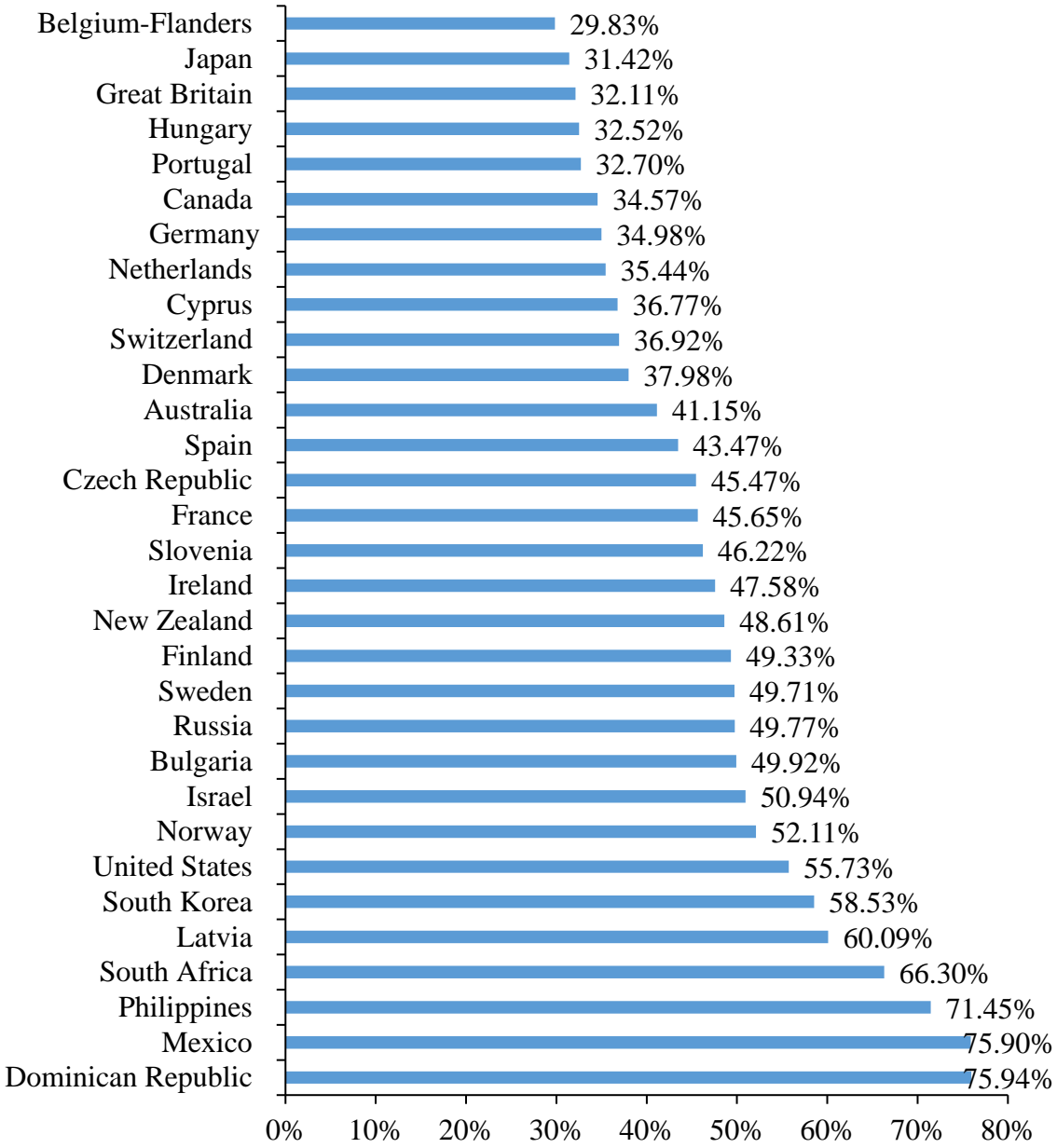


Figure 24. Percent of respondents who are unemployed and want a job by country

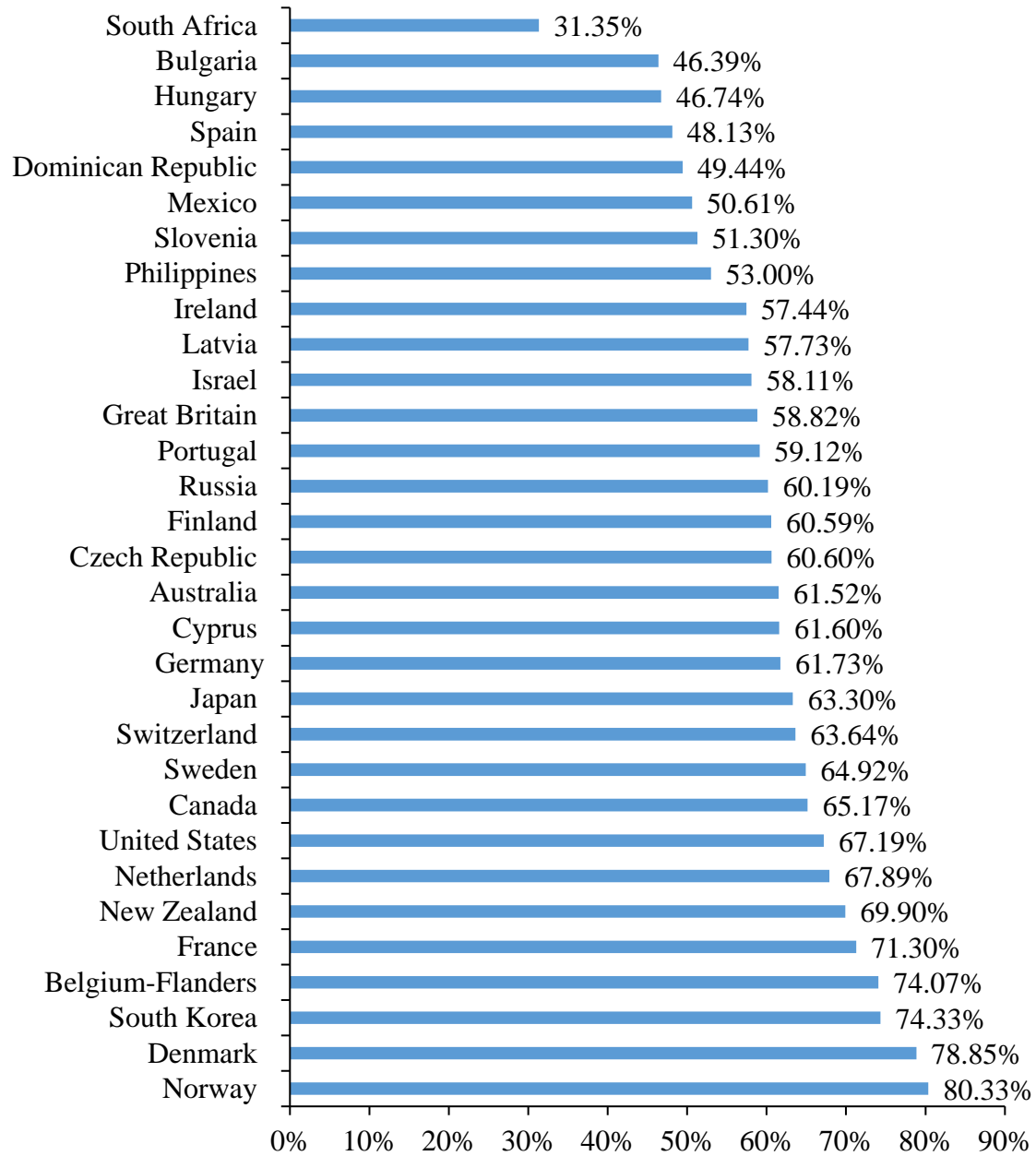


Figure 25. Percent of respondent with missing data who are unemployed and looking for work by country

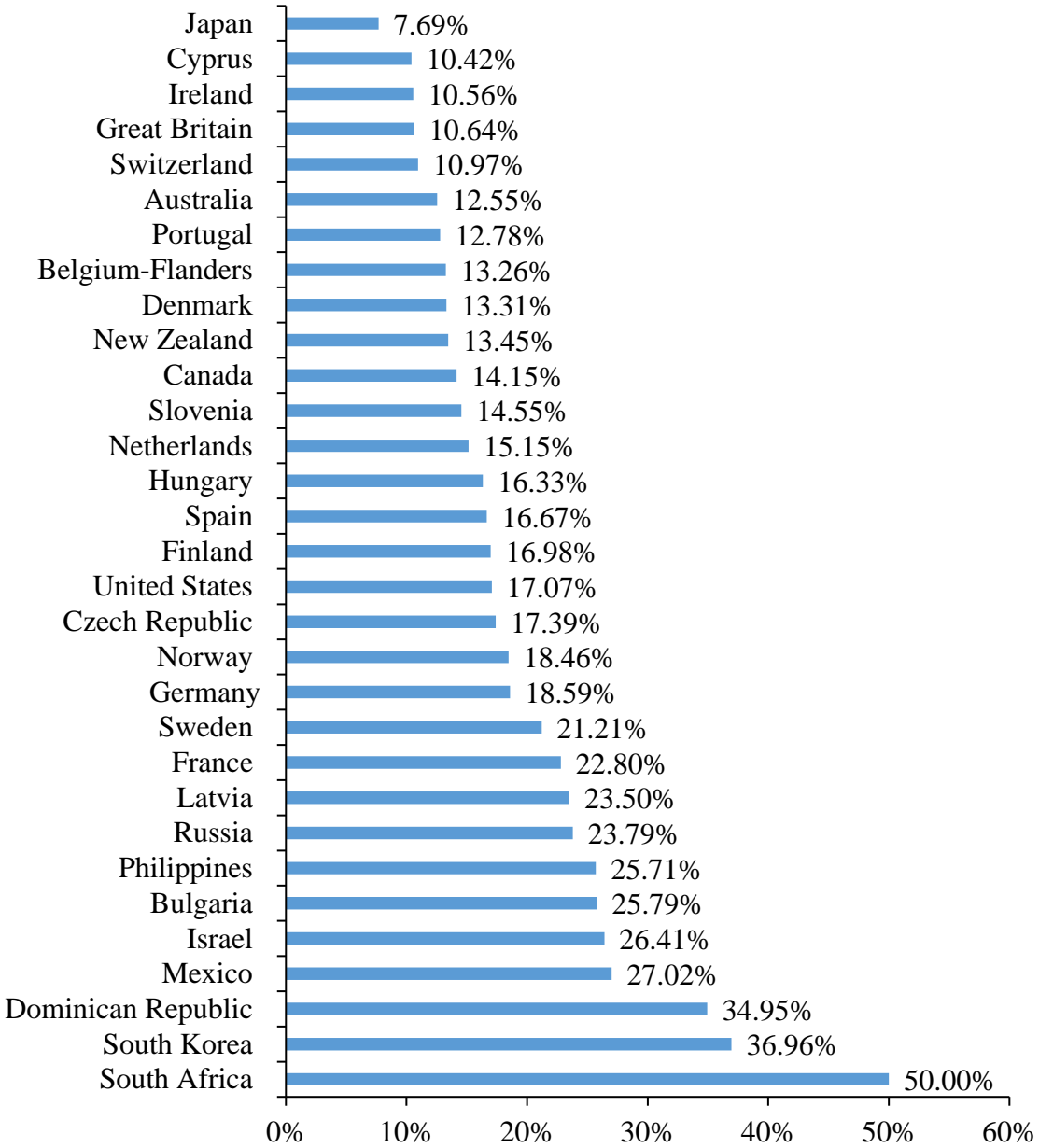


Figure 26. Percent of respondents who are unemployed and looking for work by country

Section 4.3 Summary

The descriptive analyses presented in this chapter illustrate several intriguing findings about the dependent and independent variables. First, there is variation in the dependent variable, *Preference for public sector employment*, across nations, thus suggesting the need to analyze the causes for this variation. In particular, formerly communist regimes are found to have a higher preference on average than other nations. In terms of the work motives included in this study, there are a few noteworthy findings. For one, the only work motive which is considered “very important” by at least 50% of respondents across nations is *Job security*. Less than 40% of respondents say that any of the other work motives to be “very important.”

Moreover, the work-life balance variables exhibit considerable variation across countries. Upon closer examination, response tend to be associated with national characteristics such as economic or political development. In particular, individuals who want to spend more time in the “work side” of the work-life balance equation appear to live in nations that are less developed (e.g. the Philippines, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic). Individuals who want to spend more time in the “life side” of the work-life balance equation appear to live in nations that are more developed (e.g. Norway, Canada, and Sweden).

Several socio-demographic variables are included in the study. In all but one country, at least 50% of the respondents are female, and the average *Age* of respondents is about 46 years. Additionally, on average, respondents have nearly 12 years of education. In terms of religious attendance, around 30% of individuals attend religious services at least once per month. Interestingly, attendance is below 10% in nearly all of the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden). And nearly 19% of respondents across all countries (excluding Germany) work for government.

In addition to the above socio-demographic characteristics, the study also includes variables related to political party affiliation. On average, about 32% of individuals identify with a left-leaning political party, whereas about 27% respondents identify with a right-leaning political party. The remaining percentages are made up of other responses, including no political party affiliation.

Beyond the above considerations, family-related socio-demographic variables are examined. Notably, about 41% of individuals report living with at least one child in their household and just over 57% of respondents report being married. Together, these variables serve as socio-demographic controls related to work-life balance.

Finally, three individual-level economic variables are included to examine the relationship between a preference for government employment among individuals who are unemployed. While these variables are missing a considerable amount of data, given that they only apply to those who are unemployed at the time of the survey, they do report some interesting findings. Of those who are unemployed, about 26% indicate being so not by choice, 50% would prefer employment now or in the future, and 23% are actively looking for employment.

CHAPTER V

EXPLAINING PREFERENCES FOR PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYMENT: NATIONAL-LEVEL CORRELATES AND MULTILEVEL MODELS

While the preceding chapter examined the individual-level correlates of a preference for public sector employment, this chapter explores nation-level influences. Notably, one of the primary the research questions is addressed: Do nation-level correlates explain variation across countries in terms of a preference for public sector employment? To answer this question, the chapter presents results in several steps. First, descriptive results for each of the nation-level variables are described. Next, a series of scatter plots is offered to illustrate some of the relationships between the nation-level correlates and the dependent variable. Finally, several multilevel logistic regression models are estimated. These multilevel models explore the relationship between both individual-level and nation-level correlates. In particular, the multilevel models help determine how useful nation-level predictors are in explaining a preference for public sector employment.

Section 5.1 Descriptive analysis of the nation-level variables

Each of the nation-level variables is presented through descriptive statistics in this section. In general, this section aims to offer a better understanding of how each of the nation-level correlates varies across the nations included in this study. First, summary statistics are provided for each country, including the mean, standard deviation, and minimum and maximum values of the dependent variable. Next, the nature and quality of the public sector is examined with an illustration of the response distributions by country for each independent variable. Finally, the economic conditions for each country are presented through a series of response distributions.

The characteristics for 31 nations in North America, East Asia, Europe, and Oceania are explored in this dissertation. Table 4 provides descriptive results for each nation-level variables employed in this study.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics: Country-level variables

Country-level Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Regulatory quality	31	1.12	0.57	-0.38	1.69
Corruption perceptions index	31	6.64	2.25	2.4	9.6
Percent employment in the public sector	31	19.79	8.71	5.5	36.33
Unemployment rate	31	7.60	4.59	3.5	26.7
Consumer price index	31	86.05	8.58	61.44	100.42
GDP (10 year growth) %	31	29.33	19.71	6.12	104.40
GDP (5 year growth) %	31	11.18	9.84	0.94	45.41
GDP (1 year growth) %	31	3.255	2.48	0.58	11.90

Section 5.1.i Nature and Quality of the Public Sector

The first three nation-level variables refer to the nature and quality of the public sector for the nations included in this study. The quality of the public sector is reflected in the Worldwide Governance Indicator’s *Regulatory quality*, and Transparency International’s *Corruption perceptions index*. Additionally, to offer a more general perspective of the nature of a nation’s public sector workforce, the percentage of a nation’s total workforce employed by government is presented with the variable *Percent employment in the public sector*. Taken together, these variables offer a multifaceted view of a nation’s public sector, including corruption, regulatory quality, and size. The *Regulatory quality* scores range from -2.5 to 2.5, with higher scores representing better quality. For the countries included in this analysis, the scores range from -0.38 (Dominican Republic) to 1.69 (Finland). As illustrated in Figure 27, all but three countries have positive scores.

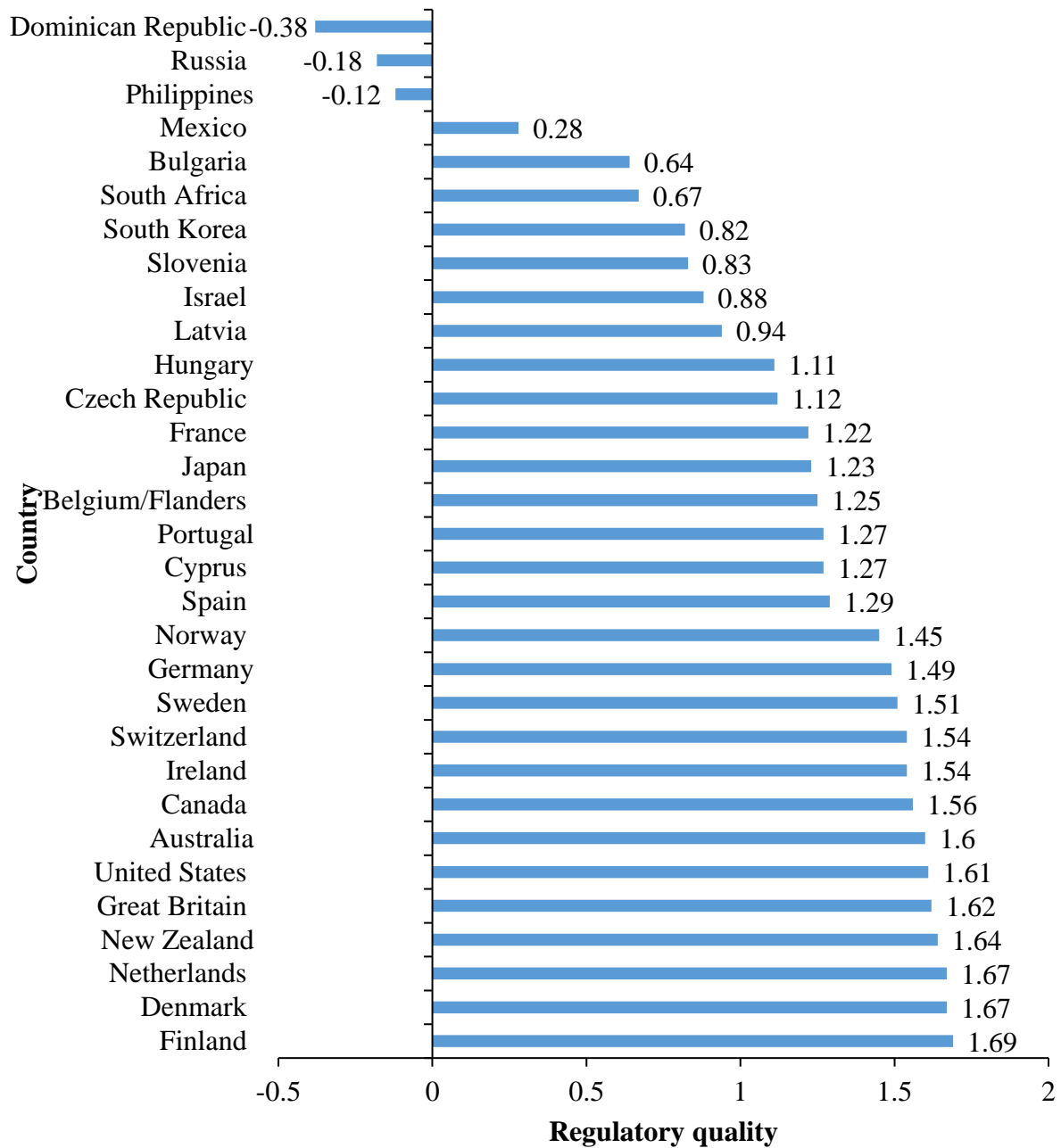


Figure 27. Regulatory quality index score by country

Figure 28 presents the distributions for the *Corruption perceptions index*. Scores range from 0 to 10, with higher scores associated with lower levels of perceived corruption. For the nations included in this analysis, scores range from a low of 2.4 (Russia) to a high of 9.6 (Finland and New Zealand). A closer examination of the distribution of these scores reveals that lower scores are typically associated with less developed and less democratized nations (e.g. Russia, Philippines, Dominican Republic, and Mexico). Most of the nations with high scores are typically more economically developed and more democratic (e.g. Finland, New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland).

In addition to the variables *Regulatory quality* and *Corruption perceptions index*, the variable *Percent employment in the public sector* also reveals some interesting findings. This variable is presented as a percentage of a nation's total workforce employed by government. Responses range from 5.5% (South Korea) to 36.33% (Norway). As illustrated in Figure 29, of those nations with at least 25% of the workforce employed by government, all but one (France) is either a Scandinavian (Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland) or Central or Eastern European nation (Czech Republic, Russia, Latvia, and Slovenia). These nations with larger government workforces are either characterized as having rather generous social welfare systems and/or being a formerly communist regime under the Soviet Union in which government was the only employer. Of the ten nations in the analysis with the lowest percentage of individuals employed by government, none are formerly communist regimes. Again there appear to be some lingering effects of communism as discussed in the previous chapter.

Section 5.1.ii National economic conditions

In addition to the nature and quality of a nation's public sector, national economic correlates are also examined in relation to a preference for public sector employment. First

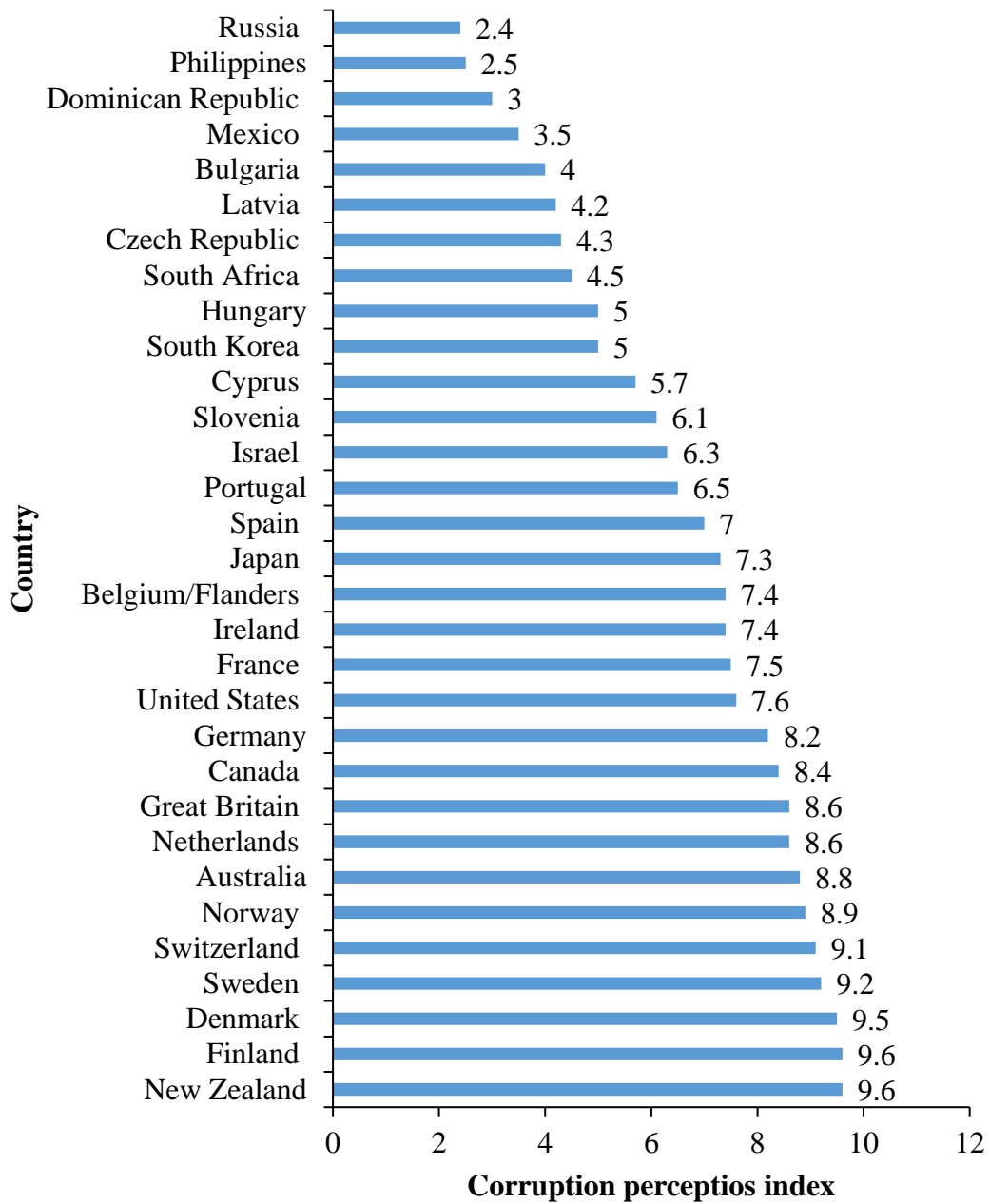


Figure 28. Corruptions perception index score by country

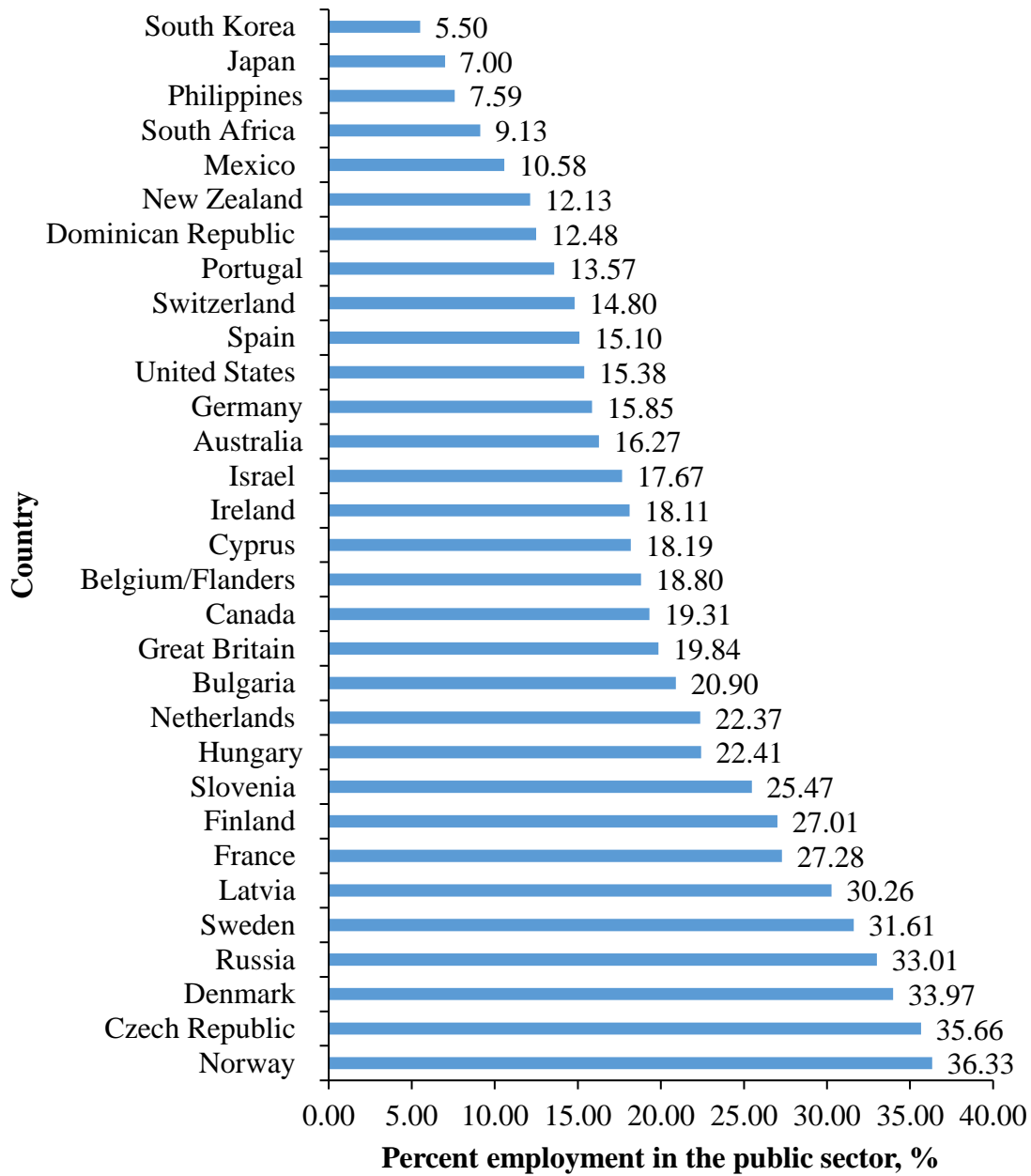


Figure 29. Percent of total employment in government by country

among these economic correlates is a nation's rate of unemployment, as measured by the variable *Unemployment rate*. For the nations included in this analysis, this variable ranges from 3.5% (Mexico) to 26.7% (South Africa). Figure 30 illustrates the distribution of unemployment rates across the 31 countries in the study. The nations with the lowest unemployment rates are Mexico (3.5%), South Korea (3.7%), and New Zealand (3.8%). The nations with the highest unemployment rates are South Africa (26.7%), the Dominican Republic (18%), and Germany (11.1%). A cursory analysis does not reveal any obvious pattern associated with unemployment rates across countries.

The distribution for the variable *Consumer price index*, which measures the variation in the price of goods (or inflation), is reported in Figure 31. The Consumer Price Index (CPI) ranges from 61.44 (Russia) to 100.42 (Japan). The nations with the lowest CPI are Russia (61.44), South Africa (71.62), and Latvia (71.25). The nations with the highest CPI are Japan (100.42), Switzerland (95.70), and Ireland (93.8). Western European and more advanced democracies appear to be associated with higher CPI scores. For this analysis, the base year is 2010, meaning that 2005 CPI scores are indexed to 2010.

In addition to the rates of unemployment and CPI scores, this analysis also considers growth in a nation's gross domestic product or GDP. GDP growth is examined in increments of one year, five years, and ten years, thus producing the variables *1 year GDP growth*, *5 year GDP growth*, and *10 year GDP growth*. Growth in GDP is measured as a percentage change over the relative time span. Figures 32 through 34 illustrate GDP growth over one, five, and ten year increments. In each instance, Latvia experiences the most GDP growth, with one-year growth of nearly 12%, five-year growth of 45%, and ten-year growth of 104%. However, the nations with the lowest GDP growth change depending on which growth increments are examined. For

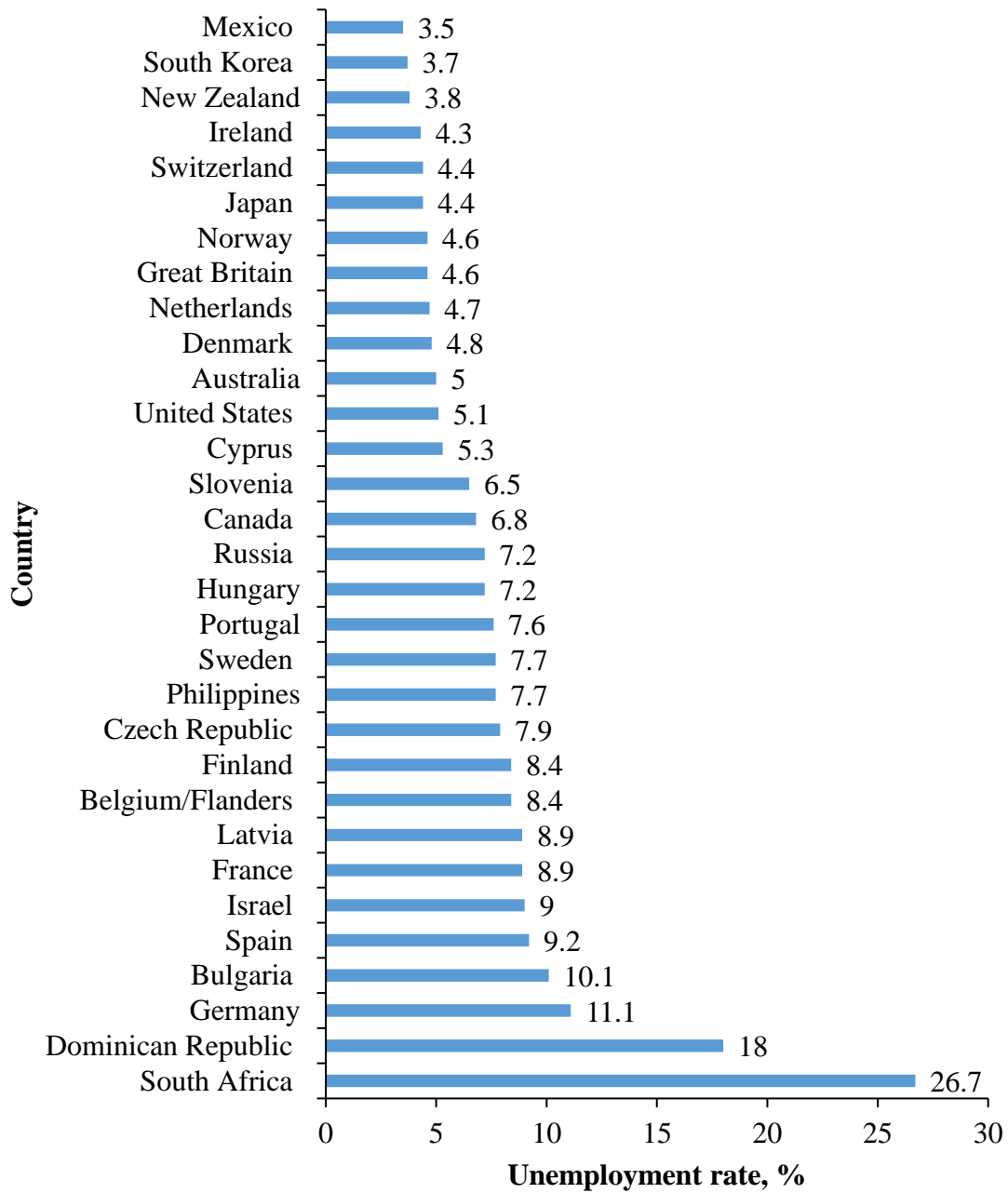


Figure 30. Unemployment rate by country

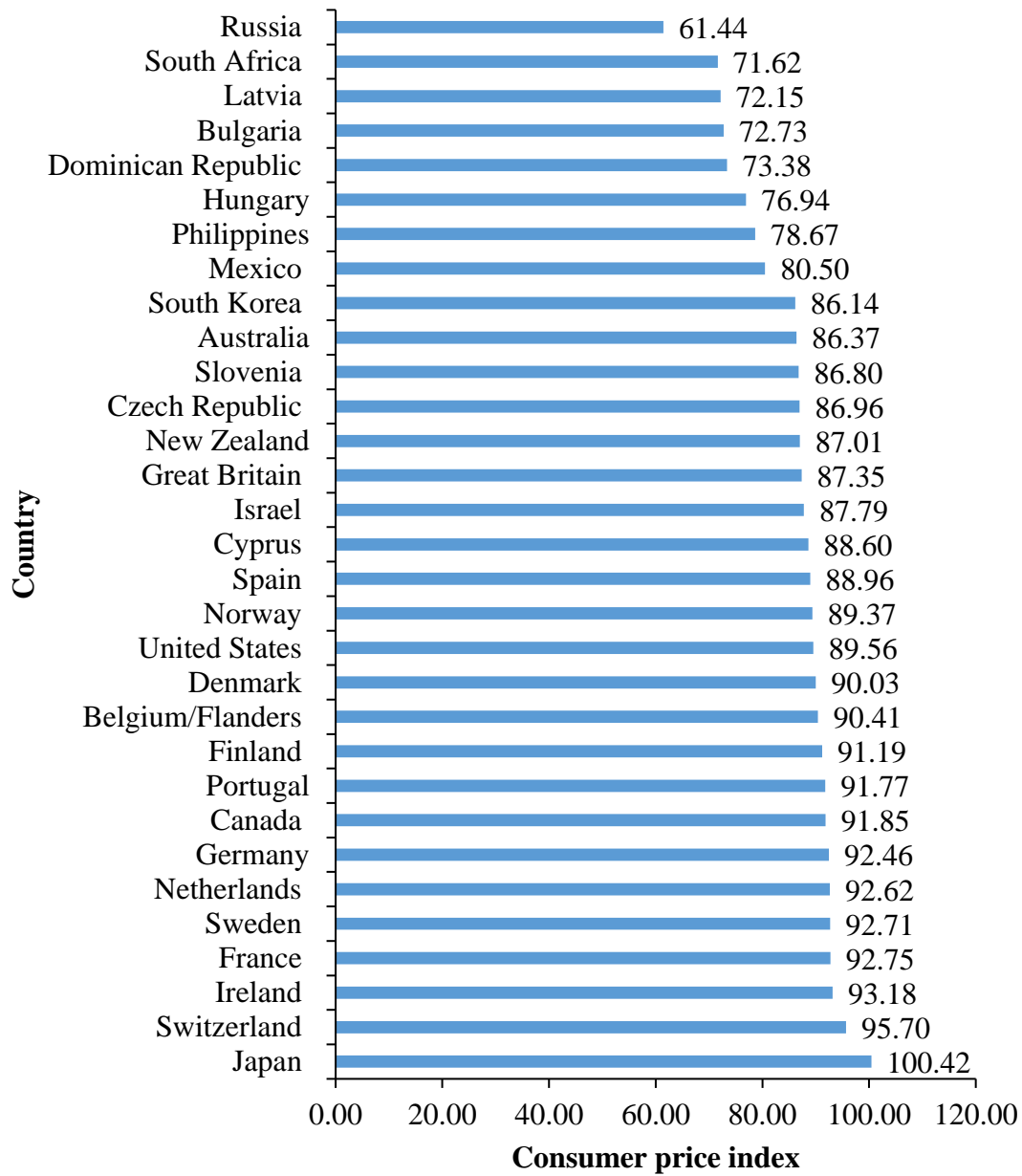


Figure 31. Consumer price index by country

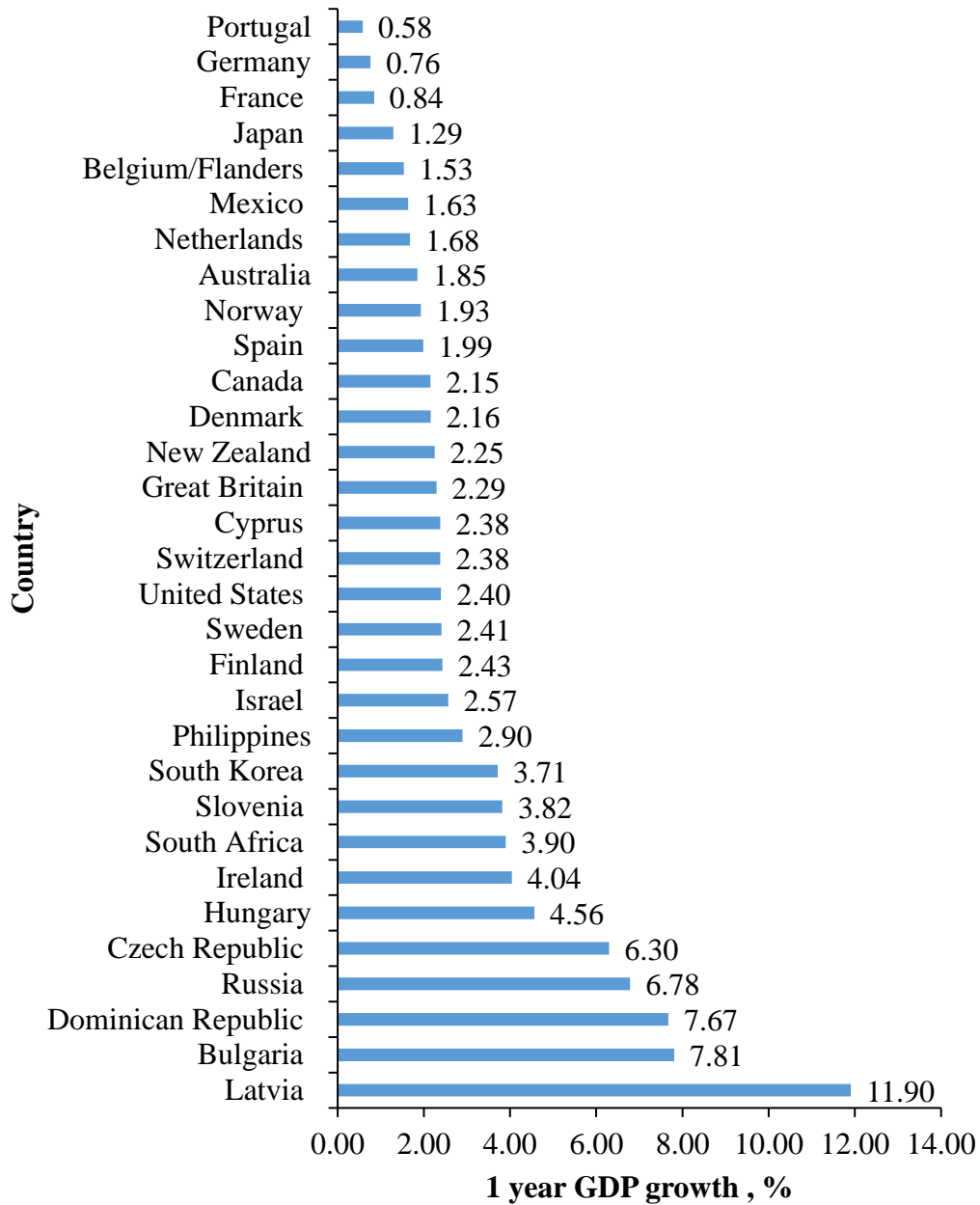


Figure 32. One year GDP growth by country

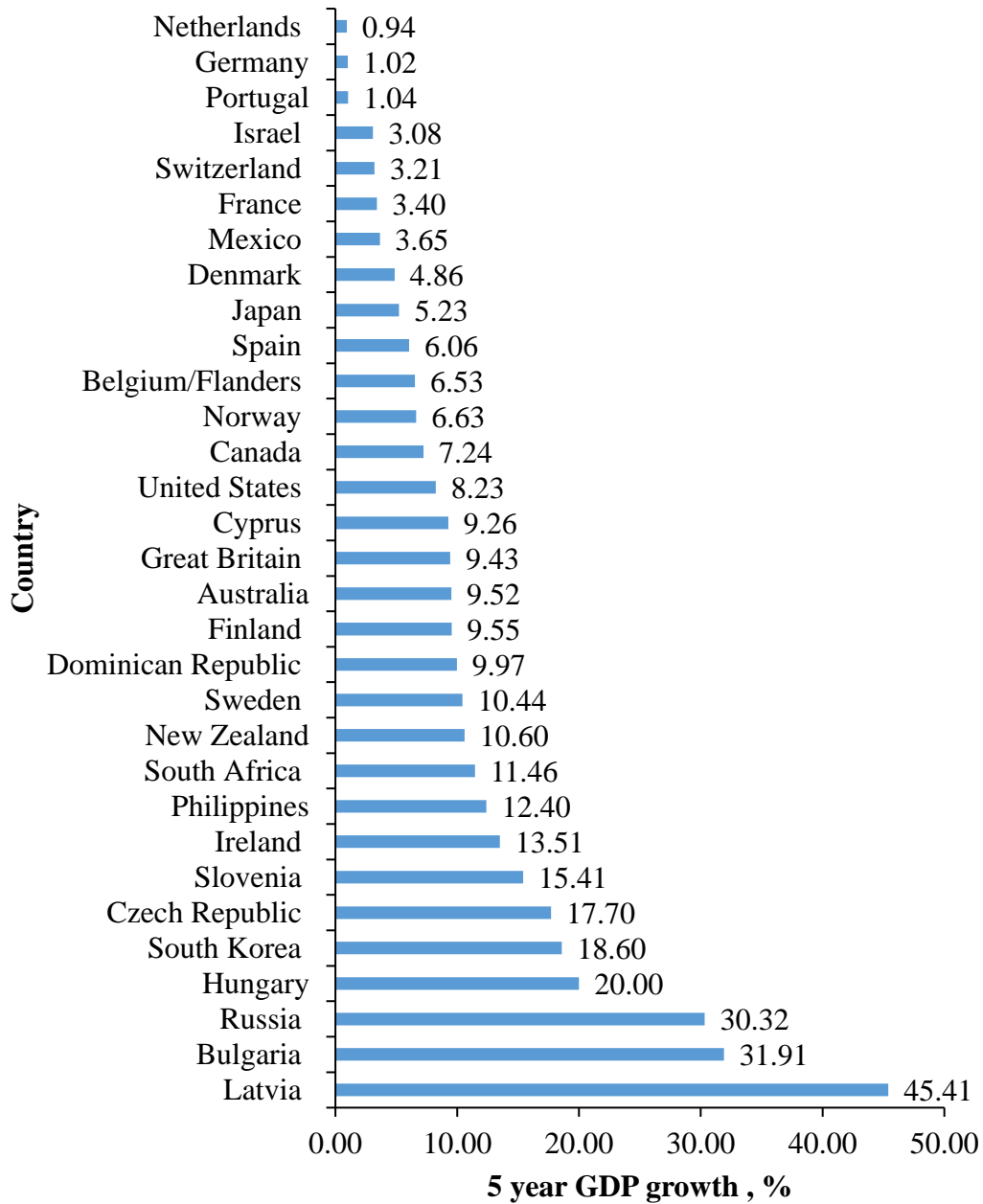


Figure 33. Five year GDP growth by country

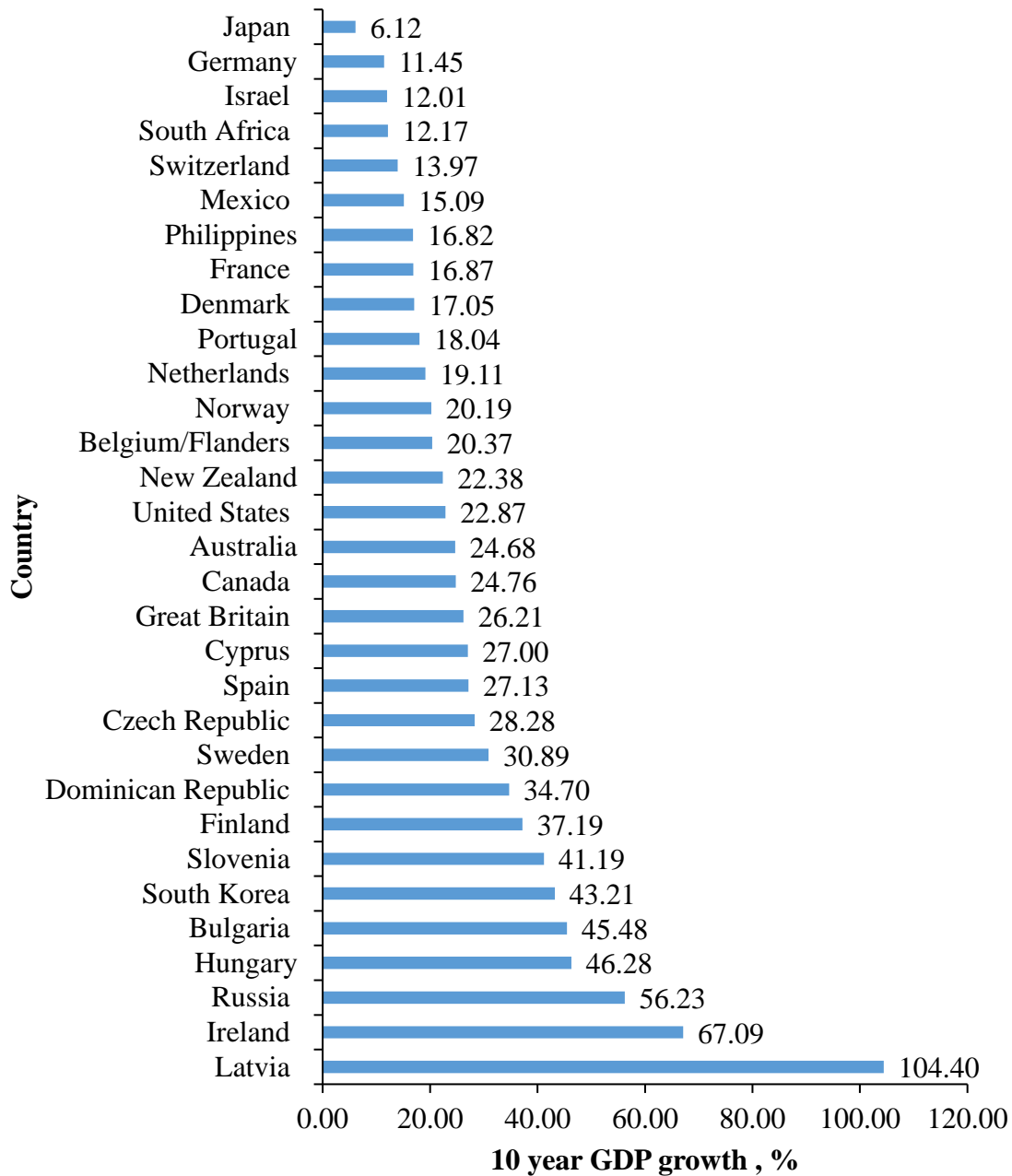


Figure 34. Ten year GDP growth by country

example, Portugal has the lowest one-year GDP growth at 0.58%, yet it has a ten-year growth of nearly 18%, placing it above the ten nations with the smallest growth for that duration of time. Similar situations exist for many of the other countries examined. Including GDP growth rather than just GDP for a snapshot in time provides a more useful means of assessing trends in a nation's economic health.

Moreover, examining GDP growth in several increments illustrates that nations experience different levels of growth depending on the duration of time being examined. Whereas some nations experience significant growth over all time increments included in the analysis (e.g. Latvia), others experience different levels of growth depending upon the time being examined (e.g. Portugal). Taking into account GDP growth over different time increments also accounts for minor recessions or economic booms that may have taken place at any given snapshot in time.

Further examination of the results illustrated in Figures 32 through 34 indicate that for each of the time increments examined, the majority of the nations with the highest GDP growth are Central or Eastern European nations, which are formerly communist regimes. These results indicate that post-communist economic growth was sustained into the 21st century, several years after beginning the transition to a market economy. Taken together, these three measures of GDP growth provide a more comprehensive review of trends in economic health than just examining one year in time.

Section 5.2 Cross-national differences in preferences for public sector employment scatter plots

To make further progress in determining what nation-level correlates influence preferences for public sector employment, this section presents a series of scatter plots

illustrating the relationship between each of the nation-level variables and the dependent variable for each country. These scatter plots are offered primarily for illustrative purposes. They serve as a step between basic descriptive statistics and the multilevel models estimated later in the chapter. For each scatter plot presented, a trend line has been included to help illustrate any linear relationship that may exist between the two variables. Each scatter plot and its apparent relationship is described per the hypotheses stated in the previous chapters.

Section 5.2.i: Nature and quality of the public sector

The relationship between a preference for public sector employment and the quality of the public sector is first illustrated in Figure 35. *Preference for government employment* is plotted against *Regulatory quality*. The Pearson's product-moment correlation, or Pearson's r is -0.33 , thus indicating a negative relationship between the two variables. Nations with a higher regulatory quality tend to be associated with a lower preference for public sector employment. As indicated in Figure 35, there are a few countries that appear to be outliers, including the Dominican Republic and Cyprus. The results indicating that *Preference for government employment* and *Regulatory quality* are negatively correlated is contrary to what was hypothesized in earlier chapters. I expected that nations with quality regulatory regimes would be positively associated with a preference for public sector employment.

The second measure of public sector quality is the variable *Corruption perceptions index*. The Pearson's r for *Preference for government employment* and the *Corruption perceptions index* is -0.552 , indicating a negative relationship. Given that higher scores on the *Corruption perceptions index* equate with greater control of government corruption, the negative correlation between the two variables suggests that nations with a greater control of government corruption are associated with lower preferences for public sector employment. As with *Regulatory quality*,

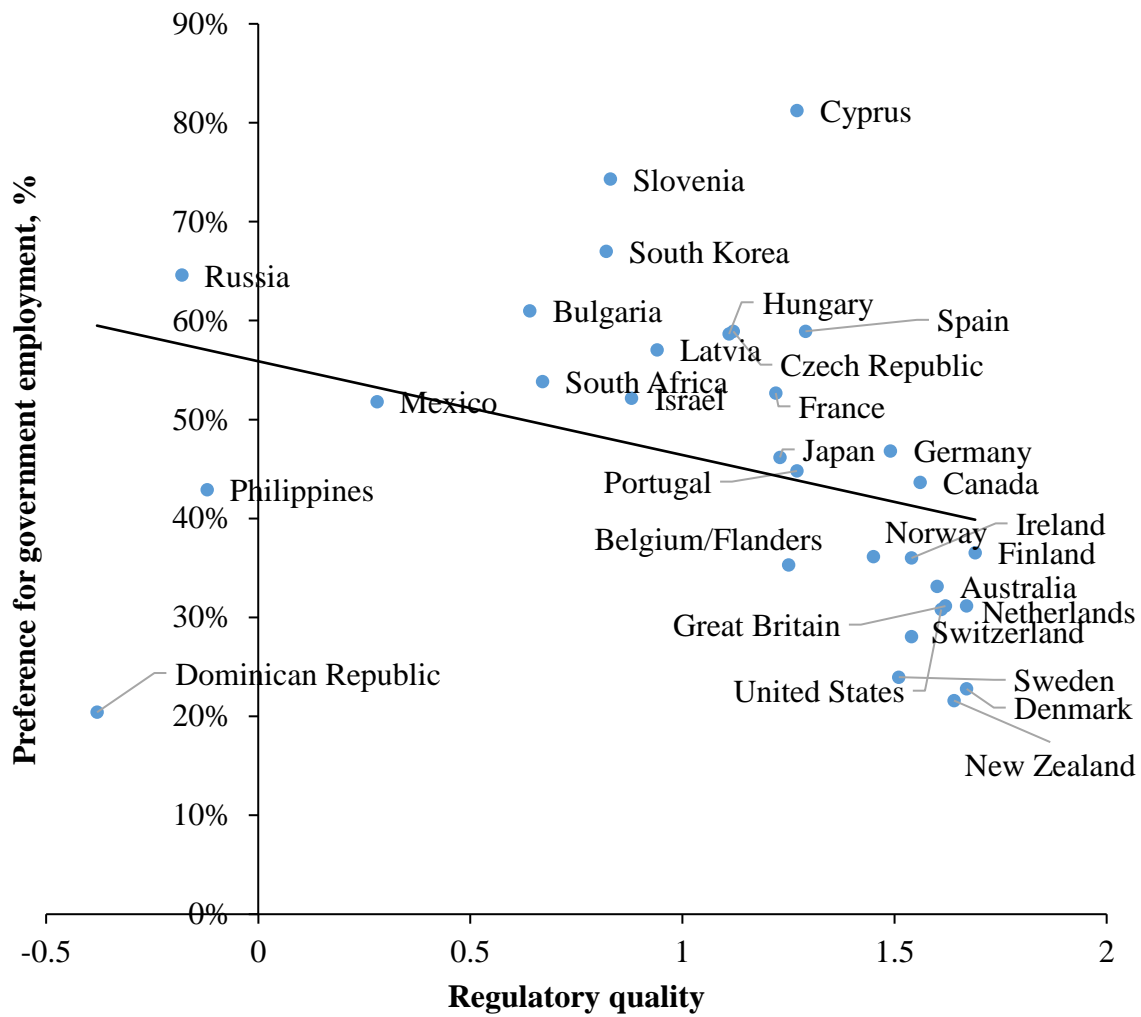


Figure 35. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by regulatory quality

the correlation for *Corruption perceptions index* is contrary to what was expected. It was expected that nations with greater control of corruption would be associated with a greater preference for public sector employment. However, Figure 36 presents the scatter plot of *Preference for government employment* and *Corruption perceptions index* with a superimposed trend line indicating a slightly positive relationship. Australia appears to be an outlier in this plot and when removed, the trend line reflects the negative relationship presented in the Pearson's r finding.

The final variable examining the nature of the public sector is *Percent employment in the public sector*. The Pearson's r for *Preference for government employment* and *Percent employment in the public sector* is 0.052. This indicates a slightly positive correlation between these variables, and is in accordance with the hypothesized relationship. Nations with a higher percentage of the total workforce employed in government are associated with a higher preference for public sector employment. However, caution should be exhibited with this interpretation. Figure 37 illustrates the relationship between *Preference for government employment* and *Percent employment in the public sector* with a superimposed trend line. The trend line is practically flat and does not demonstrate a significant relationship in either direction. Overall, there appears to be very limited support for the expectation that higher quality public institutions are associated with a greater preference for public sector employment. However, solely relying on the above finding alone is far from conclusive.

Section 5.2.ii: National economic conditions

In addition to the nature and quality of the public sector, scatter plots are offered for the economic indicators and the dependent variable. The first of these national economic indicators is the variable *Unemployment rate*. The Pearson's r for *Preference for government employment*

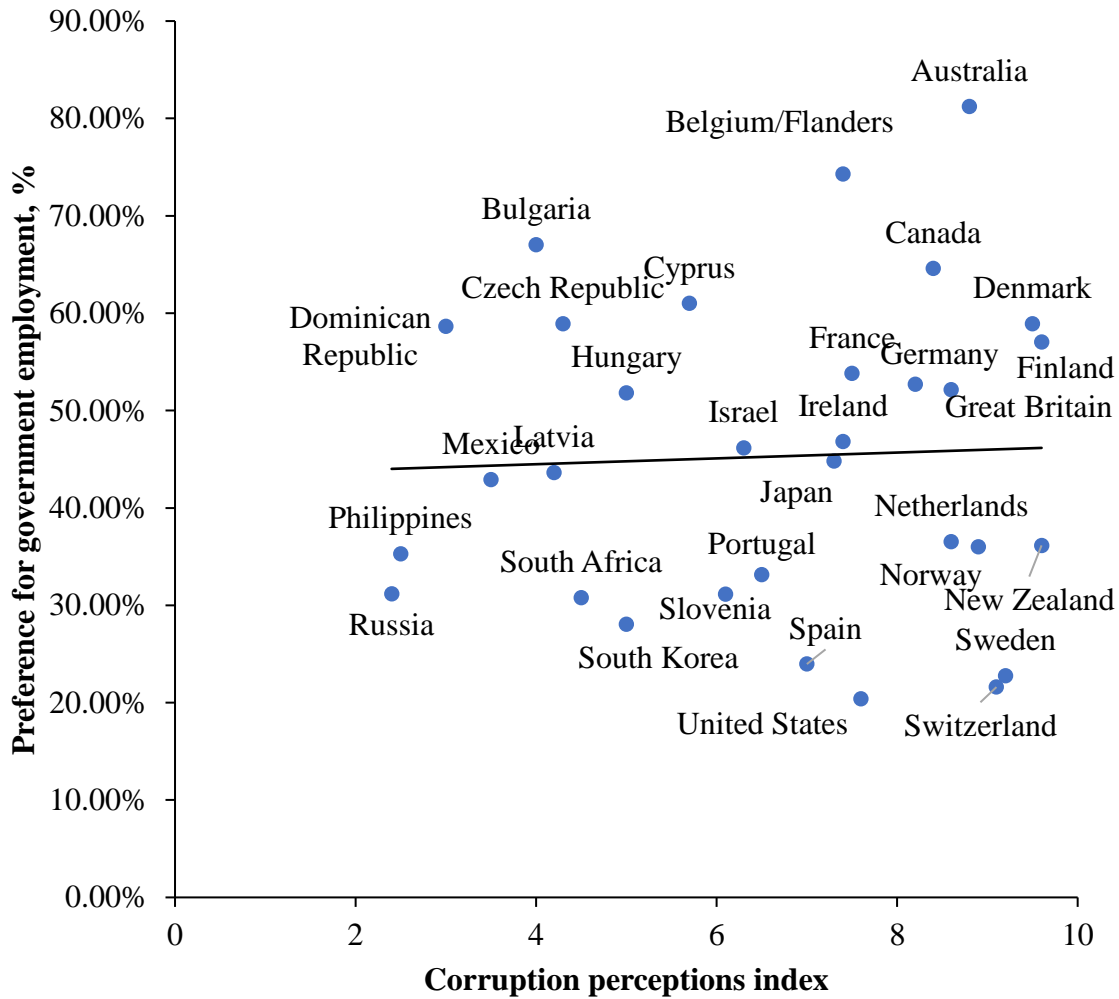


Figure 36. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by corruption perceptions index

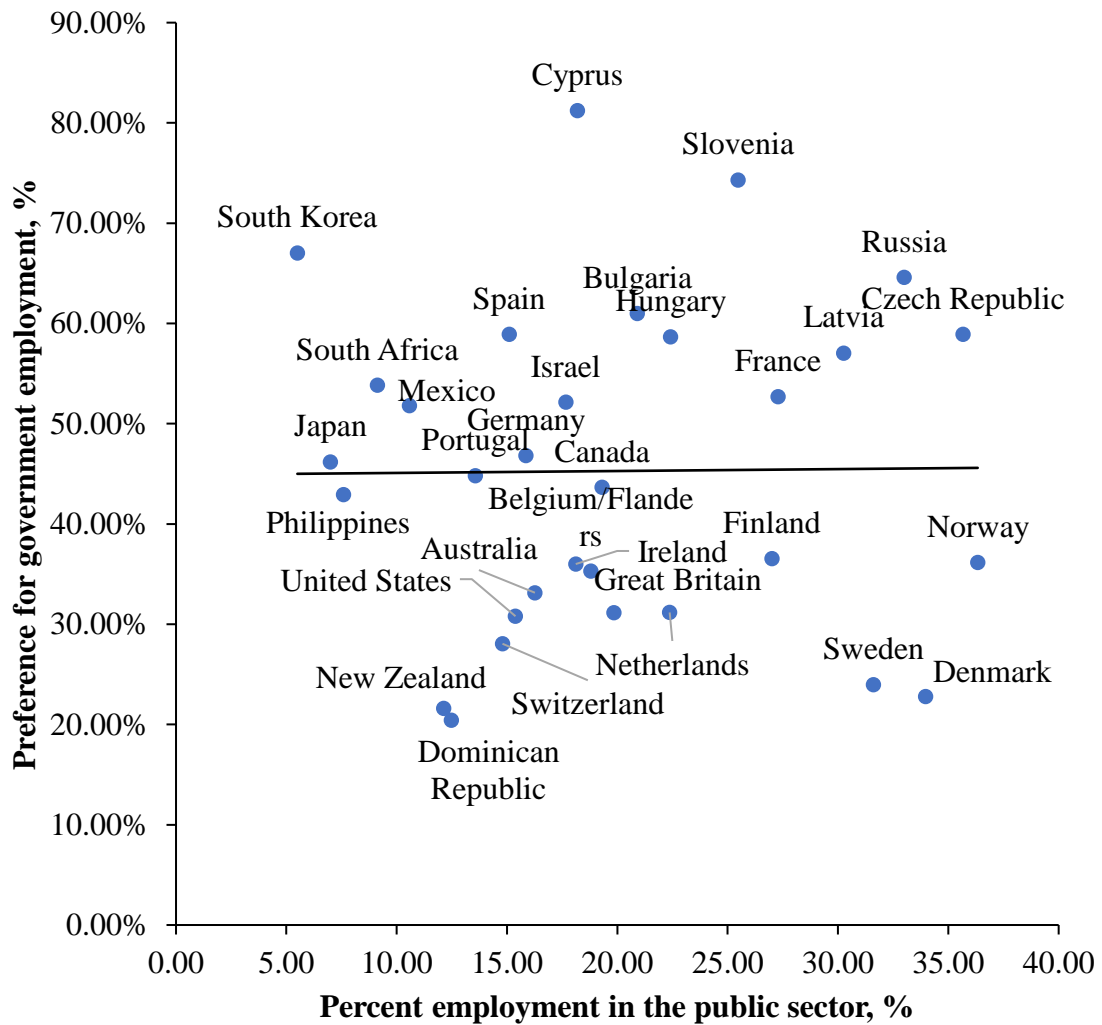


Figure 37. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by size of the public sector

and *Unemployment rate* is 0.078, indicating a slightly positive relationship. Figure 38 presents the scatter plot of these variables and further suggests that nations with higher unemployment are associated with a higher preference for public sector employment. A cursory analysis reveals the presence of possible outliers, including South Africa and the Dominican Republic. Removing both countries still retains the positive trend line, thus conforming with the expectation that the preference for public employment is higher in nations with higher Unemployment rates.

The second national economic indicator examined in relation to the dependent variable is the variable *Consumer price index*. The Pearson's r for *Preference for government employment* and *Consumer price index* is -0.33, indicating a negative relationship. Countries with higher rates of inflation (as expressed via the CPI) are correlated with a lower preference for public sector employment. Figure 39 further illustrates this negative relationship, which is opposite what was hypothesized in earlier chapters. The variable *Consumer price index* is a component of the hypothesis in which it is expected that nations with struggling economies are associated with a preference for public sector employment. It is a measure of inflation, and it is generally accepted that moderate levels of inflation are typically associated with healthy, growing economies. The above results suggest that nations with higher inflation are correlated with a lower preference for public sector employment. However, caution is warranted in such an interpretation, as high inflation is hardly an indicator of a healthy economy, but rather just the opposite.

The final economic indicators are for *1 year GDP growth*, *5 year GDP growth*, and *10 year GDP growth*. The Pearson's r for *Preference for government employment* and *1 year GDP growth* is 0.261. It is 0.408 for *5 year GDP growth* and 0.27 for *10 year GDP growth*. All Pearson's r correlations indicate a positive relationship between GDP growth and the dependent

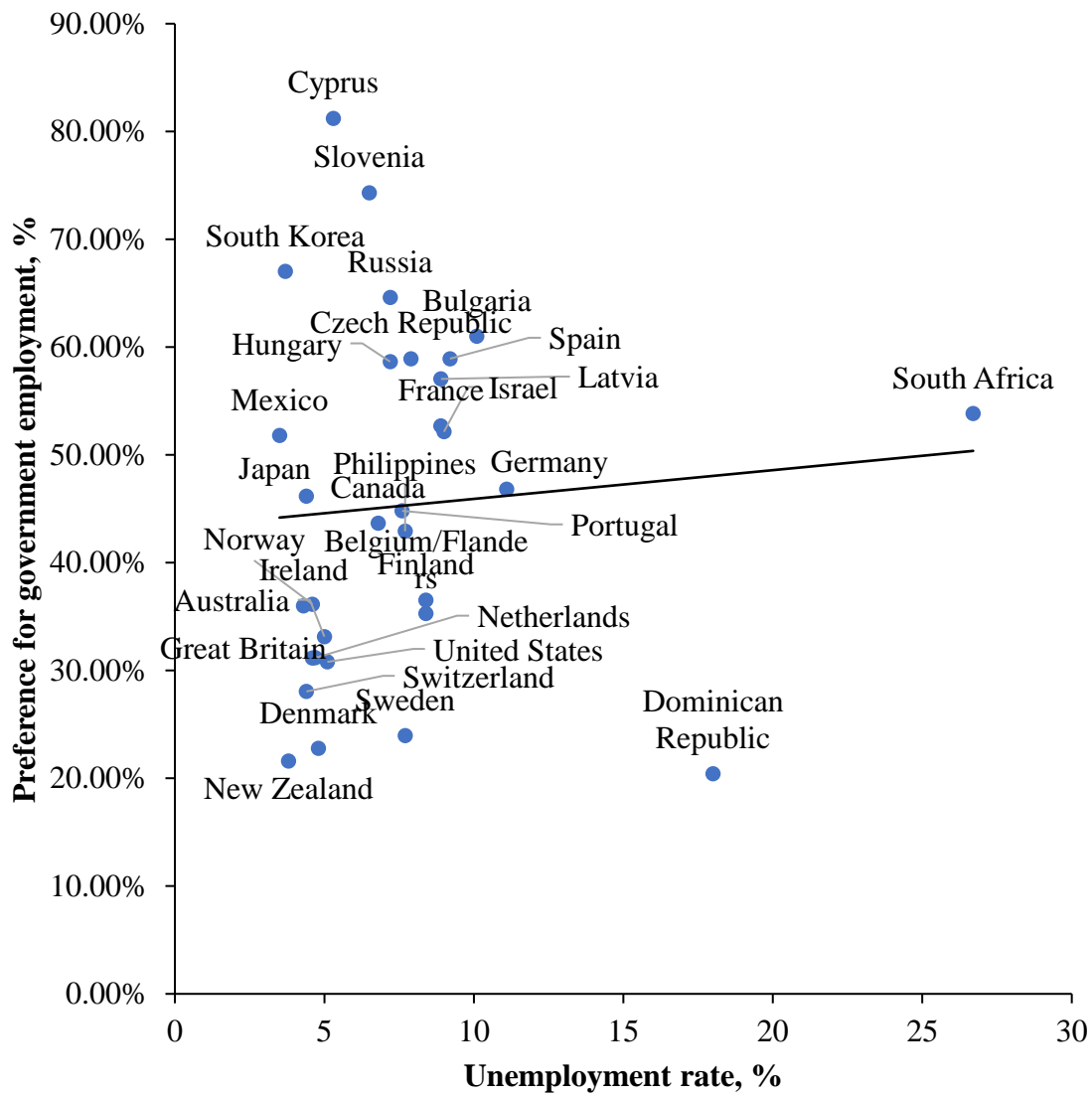


Figure 38. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by unemployment rate

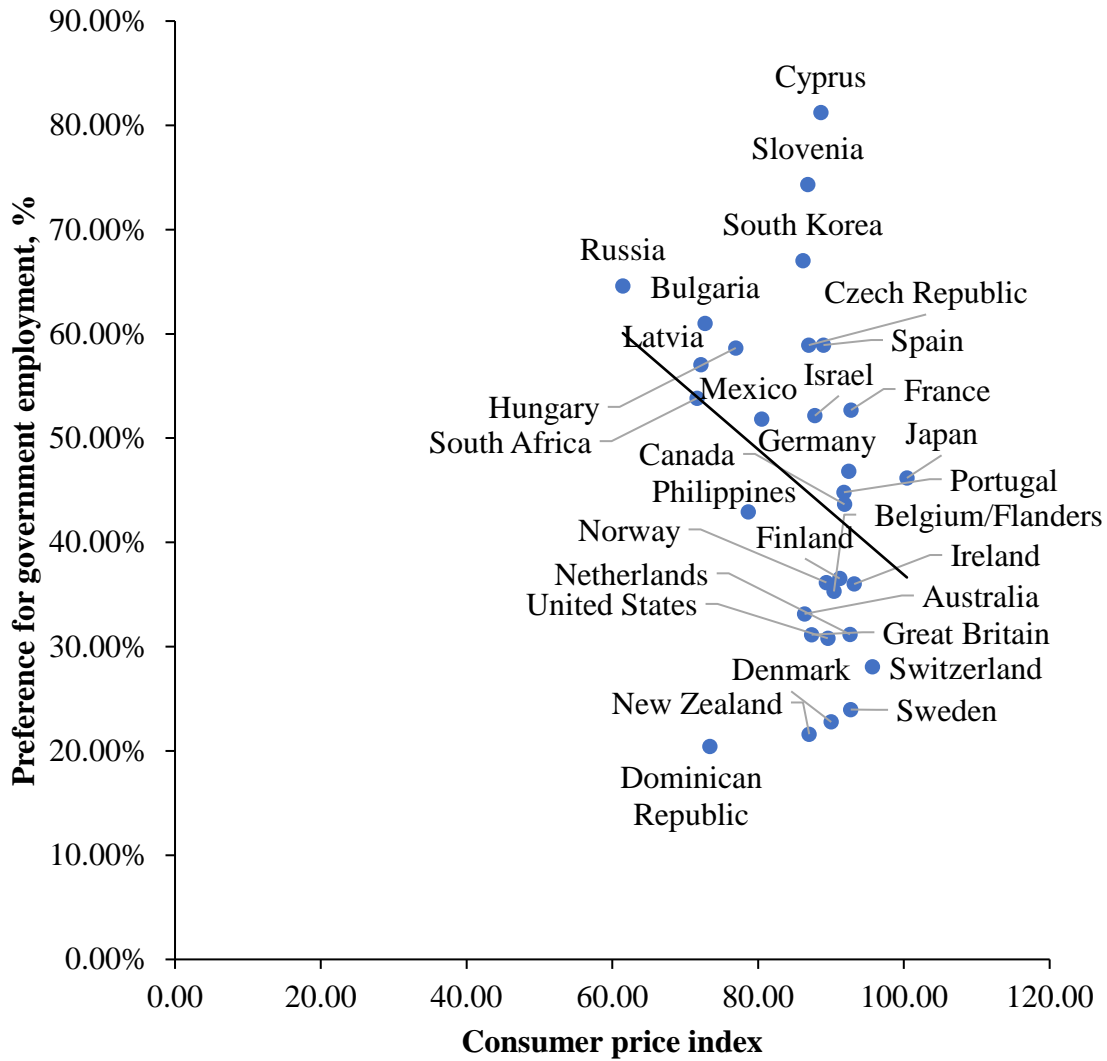


Figure 39. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by consumer price index

variable. Figures 40 through 42 offer further illustration of this relationship, suggesting that there is a greater preference for public sector employment in nations with a higher GDP growth rate. This finding is contrary to the hypothesis that the preference for public sector employment will be higher in nations with struggling economies. Even when removing possible outlier results (e.g. Latvia), the positive relationship still exists. Overall, the relationship between the economic indicators and the dependent variable suggests that nations with struggling economies are associated with a lower preference for public sector employment (although slightly offset by the findings regarding rates of unemployment).

Section 5.2.iii: Summary

This section examines the possible relationships which may exist between a preference for public sector employment and various nation-level correlates. For the 31 countries included in the analysis, relationships are examined for variables measuring the nature and quality of the public sector as well as the economic health of a nation. A series of scatter plots reveals the relationship between these variables and the dependent variable. These scatter plots reveal that the relationship may be stronger among some variables than others.

In terms of the nature and quality of the public sector, *Regulatory quality* and the *Corruption perceptions index* appear to have the strongest relationship with a preference for public sector employment. Yet the relationship which does exist is contrary to my hypothesis, and suggests that nations with poorer quality governments are associated with a greater preference for public sector employment. Just as these findings are contrary to the hypothesized relationship, so too are the overall findings concerning national economic health. Generally speaking, nations with struggling economies (as indicated by GDP and CPI) are associated with a lower preference for public sector employment. However, there does exist a relationship

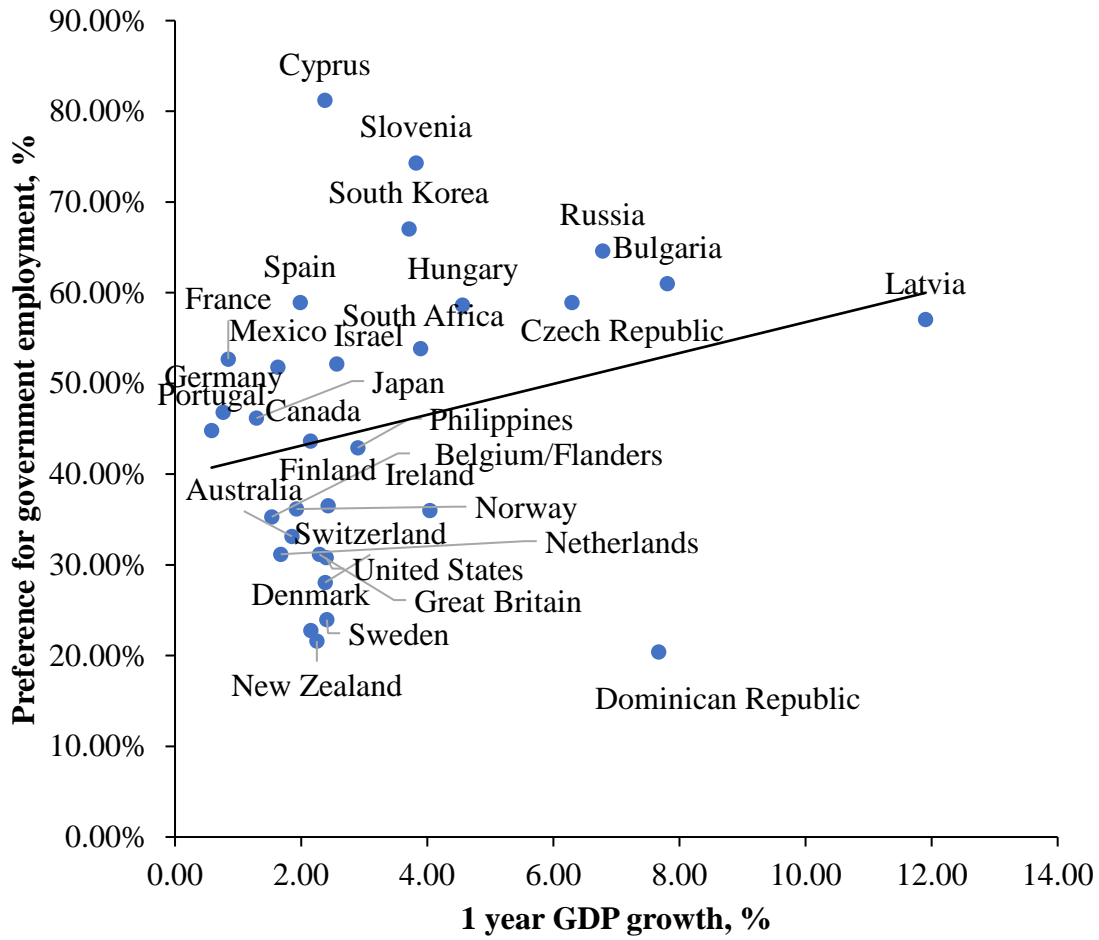


Figure 40. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by 1 year GDP growth

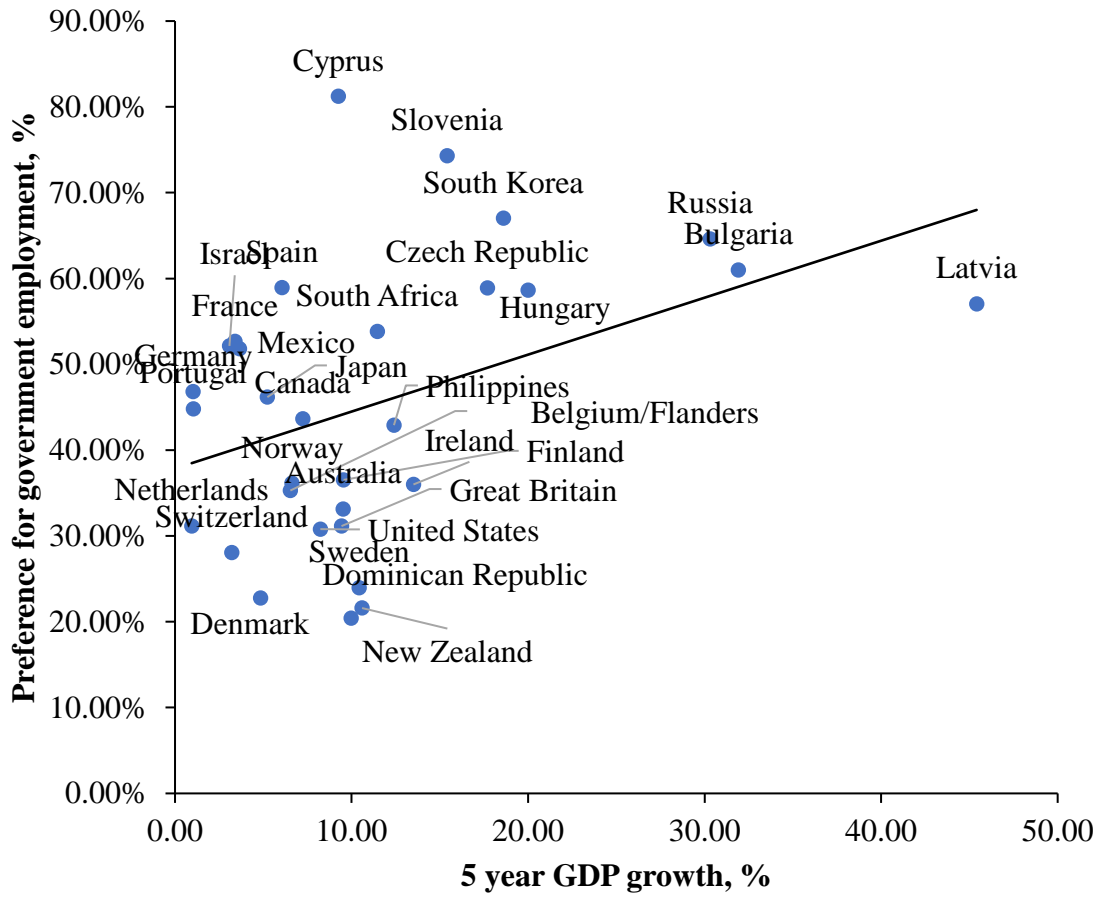


Figure 41. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by 5 year GDP growth

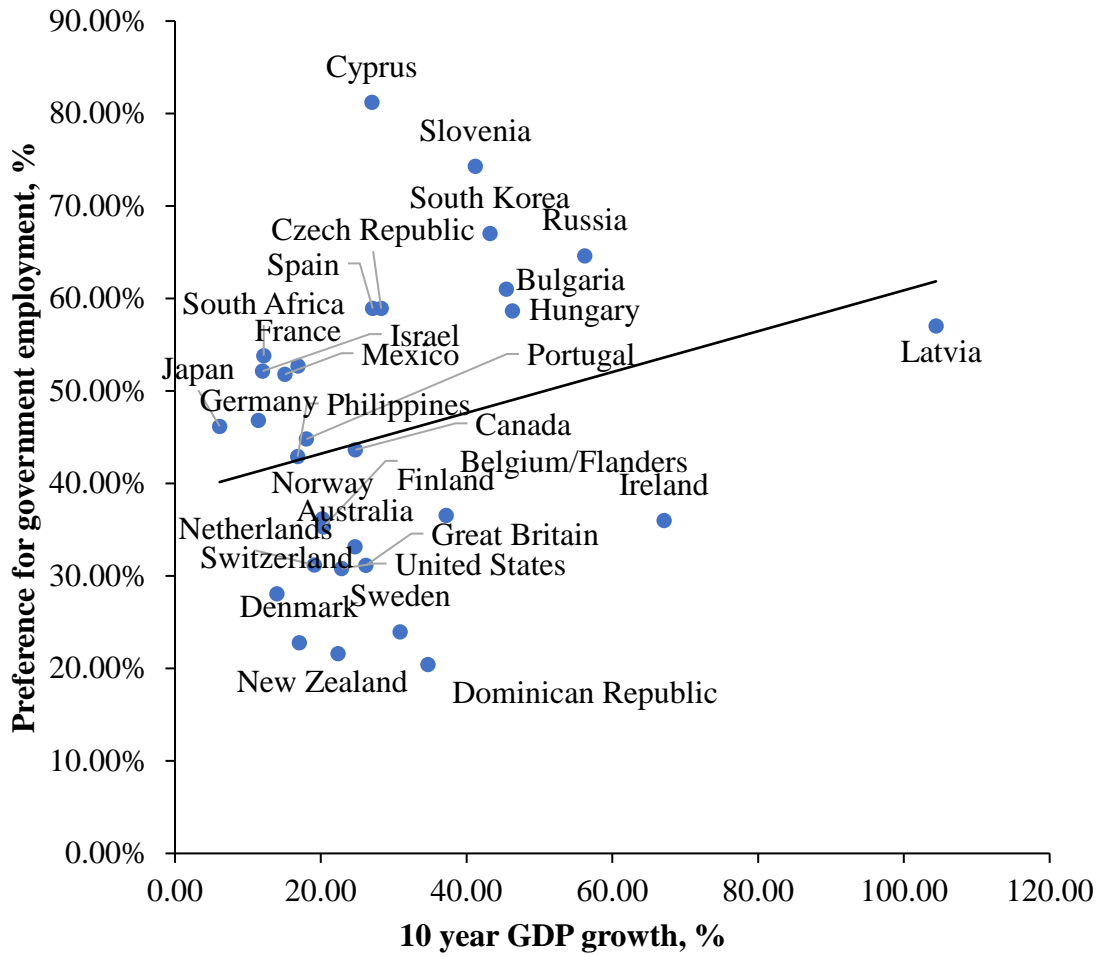


Figure 42. Scatterplot of preference for government employment by 10 year GDP growth

between a nation's unemployment rate and a preference for public sector employment, thus supporting such a hypothesized relationship. In the next section both individual-level and nation-level correlates of preferences for public sector employment are examined in a series of multilevel models.

Section 5.3: Multilevel models of preferences for public sector employment

This section employs a series of multilevel models to explain preferences for public sector employment. The results of these models are displayed in Tables 5 through 7. Given the hierarchical structure of the data used in this study, multilevel models are an appropriate estimating technique. In this analysis, I am mostly concerned with explaining individual attributes. However, since the individuals in the analysis are nested within different nations across the globe it is probable that the preferences of individuals living in the same country correlate with each other due to the influence of national context. Failing to control for this nation-level occurrence may lead the researcher to draw inaccurate conclusions, thus it is appropriate to control for nation-level influences. At the same time, by examining nation-level variables the researcher is afforded the opportunity to examine predictors at both the individual and nation-level in the same analysis. A preference for public sector employment, as reported from the ISSP survey, remains the dependent variable for the following series of multilevel models.

Section 5.3.i: The null model and intraclass correlation

Before a multilevel analysis can be conducted, the researcher must determine if there is enough variation between level-2 data to warrant including level-2 effects (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). A null model is estimated to make such a determination. The null model does not include any level-1 or level-2 data. With the intercept and residual variance components in hand,

the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) can be calculated. The ICC measures the degree of variation in the outcome variable explained by the hierarchical structure of the data (Hox 2002).

$$ICC = \frac{\text{intercept variance component}}{\text{total variance components}} = \frac{0.4856}{0.4856 + 3.29} = 0.1286$$

The ICC for the null model is 0.1286. This result indicates that the nation-level variables account for 12.9% of the variation in the dependent variable. Such a result indicates that there is significant nation-level effect on preferences for public sector employment and that the inclusion of nation-level correlates is justified and multilevel models are appropriate.

The statistical software package HLM 7.01 is used to estimate the multilevel models. Standard practice warrants the use of grand-mean centering for continuous variables at both the individual and nation-level. In any kind of multiple regression analysis, the intercepts are interpreted once each of the predictors takes on a value of zero. However, a value of zero is not possible for many predictors, thus grand-mean centering is appropriate (Hox 2002). As such, grand-mean centering is employed for the individual-level variables *Age* and *Education*. Grand-mean centering is also used for the following nation-level variables: *Regulatory quality*, *Corruption perceptions index*, *Unemployment*, *Consumer price index*, *1 year GDP growth*, *5 year GDP growth*, *10 year GDP growth*, and *Government Employment*. Correlates which are grand-mean centered are identified in boldface in the equations found below.

Section 5.2: Empirical findings

The results of the models are reported in Tables 5 through 7. These models consider the preference for public sector employment at both the individual and nation levels of analysis. Eight models are presented below. Table 5 reports Models 1-3. Model 1 is a basic model examining only level-1 variables related to work motives, work-life balance, and key socio-demographic correlates. Most of the individual-level variables in Model 1 perform similarly

Table 5. Multilevel regression models: Preference for public sector employment (Basic Model, Nature/Quality of Public Sector Model, Economic Conditions Model)

	Model 1 (Basic)	Model 2 (Nature/Quality of Public Sector)	Model 3 (Economic Conditions)
<i>Fixed Effects</i>			
<i>Work motive variables</i>			
Help people	0.023351 (1.02)	0.024226 (1.02)	0.023602 (1.02)
Job useful to society	0.106393** (1.11)	0.105979** (1.11)	0.107029** (1.11)
Job security	0.269283*** (1.31)	0.268590*** (1.31)	0.266599*** (1.31)
High income	0.059068 (1.06)	0.059179 (1.06)	0.058366 (1.06)
<i>Work-Life Balance variables</i>			
Time in a paid job	0.031665 (1.03)	0.028279 (1.03)	0.033811 (1.03)
Time doing house work	0.006031 (1.01)	0.005791 (1.01)	0.004512 (1.01)
Time with family	0.018228 (1.02)	0.018649 (1.02)	0.018633 (1.02)
Time with friends	-0.102307* (0.90)	-0.100765* (0.90)	-0.102782* (0.90)
Time in leisure activities	-0.094121** (0.91)	-0.094144** (0.91)	-0.093060** (0.91)
Full-time work	0.126439*** (1.14)	0.126424*** (1.14)	0.127551*** (1.14)
<i>Demographic variables</i>			
Government employee	1.559835*** (4.76)	1.584811*** (4.88)	1.549287*** (4.71)
Female	0.390451*** (1.48)	0.393030*** (1.48)	0.388907*** (1.48)
Education in years	-0.045092*** (0.91)	-0.044928*** (0.96)	-0.044875*** (0.96)
Age	0.005188* (1.01)	0.005184* (1.01)	0.005308* (1.01)
Religious attendance	0.091277 (1.10)	0.088865 (1.10)	0.089497 (1.10)
Married	0.067256 (1.07)	0.069530 (1.07)	0.066128 (1.07)
Child in the household	0.018795 (1.02)	0.019331 (1.02)	0.021701 (1.02)

* $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$ (numbers in parentheses are odds ratios)

Table 5. (continued) Multilevel regression models: Preference for public sector employment (Basic Model, Nature/Quality of Public Sector Model, Economic Conditions Model)

	Model 1 (Basic)	Model 2 (Nature/Quality of Public Sector)	Model 3 (Economic Conditions)
<i>Nation-level variables</i>			
Regulatory quality	--	0.821907** (2.27)	--
Corruption perceptions index	--	-0.321135** (0.73)	--
Percent of employment in the public sector	--	-0.006114 (0.99)	--
Unemployment	--	--	-0.069084** (0.93)
Consumer price index	--	--	0.017176 (1.02)
1 year GDP growth	--	--	-0.045061 (0.96)
5 year GDP growth	--	--	0.045514* (1.05)
10 year GDP growth	--	--	-0.017849 (0.98)
Intercept	-1.066421***	-1.067342***	-1.185058***
<i>Random Effects (Variance Components)</i>			
Intercept	0.82903***	0.50100***	1.18633***
Job security	0.07568***	0.07523***	0.07721***
Government employee	0.42425***	0.41945***	0.42469***
Female	0.02513**	0.02473*	0.02423**
Education in years	0.00126***	0.00121***	0.00125***
Age	0.00019***	0.00019***	0.00018***
Religious attendance	0.03864**	0.03322**	0.03488**
Married	0.04700***	0.04803***	0.04712***
Child in the household	0.02665**	0.02654**	0.02616**
Time in a paid job	0.03815**	0.03797**	0.03822**
Time with friends	0.03490**	0.03518**	0.03568**
Level-1 <i>N</i>	21048	21048	21048
Level-2 <i>N</i>	31	31	31
-2 Log Likelihood	29,886.9	29,888.2	29,904.0

* $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$ (numbers in parentheses are odds ratios)

across all models in this study, illustrating the robustness of the findings related to the statistically significant variables. In terms of the work motive variables, both extrinsic motives and obligation-based intrinsic motives are found to be significantly associated with a preference for public sector employment, reinforcing the findings of previous public service motivation studies (e.g. Buelens & Van den Broeck 2007; Houston 2000, 2011; Perry & Hondghem 2009). In particular, the results suggest that individuals who value a job being useful to society are 11% more likely to prefer employment with the public sector (see odds ratios in parentheses within model results), as expected according to Hypothesis 1. Likewise, individuals who value job security are 31% more likely to want to work for government as well, as expected per Hypothesis 2. However, the results do not offer support for Hypothesis 3. There is no statistically significant relationship between those who value helping other people and a preference for public sector employment. The lack of a statistically significant relationship is contrary to many of the findings reported by several public service motivation scholars (Houston 2011; Van de Walle et al. 2015).

Moreover, Model 1 reports significant results for some of the work-life balance correlates examined in the study. Notably those who want to spend more time in leisure activities are 9% less likely to want to work for government. Likewise, individuals who want to spend more time with friends are 10% less likely to want to work for the public sector. However, the latter finding has a probability value less than or equal to 0.10, therefore this finding is at a lower level of significance than other variables. Both of these findings offer support to Hypothesis 5. Moreover, the results indicate that individuals who want full-time employment are 14% more likely to view government as their employer of choice, thus supporting the original expectations for Hypothesis 4. At the same time, there is no statistically significant relationship between a

preference for public sector employment and spending time in a paid job, doing household work, or spending more time with family. The latter result is somewhat surprising given that family commitments are often a central component of the work-life balance equation (Frone 2003; Greenhaus et al., 2003). Overall, these work-life balance results are contrary to the expectation that individuals who prefer more work-life balance desire public sector employment. The opposite seems to be at play. Individuals who prefer more work-life balance appear to be less likely to want to work for government, while those who prefer full-time employment are more likely to desire employment in the public sector.

Model 1 also reports the results on several key demographic variables. Among those with a statistically significant relationship, individuals who report being a current government employee are much more likely to want to work for government—in fact, they are over 4.5 times as likely to want to work for government. Likewise, females are about one and half times more likely to prefer working for government than men are, similar to the results reported in other studies (Steijn 2008; Vandenabeele 2008). Furthermore, there is a positive relationship between age and a preference for public sector employment, as older individuals are more likely to want to work for government. The more years of education an individual has, the less likely he/she is to express a desire to work for government, reinforcing previous findings (e.g. Steijn 2008). The other socio-demographic variables do not report statistically significant findings, indicating that there is no significant relationship between a preference for employment with government and those who attend religious services at least once per month, are married, and whether or not an individual lives with children in their household. The lack of significance for on the latter two variables is rather interesting when also considering the lack of a significant relationship between wanting to spend more time with family and a preference for government employment. Again,

there appears to be no evidence to suggest that family commitments are significantly associated with a desire to work for government.

Model 2 expands upon the correlates in Model 1 by including nation-level variables related to the nature and quality of the public sector. The findings for each of the individual-level variables retain their significance from Model 1. Model 2 indicates that the quality of the public sector is a significant predictor of preferences for public sector employment. In particular, nations which exhibit greater regulator quality are associated with a higher preference for employment in the public sector, offering partial support for Hypothesis 6. However, the preference for government employment is lower in nations which are perceived to have lower levels of corruption, which does not conform with the expectations outlined in Hypothesis 6. These results indicate that while attraction to government employment increases in nations with a quality regulatory regime, attraction decreases in nations with a low perception of government corruption. Furthermore, the nature of the public sector, as measured by the percent of a nation's workforce employed by government, is not significantly associated with a desire to work in government, contrary to this earlier hypothesis. The lack of significance is not surprising given relatively weak relationship between the dependent variable and the *Percent of employment in the public sector* variable reported in the scatter plots earlier in this chapter.

Just as Model 2 considers nation-level correlates, so too does Model 3 (see Table 5). National economic conditions are examined in Model 3 alongside the individual-level correlates from Model 1. Model 3 does not include nation-level correlates related to the nature and quality of the public sector. Again, the level-1 variables from Model 1 retain their significance in Model 3. Of the economic correlates examined in Model 3, only two variables are significantly associated with a preference for government employment: *Unemployment rate* and *5 year GDP*

growth. However, both results are contrary to the expectation in Hypothesis 7 that a preference for public sector employment will be higher in nations with struggling economies. In terms of a nation's Unemployment rate, the results suggest that government is less likely to be the employer of choice in nations with higher unemployment rates. This result is rather surprising given the general assumption that the job security associated with government employment is considered to increase the attractiveness of government employment during times of high unemployment. A more detailed discussion of the implications of this finding is offered in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Further results indicate that government is more likely to be the preferred employer in nations with a higher five year GDP growth rate. This result suggests that as a nation's economy improves, government is more likely to be an attractive employment option. Again, this finding contradicts the economic conditions hypothesis. When considering findings related to unemployment rates and GDP growth rates, there does not appear to be support for the expectation that government is more likely to be the employer of choice in nations with struggling economies. Just the opposite situation seems to exist.

Table 6 includes Models 4-6. In order to examine the nation-level correlates related to the nature and quality of the public sector and national economic conditions at the same time, a composite model is estimated in Model 4. Model 4 includes the individual-level variables from Model 1 and the nation-level variables from Models 2 and 3. The individual level correlates from Model 1 remain statistically significant in the composite model. Results from the composite model indicate that only two of the national-level variables retain their statistically significant association with the dependent variable: *Corruption perceptions index*, and *Unemployment rate*. Similar to Model 3, the composite model indicates that the public sector is

Table 6. Multilevel regression models: Preference for public sector employment (Composite, Basic Political Party ID, Composite Political Party ID)

	Model 4 (Composite)	Model 5 (Basic Political Party ID)	Model 6 (Composite Political Party ID)
<i>Fixed Effects</i>			
<i>Work motive variables</i>			
Help people	0.023866 (1.02)	0.019930 (1.02)	0.021527 (1.02)
Job useful to society	0.106634** (1.11)	0.156424** (1.17)	0.154704** (1.18)
Job security	0.266414*** (1.31)	0.294673*** (1.34)	0.295436*** (1.34)
High income	0.059412 (1.06)	0.045078 (1.05)	0.046561 (1.05)
<i>Work-Life Balance variables</i>			
Time in a paid job	0.032240 (1.03)	0.033673 (1.03)	0.038189 (1.04)
Time doing house work	0.004760 (1.01)	0.023464 (1.01)	0.024567 (1.02)
Time with family	0.019158 (1.02)	0.009096 (1.02)	0.010196 (1.01)
Time with friends	-0.100796* (0.90)	-0.107377** (0.90)	-0.106315** (0.90)
Time in leisure activities	-0.092674** (0.91)	-0.100007** (0.91)	-0.104252** (0.91)
Full-time work	0.126394*** (1.14)	0.108322** (1.14)	0.108633** (1.11)
<i>Demographic variables</i>			
Government employee	1.567037*** (4.79)	1.585289*** (4.88)	1.614390*** (5.02)
Female	0.390820*** (1.48)	0.360217*** (1.43)	0.364422*** (1.44)
Education in years	-0.044607*** (0.96)	-0.039684*** (0.96)	-0.039567*** (0.96)
Age	0.005317* (1.01)	0.004548 (1.01)	0.004718 (1.01)
Religious attendance	0.087889 (1.10)	0.087060* (1.10)	0.089841* (1.10)
Married	0.067408 (1.07)	0.053751 (1.06)	0.054154 (1.06)
Child in the household	0.020095 (1.02)	0.019287 (1.02)	0.022176 (1.02)
Left Political Party ID	--	0.263548*** (1.30)	0.265856** (1.30)
Right Political Party ID	--	-0.216494*** (0.81)	-0.222496** (0.81)

* $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$ (numbers in parentheses are odds ratios)

Table 6. (continued) Multilevel regression models: Preference for public sector employment (Composite, Basic Political Party ID, Composite Political Party ID)

	Model 4 (Composite)	Model 5 (Basic Political Party ID)	Model 6 (Composite Political Party ID)
<i>Nation-level variables</i>			
Regulatory quality	0.727667 (2.07)	--	1.701065** (5.48)
Corruption perceptions index	-0.323282** (0.72)	--	-0.501260** (0.61)
Percent of employment in the public sector	0.004127 (1.00)	--	0.015358 (1.02)
Unemployment	-0.048846* (0.95)	--	-0.091860* (0.91)
Consumer price index	0.021788 (1.02)	--	0.054100 (1.06)
1 year GDP growth	-0.129254 (0.88)	--	-0.499578** (0.61)
5 year GDP growth	0.036461 (1.04)	--	0.124166** (1.13)
10 year GDP growth	-0.008568 (0.99)	--	-0.008126 (0.99)
Intercept	-1.326776***	-1.095773***	-1.420933***
<i>Random Effects (Variance Components)</i>			
Intercept	0.80429***	0.96084***	1.00940***
Job security	0.07733***	--	--
Government employee	0.42162***	0.33799***	0.33563***
Female	0.02484**	--	--
Education in years	0.00124***	0.00135**	0.00126**
Age	0.00019***	0.00018***	0.00017***
Religious attendance	0.03287**	0.05611**	0.05500**
Married	0.04682***	0.04593**	0.04314**
Child in the household	0.02727**	0.09366***	0.09452***
Time in a paid job	0.03854**	0.05983***	0.00126**
Time with friends	0.03522**	0.11567***	0.12499***
Level-1 <i>N</i>	21048	13870	13870
Level-2 <i>N</i>	31	24	24
-2 Log Likelihood	29,903.9	19,645.7	19,667.6

* $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$ (numbers in parentheses are odds ratios)

less likely to be the employer of choice in nations with a lower perception of government corruption. Additionally, government is less likely to be a desirable employer in nations with a higher rate of unemployment. Given that these two findings retain their significance across both models indicates their robustness.

This dissertation also considers the relationship between political party identification and government employment preferences. Several nations are missing responses for the variables *Left political party* and *Right political party*, therefore reducing the number of level-1 and level-2 observations. As such, a separate set of models is estimated which include these political party identification correlates. Model 5 is a basic model with the political party identification variables. The same individual-level variables from Models 1-4 are significant in Model 5, with the exception of *Age* and *Religious attendance*. The results from Model 5 indicate that *Age* is no longer statistically significant. However, *Religious attendance* is slightly significant in Model 5. Individuals who attend religious services at least once per month are 10% more likely to want to work for the public sector, similar to results linking religiosity and public employment in other studies (Freeman and Houston 2010; Houston 2013).

In terms of the political party identification variables examined in Model 5, both variables report a statistically significant relationship with a preference for government employment. Individuals who identify with a left-leaning political party are 30% more likely to express a desire to work for the public sector than those associated with a moderate or no political party. Individuals who identify with a right-leaning political party are 19% less likely to want to work for the public sector. These results are line with other studies which conclude that government employees are more likely to be affiliated with left-leaning political parties (Blais, Blake, and Dion 1991; Garand, Parkhurst, and Seoud 1991; Jensen, Sum, and Flynn 2009;

Knutsen 2005; Lewis and Frank 2002). The above results conform with the hypotheses offered in earlier chapters.

The political party identification correlates are also examined in a composite model, which includes all of the nation-level variables from Model 4. The political party identification composite model is estimated in Model 6 (see Table 6). The level-1 variables from Model 5 retain their statistically significant association with a preference for public sector employment in Model 6. However, five of the nation-level variables are statistically significant in Model 6: *Regulatory quality*, *Corruption perceptions index*, *unemployment*, *1 year GDP growth*, and *5 year GDP growth*. The results from Model 6 suggest that government is much more likely to be the employer of choice in nations with a higher regulatory quality, similar to the findings in Model 2. Further findings from Model 6 reinforce previous models in which perceptions of national corruption are negatively associated with a preference to work in government. Additionally, a slightly negative relationship remains between a nation's rate of unemployment and a preference for public sector employment.

As in Model 3, government is more likely to be the employer of choice in nations with a higher five year GDP growth rate in Model 6. However, Model 6 reports a statistically significant result for one year GDP growth. In particular, the public sector is less likely to be a desirable employer in nations with a lower one year GDP growth rate. At best, this result offers partial support to the hypothesis that the desire to work for government will be higher in nations with struggling economies. It is perhaps more appropriate to interpret the one year GDP growth rate result as suggesting that government is less likely to be the employer of choice in nations with lower rates of GDP growth. The reason for this interpretation can be illustrated in the response distributions reported earlier in this chapter. None of the nations in the study report a

negative one year GDP growth rate, which would typically be associated with an economic recession. Rather each nation reports at least some degree of growth in their GDP over one year. Therefore, the one year GDP growth rate findings from Model 6 should be interpreted with caution, as should any implications drawn from this finding.

Just as the political party identification correlates are estimated in a separate group of models, so too are the unemployment-related individual-level variables. The reason for doing so is driven by the extraordinary reduction in the number of level-1 observations when including this set of variables. Models 7 and 8 are reported in Table 7. These models include three variables measuring responses from individuals who are unemployed. These variables examine individuals who are 1) unemployed for reasons other than being terminated for cause or willfully quitting their job, 2) unemployed and currently searching for employment, and 3) unemployed and wanting a job. By including these variables, the number of level-1 observations is reduced to 4,722 as compared to the 21,048 level-1 observations reported in Models 1-4.

Model 7 is a basic model including the individual-level unemployment correlates mentioned above. When controlling for these unemployment correlates, changes occur for some of the individual-level results from the other models. For the first time in this study, individuals who value helping other people are now found to be more likely to want to work for government (20% more likely). At the same time, there ceases to be a statistically significant association between individuals who value a job which is useful to society and a preference for government employment. Among the other work motive correlates, individuals who value job security are still more likely to prefer employment with the public sector, and high income remains statistically insignificant. In terms of the work-life balance variables, the results remain relatively similar to previous models with the exception of those who want to spend more time in

Table 7. Multilevel regression models: Preference for public sector employment (Basic Unemployment, Composite Unemployment)

	Model 7 (Basic Unemployment)	Model 8 (Composite Unemployment)
<i>Fixed Effects</i>		
<i>Work motive variables</i>		
Help people	0.178819** (1.20)	0.187502** (1.21)
Job useful to society	-0.089919 (0.91)	-0.088468 (0.92)
Job security	0.297913** (1.34)	0.303444** (1.35)
High income	-0.054715 (0.95)	-0.066233 (0.94)
<i>Work-Life Balance variables</i>		
Time in a paid job	0.066864 (1.07)	0.065819 (1.07)
Time doing house work	0.065665 (1.07)	0.061444 (1.06)
Time with family	0.035844 (1.04)	0.036518 (1.05)
Time with friends	-0.298055*** (0.74)	-0.292766*** (0.75)
Time in leisure activities	0.009551 (1.01)	0.011345 (1.01)
Full-time work	0.181933** (1.20)	0.172069** (1.19)
<i>Demographic variables</i>		
Female	0.437602*** (1.55)	0.450610*** (1.57)
Education in years	-0.021858* (0.98)	-0.018481 (0.98)
Age	0.010947** (1.01)	0.011407** (1.01)
Religious attendance	0.015076 (1.10)	0.000899 (1.00)
Married	0.001354 (1.00)	0.001533 (1.00)
Child in the household	0.063687 (1.07)	0.059423 (1.06)
Unemployed	0.016733 (1.02)	0.012489 (1.02)
Want a job	0.055326 (1.05)	0.049907 (1.05)
Looking for work	-0.069236 (0.93)	-0.067274 (0.94)

* $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$ (numbers in parentheses are odds ratios)

Table 7. (continued) Multilevel regression models: Preference for public sector employment (Basic Unemployment, Composite Unemployment)

	Model 7 (Basic Unemployment)	Model 8 (Composite Unemployment)
<i>Nation-level variables</i>		
Regulatory quality	--	0.509808 (1.66)
Corruption perceptions index	--	-0.382728*** (0.68)
Percent of employment in the public sector	--	0.046388 (1.05)
Unemployment	--	0.027482** (1.03)
Consumer price index	--	0.027440 (1.03)
1 year GDP growth	--	-0.370061** (0.88)
5 year GDP growth	--	0.071244** (1.07)
10 year GDP growth	--	0.012108 (1.01)
Intercept	-0.683542***	-0.682599***
<i>Random Effects (Variance Components)</i>		
Intercept	0.45377***	0.46407***
Job security	0.11845***	0.13119***
Female	0.00020***	0.09566**
Education in years	0.00088**	0.00129***
Age	0.08040**	0.00021***
Level-1 <i>N</i>	4722	4722
Level-2 <i>N</i>	30	30
-2 Log Likelihood	67,564.1	67,728.6

* $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$ (numbers in parentheses are odds ratios)

leisure activities. In Model 7 this work-life balance correlate is no longer statistically significant. Model 7 is mostly concerned with examining the relationship between unemployed individuals and employment sector preferences. The findings indicate that none of the unemployment-related correlates are statistically significant. The other socio-demographic variables retain similar statistically significant results as they do in Models 1-4. It should be noted that the political party identification correlates are not included in the group of unemployment models, as their inclusion would further reduce the number of level-1 and level-2 observations.

Finally, Model 8 is a composite model of the unemployment correlates and the nation-level variables from Models 4 and 6. Notably, for the first time in this study, government is more likely to be the employer of choice in nations with a higher rate of unemployment. This is an interesting finding, given that the individual-level unemployment correlates are insignificant. This is the only finding which offers partial support for the expectation that preferences for government employment will be higher in nations with struggling economies. Further findings reinforce previous results indicating that the public sector is less likely to be the preferred sector of employment in nations with lower levels of perceived government corruption.

Moreover, Model 8 results for one and five year GDP growth rates are similar to the findings from Model 6. Overall, much caution should be exhibited when interpreting the results from Models 7 and 8 given the significantly reduced number of level-1 observations. Perhaps the most important finding from Models 7 and 8 is the lack of any significant relationship between individual unemployment correlates and a preference for government employment, thus suggesting that whether or not an individual is unemployed is not a determining factor in their desire to work for government.

Section 5.5: Summary

In summary, both individual-level and nation-level correlates are associated with a preference for public sector employment. The robustness of several of these correlates is evident when comparing results across all multilevel models. Overall, in terms of work motives, both extrinsic and obligation-based intrinsic motives are associated with a preference for public sector employment. Notably, individuals who value a job which is useful to society are more likely to prefer government as their employer of choice, just as individuals who value job security are more likely to want to work for government.

Furthermore, nearly all models indicate that individuals who desire more work-life balance are less likely to want to work for government. In particular, individuals who want to spend more time with friends are less likely to express a desire to work for government. So too are individuals who want to spend more time with friends. The latter two findings seem to be compounded by the results suggesting that individuals who want a full-time job are more likely to prefer government employment. Among the socio-demographic findings, it appears that government employees, females, and individuals who identify with left-leaning political parties are more likely to prefer employment with the public sector. In addition, individuals with more years of education and those who identify with right-leaning political parties are less likely to want to work for government.

Finally, there are also some robust findings among the nation-level correlates examined across the above multilevel models. Generally speaking, both the quality of the public sector and national economic conditions are associated with a preference for public sector employment. In particular, government is less likely to be the employer of choice in nations with a lower level of perceived government corruption. Similarly, government is less likely to be a desirable

employment sector in nations with higher unemployment rates. Less robust results suggest that there may be an association between GDP growth rates and employment sector preferences, as well as a relationship between a nation's regulatory quality and government employment preferences. The implications of the above findings are discussed in more detail in the conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS: A CROSS-NATIONAL EXAMINATION OF PREFERENCES FOR PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYMENT

Section 6.1: Overview

The attraction, selection, and retention of qualified personnel for the public sector is paramount to ensuring good governance. Good governance manifests in effective administration, efficient use of resources, and the equitable application of governmental power (Agnafors 2013). Across the globe, countries are facing a “quiet crisis” in public administration. This quiet crisis culminates in undesirable turnover rates among public employees (Aijala 2002; Burke and Ng 2006; Feeney 2008; Levine 1986; Lewis 1991; National Commission on the Public Service 1989), and thereby challenges the goal of achieving good governance. To reduce turnover rates and promote good governance, governments can begin by focusing on the first stages of the human resources lifecycle: attracting and selecting prospective employees. Attracting and selecting those individuals who fit best with their jobs and organizations reduces likelihood of those employees leaving government for other jobs and employment sectors, thus reducing turnover rates and promoting good governance.

To identify what attracts individuals to their occupations and places of employment, one is best served by reviewing the contributions of scholars from the person-environment fit research area (see Arthur et al. 2006; Kristof-Brown, et al. 2005). Individuals are attracted to organizations and occupations which are congruent with their own personal goals and values. This value-goal congruence exists between both the individual and the organizations for which they work (person-organization fit) and between the individual and the occupation in which they are employed (person-job fit) (Kristof-Brown, et al. 2005).

Identifying just what values are important to individuals and their degree of congruity with organizational and occupational values is best accomplished by examining individual work motives. Work motives are often categorized as either extrinsic motives or intrinsic motives (Frey & Osterloh 2002). Extrinsic motives are those which are driven by external sources and rewards. Common examples of extrinsic work motives are salaries, benefits, and job security. In each of these cases, the employee is receiving a tangible reward for his/her efforts. Individuals are also motivated by a set of intrinsic rewards. Generally speaking, intrinsic motivation is driven from within the individual, rather than being imposed by an external source. However, there are at least two recognized types of intrinsic motives. The first is an enjoyment-based intrinsic motive. Enjoyment-based intrinsic motives come from within the individual. An individual completes a task simply because he/she enjoys the task. He/she receives no external reward to do so. The second type of intrinsic motive is obligation-based. Obligation-based intrinsic motivation is that in which an individual completes a task because they feel some sense of duty or responsibility to do so, yet they are not driven by external rewards (Akerlof & Kranton 2000; Frey & Osterloh 2000). Obligation-based intrinsic motives are commonly associated with the public service, and its associated characteristics of helping others, giving back to society, and a general sense of duty to one's community (see Steijn 2008; Vandenabeele 2008).

Within the public administration literature, obligation-based intrinsic motives are most often examined within the Public Service Motivation (PSM) research stream. PSM suggests that individuals who work for government are driven by a unique set of work motives, different from individuals who work for the private sector. Among the commonly identified characteristics of PSM is a commitment to the public interest, compassion for one's work and others, and self-sacrifice (Perry 1996). Several conclusions can be drawn from the extant literature as to what

motivates public sector employees. In general, those who work for government tend to value employment in which they can help other people and for which they feel their job is useful to society (Houston 2011; Van de Walle, et al. 2015). Compared to those who work in the private sector, public employees typically place less value upon extrinsic rewards such as pay and promotion (Houston 2011; Van de Walle, et al. 2015).

However, public employees also value certain extrinsic rewards more so than private sector employees. In particular, those who work for government typically value job security more so than the private sector (Crewson 1997; Houston 2000, 2011; Perry & Hondeghem 2008). Findings such as this suggest that public employees are motivated by a mixture of both obligation-based intrinsic motives and extrinsic motives. Rather than being an “either-or” situation, public employees respond to a mixture of motives, with obligation-based intrinsic motives being more highly valued than they would be by private sector employees (see Houston 2011).

While the above findings provide insight as to the motivations of current government employees, there exists a research gap in terms of why individuals are attracted to government and whether or not national characteristics can help explain cross-national variation in preferences for government employment. This dissertation addresses these concerns, as well as other individual-level explanations for attraction to public sector employment. In particular, this dissertation examines the role of work-life balance in explaining attraction to employment with government. And at the national-level, the quality of government and national economic conditions are examined as possible explanations for variation in employment preferences across nations.

Section 6.2: Summary

Based on the analyses conducted in this dissertation, variation in preferences for public sector employment takes place among individuals within nations, as well as between nations. Individuals living in Cyprus, Slovenia, South Korea, and Russia express the greatest preference for wanting to work for government. Individuals living in the Dominican Republic, New Zealand, Denmark, and Sweden express the least desire to want to work in government. Overall, it appears that individuals living in formerly communist regimes express the most desire for working in government, as six of the top ten nations are former members of the USSR (Slovenia, Russia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Latvia). Even Cyprus follows this trend, given that the communist party has significant influence in national politics (Dunphy & Bale 2007). These findings suggest a lingering effect of communism in those nations, given that government was the only employer under communist regimes.

A closer examination of the dependent variable reveals variation in the preferences for public sector employment across nations. The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) indicates that 12.9 percent of the variation in preferences for public sector employment is due to variation at the national level. As such, several multilevel models are estimated so as to examine potential nation-level predictors.

The multilevel models estimated in Chapter 5 produce several interesting findings. Several individual-level correlates are found to be significantly associated with a preference for public sector employment, notably work motives, work-life balance, and socio-demographics. However, certain variables within each of these categories are found to be statistically insignificant.

Among those work motive-related individual-level correlates which are associated with a preference for public sector employment are job security and a job which is useful to society. Individuals who value job security are more likely to want to work for government, just as are individuals who value their job being useful to society. Together, these findings suggest that those who want to work for government value a mixture of both obligation-based intrinsic and extrinsic work motives, consistent with the findings of other scholars (see Crewson 1997; Houston 2000, 2011; Perry and Hondghem 2008; Van de Walle et al. 2015).

Moreover, the role of work-life balance is partially associated with a preference for government employment. Individuals who want to spend more time with friends and in leisure activities are less likely to want to work for government, thus further contributing to the narrative that those who want to work for government are self-sacrificing. They do not express a desire to spend more time in private life activities. To add to this narrative, individuals who want full-time employment are more likely to want to work for the public sector. These results contradict the very limited amount of studies examining a relationship between work-life balance and government employment (see Buelens & Van den Broeck 2007).

Beyond work motives and work-life balance, certain sociodemographic variables are associated with a preference for government employment. Not surprisingly, those who are currently employed by government are much more likely to want to work for government. At the same time, females are more likely to want to work for government. Less robust findings suggest that older individuals are also more likely to express a desire to work for the public sector. Individuals with more years for formal education are less likely to want to work for government. These socio-demographic findings are consistent with other studies examining government employees (see Lewis & Frank 2002; Steijn 2008; Vandenaabeele 2008).

Further analysis indicates that an individual's political party identification is significantly associated with their preference for employment in the public sector. Individuals identifying with left-leaning political parties are more likely to prefer government as their employer of choice, just as individuals who identify with right-leaning political parties are less likely to want work for the public sector.

In addition to the individual-level variables, the multilevel models afford the researcher the opportunity to examine the effect of nation-level variables at the same time. The nature and quality of the public sector and national economic conditions are examined alongside the individual-level correlates to determine the effect of nation-level variables on the dependent variable. Overall, the quality of the public sector as expressed in the perception of government corruption and regulatory quality are significantly associated with the dependent variable. Stronger results exist to suggest that government is less likely to be the employer of choice in nations which are perceived to have lower levels of corruption, while less robust results indicate that nations with greater regulatory quality are more likely to be associated with a preference for public sector employment.

Just as quality governments are associated with a preference for government employment, so too are certain national economic conditions. Notably, a nation's unemployment is the most consistently performing indicator across all of the models. The results suggest that the public sector is less likely to be the preferred employer in nations with higher unemployment rates, contrary to the expectation that struggling economies are associated with a greater preference for public sector employment.

Less consistent findings across the models indicate that five year GDP growth is positively related with a preference for government employment. The results from the economic

conditions model and the composite political party identification model suggest that government is more likely to be the employer of choice in nations with higher five year GDP growth rates. Again, this finding contradicts the original expectation that government is more likely to be the preferred employer in nations with struggling economies.

Implications

The purpose of this dissertation is not to argue why people should choose to work for government. That is a decision best left to the individuals themselves. Only they can truly determine which careers are a best fit for them. Rather, this dissertation attempts to explore common associations between a desire to work for government and individual and national characteristics. The findings from this dissertation have several implications for public personnel management. The implications discussed below are not intended to be a panacea for the quiet crisis facing public administration, but they can offer insight into why people choose to work for government.

An underlying narrative that emerges from some of the public service motivation literature implies that those who work for government do so out of intrinsic motivation, with little value placed upon extrinsic rewards (Bozeman & Su 2015). Without due care, the reader could conclude that extrinsic motives are an afterthought for those who work in government. However, as this dissertation and other studies (see Crewson 1997; Houston 2011; Van de Walle, et al. 2015) demonstrate, the motivations of those who want to work for government are more complicated than suggested in the public service motivation research stream. Those who want to work for government are driven by a mixture of both intrinsic and extrinsic motives. It is important for public managers to recognize this complex relationship. To simply assume that

those who want to work for government are only motivated by intrinsic motives is to ignore their significant extrinsic motives and needs.

While it is important for management to reward an individual's desire to have a job which is useful to society, management must also reward those extrinsic motives which are important for public employment, such as job security. To attract and retain those individuals who fit best with their work environment, management must reward the full mixture of work motives commonly associated with public service. Failing to reward important work motives may further contribute to public administrations quiet crisis. And rewarding some motives more so than others risks crowding out those motives which are most important for public employees. For example, the results of this dissertation clearly indicate across all models that high income is not a significant predictor of an individual's preference for public sector employment. Yet the continued marketization of public service places greater emphasis upon extrinsic motives such as high income. Doing so may also further contribute to public administration's quiet crisis, for it fails to reward the intrinsic motivations of those who want to work for government. This is not to say that those who want to work for government do not desire an income. That would be a purely fallacious argument. Rather, the degree to which high income is valued is less among those who want to work in the public sector.

The work motive results from this dissertation reveal another important finding. The lack of statistical significance for the work motive helping other people is very surprising, given the findings from other studies (see Houston 2011; Van de Walle, et al. 2015). Some scholars go so far as to argue that public service motivation is essentially altruism (see Bozeman & Su 2015). If this is the case, then helping other people should be related to a preference for public sector employment, as helping others is arguably a core value of altruism (along with self-sacrifice).

That there is no statistical significance for altruism further suggests that existing explanations of why people choose to work for the public sector are more complicated than originally thought. Perhaps the reason for these insignificant findings rests in the occupational focus of those being surveyed. Many occupations in government lack “front-line” exposure to the citizens being served. Administrative support staff, information and communications technology personnel, and financial and budget analysts are just a few examples of occupations which often do not work directly with the communities being served by government programs. However, occupational classifications such as social work, public safety, and healthcare typically work directly with the populations being served. Being able to distinguish between the desired occupational locus among those who want to work for government would perhaps address the findings associated with helping other people, but unfortunately this is not possible with the existing ISSP data.

Beyond the implications drawn from the work motive findings, there are implications related to the work-life balance findings as well. Generally speaking, it appears that individuals who desire more work life balance (as measured by more time in private-life activities) are less likely to want to work for government. As stated previously, this was not expected. The few studies examining a relationship between work-life balance and government employment find that those who work in government want more work-life balance and less time spent at work (Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007). The results from this dissertation suggest just the opposite. Thus, the implication is that individuals who want to work for government do not do so out of a desire for more work-life balance. And they are more likely to desire full time work at the same time. Perhaps the most important implication from these work-life balance findings is that those who want to work for government do not conform to the stereotypical ideal of the “selfish lazy

bureaucrat” so often portrayed by popular culture. This is especially compounded when considering the work motive findings alongside work-life balance.

However, it is rather surprising to find insignificant results with those who want to spend more time with family. Given that family is often a pillar of the work-life balance equation, it was expected that spending more time with family would be associated with a preference for government employment. However, there is a possible explanation for a lack of such significant results. Research suggests that parents protect their time with family. They make a concerted effort to set aside time with their children (Bianchi et al. 2000, 2006). One must also consider the pressures of modern parenting, in which parents are expected to invest significant time with their children (Bianchi et al. 2000). Therefore, the lack of significant results here about spending more time with family may be attributed to individuals already devoting the necessary time to family activities, thus time with family is not a driving factor in why they would choose to work for government.

Related to the work-life balance correlates, certain family-related socio-demographic variables were expected to be associated with a preference for government employment. Individuals who are married and those who lived with at least one child in the household were expected to be more likely to express a desire for employment with the public sector. However, neither of these correlates is found to be statistically significant in this dissertation. This is somewhat surprising, especially given that government employment is often associated with providing better family-related benefits and generally being more family-friendly (see Blank 1985; Marlowe 2004). Yet similar characteristics may be at play here as with the findings related to spending more time with family. Altogether, it may be that these family-related considerations are already addressed by individuals and generally do not enter the calculus as to

why someone would be attracted to government employment. Further explanations may be related to the welfare provisions provided in many European countries. If family support mechanisms already exist for most all of a nation's population as a result of relatively generous welfare provisions, then individuals may not be attracted to public sector employment for the social welfare benefits. Quite frankly, associating government employment with generous benefits appears to be more of an American-phenomena, due to the relatively restricted nature of welfare benefits in the United States. These benefits are a generally defined condition of living in many other countries (Esping-Andersen 2013).

Just as there are several implications drawn from the individual-level correlates, so too are there implications related to the nation-level correlates examined in this dissertation. First of all, the quality of the public sector is an important explanation as to the variation in public sector employment preferences across nations. The results indicating that government is less likely to be the employer of choice in nations with lower perceptions of government corruption implies that improving the quality of the public sector may actually decrease the desirability of government employment. However, complicating this implication is the finding that the public sector is more likely to be the preferred employer in nations with greater regulatory quality. While these results appear to contradict each other, one conclusion can be drawn: institutions matter. The nature and quality of public institutions serve as predictors for cross-national variation in preferences for public sector employment.

Moreover, national economic conditions are associated with a preference for public sector employment. In particular, government is less likely to be the preferred employer in nations with higher unemployment rates. As stated previously, this is contrary to initial

expectations that government employment preferences would be greater in nations with struggling economies.

Several explanations may make sense of these results. First, the public-sector does not expand its payrolls as quickly as the private sector due to personnel and budgetary constraints. This can be especially exaggerated during times of economic recession in which it may be difficult for the public sector to expand its payrolls to absorb recently unemployed private-sector employees. This hiring restraint can coincide with a second explanation, resulting in a longer application process that is inconvenient for the unemployed. The professionalization of the public-sector, including anti-corruption efforts and a merit-based personnel system, creates greater constraints over the recruitment and hiring process (General Accounting Office 2004). These constraints manifest themselves in a lengthy and time-consuming hiring process for the job applicant. Finally, in addition to the character of the public sector, the ranks of the unemployed are comprised of more individuals previously employed in the private sector, and who would likely look for jobs in the sector and industry in which they were previously employed (Chien and Morris 2016).

Overall, the implications drawn from this dissertation suggest that to address the quiet crisis in public administration, public managers should first seek to attract those individuals who best fit with their work environments. To do so, public managers can reward a mixture of both obligation-based intrinsic motives and extrinsic motives. Notably, public management should reconsider some of the market-oriented reforms that have emerged within public service as a result of the new public management movement. Attracting quality public servants requires managers to go beyond traditional workplace incentives (e.g. high pay, benefits, and bonuses) and emphasize the opportunity for perspective employees to perform meaningful work with their

organizations. They can also offer full-time employment opportunities. And at the institutional level, public management can address corruption and improve regulatory quality to make government employment more attractive to those who are driven to public service.

Section 6.3: Limitations and future research

When interpreting the findings of this dissertation, it is wise to recognize its limitations. While this study is one of the more comprehensive examinations of preferences for public sector employment, the results are based on an examination of just 31 nations across the globe. The ISSP Work Orientations III Module only includes data for one additional country, Taiwan, but this country is missing from some of the national level variables and is therefore dropped from the analysis. Most of the nations in the survey are relatively advanced. While the study does include transitioning nations from Central and Eastern Europe and a few less developed nations such as the Dominican Republic, there is still a potential for bias in the results. It is difficult to generalize these results. It would be inappropriate to ascribe these results to less-developed nations, especially those with the least amount of development. Furthermore, the small sample size of nations is cause for additional concern. The multilevel models are estimated with only 31 nations, so “false negatives” may exist as a result of the lack of statistical power in the estimated models. Such results could reject a hypothesis incorrectly. Including more countries, especially at different development levels, would increase the variation in the nation-level and dependent variables. However, although the nation-level sample size is small, it is larger than any other published study to date which addresses the same dependent variable.

A further limitation of this dissertation is that it only examines occupational locus (i.e. sector of employment) and does not examine occupational focus (i.e. type of job). Therefore, it is perhaps inappropriate to ascribe the general findings associated with occupational locus to

more specific types of jobs within government (e.g. see the earlier discussion about employees who directly serve citizens and those who work in a support role).

Additional limitations are related to the nation-level variables included in this study. Only the quality and nature of the public sector and national economic conditions are examined. It may well be that other nation-level variables are associated with a preference for public sector employment too. For example, when examined in a multilevel model among 23 countries, post-communist nations are found to be positively associated with a preference for government employment (Houston and Moltz 2015). Other nation-level conditions which may be related are trust in government and welfare regime type.

Regarding the ISSP survey itself, there are additional limitations. First of all, it is impossible to know exactly what an individual respondent is thinking when he/she answers survey questions. The ISSP survey questions are written to be as clear and specific as possible, but there is still the possibility that they are worded too generally. For example, the work-life balance questions come to mind here. The insignificant results for “spending more time with family” may be due to question wording. Just who the respondent considers family may determine their answers (e.g. immediate family or distant family).

Second, cross-national studies are faced with particular challenges when taking into consideration the wording of survey questions. Not only is the ISSP survey administered in several countries across the globe, it is also translated into numerous different languages. The challenge here is that different words and phrases are used across the countries in the survey to represent the same constructs. Thus, interpretations of those constructs may be different depending on the question wording. Similarly, the methods used to collect the survey responses vary by country. In some nations, the surveys are conducted face-to-face, while in others

responses may be self-completed with mail or phone assistance. Therefore, the collection methods may affect the survey responses.

Another limitation is due to the nature of some of the nation-level variables. Some of these variables are indexes constructed from several survey responses. For example, the Corruption Perceptions Index is based on several different corruption surveys taken across each country. Composite variables introduce a certain degree of measurement error, as well the loss of some data. As such, the degree to which these variables are associated with the dependent variable may be dependent upon their composite nature.

In addition to the above limitations, there also exists the potential for common-source bias. Common-source bias results when variation between two concepts is due to the same source or measurement used to collect the data (Meier and O'Toole 2013). All of the individual-level correlates are derived from the same source: the 2005 ISSP Work Orientations III Module. Therefore, the possibility exists that the relationships between the various independent variables and the dependent variable are due to the dependent variable and independent variables being derived from the same survey. Without a doubt, this is a limitation of this dissertation. To overcome this limitation requires using independent variables from another survey. The ISSP is the only survey conducted cross-nationally which includes the appropriate battery of questions.

Finally, the fieldwork for the Work Orientations III Module was conducted in 2005, 2006, or 2006 depending on the nation. Therefore, the data only reflect a snapshot in time, making it difficult to arrive at causal claims related to time order. Moreover, the surveys were conducted before the Great Recession. The Great Recession changed lives and employment situations the world over. Given that this dissertation is concerned with employment preferences, this is cause for additional concern.

The limitations of this research demonstrate several possible avenues for future research. First, including more countries would certainly be a benefit, especially those which are less developed. Second, more nation-level variables may be warranted in future research. Related to the corruption findings, examining the level of trust in the public sector may be a worthy research endeavor. Additionally, examining the influences of the Great Recession will be possible with the eventual release of the 2015 Work Orientations IV Module, which will allow for a comparison of pre and post-recession attitudes toward working in the public sector. Furthermore, examining the same variables included in this dissertation in relation to a preference for private sector employment may be a worthy effort, but one that would be more applicable to the general management and vocational behavior literature than to the public management literature. Finally, a longer-term project, which may produce many dividends, would involve an extensive cross-national analysis of work-life balance related policies and preferences for public sector employment.

Section 6.4: Final thoughts

As the analysis in this dissertation has demonstrated, preferences for public sector employment vary among individuals and across nations. The results suggest that a preference for public sector employment is explained by several factors, all of which contribute to the larger narrative that an individual's decision to work for a certain employer or in a particular occupation is explained by his/her fit with his/her work environment. Likewise, an individual's intent to remain with his/her current employer is as much related to his/her person-environment fit, as is his/her attraction to his/her place of employment.

This dissertation is framed within the argument that public administration is facing a quiet crisis, in which governments are finding it difficult to retain employees. One way to

address this is for public managers to identify those individuals who fit best with their work environments at the attraction and selection stages of the human resources lifecycle. The logic follows that by attracting and selecting the best “fitting” individuals, public administration will reduce its turnover rates. Individuals who fit well with their work environments will be less likely to leave for another job or employment sector.

While reducing turnover is a benefit in and of itself, there is a more important implication to be drawn from attracting and selecting the best fitting employees for the job. A good fit between employees and their work environment leads to several positive results, including increased organizational commitment, improved mental and physical well-being for the employee, and an overall improvement in organizational outcomes. Such results are an important step toward promoting good governance, which is arguably the ultimate goal of public management. Promoting efficient, effective, and equitable government is ultimately in the hands of those who work in the public sector. Having a public sector composed of motivated employees is one means of achieving those goals.

Beyond the general considerations of combatting public administration’s quiet crisis and promoting good governance, this dissertation shows that those who want to work for government are neither lazy nor selfish, as is often portrayed in popular culture. Rather, they desire to spend less time in personal activities, desire employment opportunities which are useful to society, and seek full-time work. They do not appear to be motivated by a quest for high income, yet in return for their services they want the peace of mind which comes with job security. This is not the Taylor-esque image of a goldbricking employee whose reason for work is nothing but a paycheck and to shun responsibility. Quite the contrary, it is the image of a civil service system working toward the goals of good governance.

If these conclusions themselves are not enough to convey such a message, then the nation-level results contribute further credence to such claims. Government is more likely to be the preferred employer in nations with greater regulatory quality. This finding further contributes to the narrative that a preference for public employment is not associated with the characteristics of an ineffective, selfish, and lackadaisical workforce. In short, it is about quality. People are attracted to quality institutions, which are effective at accomplishing their objectives, and quality employment opportunities that reflect the individual's values and goals.

In sum, explaining preferences for public sector employment is complicated. Employment preferences are explained by individual and nation-level characteristics. A preference for public sector employment is not explained solely by an individual's work motive values, his/her desire for more work-life balance, or political party identification. Nor is it explained just by the quality of a nation's public sector or economic conditions. Rather, a preference for public sector employment is explained simultaneously by a variety of individual and nation-level characteristics. Individuals who value a mixture of both intrinsic and extrinsic work motives are more likely to want to work for government, as are those who desire full-time employment. Likewise, females, older individuals, and those who identify with left-leaning political parties are more likely to express a desire to work for government. Simultaneously, greater regulatory quality increases attraction to the public sector, whereas national corruption may increase the attractiveness of government employment. And government is less likely to be the preferred employer in nations with high unemployment rates. Altogether, these results help fill an existing void in the public management literature.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Variable sources and descriptions

Variable name	Description	Source
Individual-level variables	See Appendix C	International Social Survey Programme 2005 (Work Orientations III) http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?object=http://zacat.gesis.org/obj/fStudy/ZA4350/
Regulatory quality	Indicator of the quality of government regulations	World Bank - Worldwide Governance Indicators Project http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home
Corruption perceptions index	Indicator of the level of government corruption as perceived by citizens, academics, and business leaders	Transparency International-Corruption Perceptions Index 2005 http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/cpi_2005/0/
Percent employment in the public sector	Share of a nation's total workforce employed by government	United Nations, International Labor Organization-ILOSTAT http://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/wcnav_defaultSelection?_afRLoop=1089155942123337&_afWindowMode=0&_afWindowId=15fel35k47_1#!%40%40%3F_afWindowId%3D15fel35k47_1%26_afrLoop%3D1089155942123337%26_afWindowMode%3D0%26_adf.ctrl-state%3D15fel35k47_33
Unemployment rate	Share of the labor force that is without work but available for and seeking employment	World Bank http://data.worldbank.org/
Consumer price index	Indicator of growth in the cost of a basket of goods for nation (measure of inflation)	World Bank http://data.worldbank.org/
1 year GDP growth	Percentage growth in gross domestic product over one year	World Bank http://data.worldbank.org/
5 year GDP growth	Percentage growth in gross domestic product over five years	World Bank http://data.worldbank.org/
10 year GDP growth	Percentage growth in gross domestic product over ten years	World Bank http://data.worldbank.org/

Appendix B. Countries included and year of survey

#	Country	Geographical region	<i>N</i>	Year of survey
1	Australia	Oceania	1988	2005
2	Belgium-Flanders	Western Europe	1338	2005
3	Bulgaria	Eastern Europe	1121	2005
4	Canada	North America	933	2006
5	Cyprus	Southern Europe	1000	2005
6	Czech Republic	Central Europe	1226	2005
7	Denmark	Western Europe	1598	2006
8	Dominican Republic	Caribbean	1958	2005
9	Finland	Northern Europe	1345	2005
10	France	Western Europe	1620	2005
11	Germany	Western Europe	1701	2006
12	Great Britain	Western Europe	913	2005
13	Hungary	Central Europe	1012	2005
14	Ireland	Western Europe	1001	2006
15	Israel	Middle East	1184	2005
16	Japan	East Asia	921	2005
17	Latvia	Eastern Europe	1067	2005
18	Mexico	North America	1401	2006
19	Netherlands	Northern Europe	925	2006
20	New Zealand	Oceania	1309	2005
21	Norway	Northern Europe	1322	2005
22	Philippines	Southeast Asia	1200	2005
23	Portugal	Southern Europe	1837	2007
24	Russia	Eastern Europe	1605	2006
25	Slovenia	Central Europe	1002	2005
26	South Africa	Southern Africa	2884	2005
27	South Korea	East Asia	1613	2005
28	Spain	Southern Europe	1203	2005
29	Sweden	Northern Europe	1371	2005
30	Switzerland	Western Europe	1078	2005
31	United States	North America	1518	2006

Appendix C. International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) survey wording

Variable name	Question wording
<i>Dependent variable</i>	
Preference for government employment	<p>Suppose you were working and could choose between different kinds of jobs. Which of the following would you personally choose? I would choose...</p> <p>Coding: 1. working in a private business 2. working for the government or civil service 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused</p>
<i>Independent variables</i>	
Job security	<p>For each of the following, please tick one box to show how important you personally think it is in a job.</p> <p>How important is job security?</p> <p>Coding: 1. Very important 2. Important 3. Neither important nor unimportant 4. Not important 5. Not important at all 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused</p>
High income	<p>For each of the following, please tick one box to show how important you personally think it is in a job.</p> <p>How important is high income?</p> <p>Coding: 1. Very important 2. Important 3. Neither important nor unimportant 4. Not important 5. Not important at all 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused</p>

Variable name	Question wording
Help other people	<p>For each of the following, please tick one box to show how important you personally think it is in a job.</p> <p>How important is a job that allows someone to help other people?</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very important 2. Important 3. Neither important nor unimportant 4. Not important 5. Not important at all 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused
Job useful to society	<p>For each of the following, please tick one box to show how important you personally think it is in a job.</p> <p>How important is a job that is useful to society?</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very important 2. Important 3. Neither important nor unimportant 4. Not important 5. Not important at all 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused
Time in a paid job	<p>Suppose you could change the way you spend your time, spending more time on some things and less time on others. Which of the things on the following list would you like to spend more time on, which would you like to spend less time on and which would you like to spend the same amount of time on as now?</p> <p>Time in a paid job</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Doesn't apply 1. Much more time 2. A bit more time 3. Same time as now 4. A bit less time 5. Much less time 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused

Variable name	Question wording
Time doing housework	<p>Suppose you could change the way you spend your time, spending more time on some things and less time on others. Which of the things on the following list would you like to spend more time on, which would you like to spend less time on and which would you like to spend the same amount of time on as now?</p> <p>Time doing household work</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Doesn't apply 1. Much more time 2. A bit more time 3. Same time as now 4. A bit less time 5. Much less time 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused
Time with family	<p>Suppose you could change the way you spend your time, spending more time on some things and less time on others. Which of the things on the following list would you like to spend more time on, which would you like to spend less time on and which would you like to spend the same amount of time on as now?</p> <p>Time with your family</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Doesn't apply 1. Much more time 2. A bit more time 3. Same time as now 4. A bit less time 5. Much less time 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused

Variable name	Question wording
Time with friends	<p>Suppose you could change the way you spend your time, spending more time on some things and less time on others. Which of the things on the following list would you like to spend more time on, which would you like to spend less time on and which would you like to spend the same amount of time on as now?</p> <p>Time with your friends</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Doesn't apply 1. Much more time 2. A bit more time 3. Same time as now 4. A bit less time 5. Much less time 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused
Time in leisure activities	<p>Suppose you could change the way you spend your time, spending more time on some things and less time on others. Which of the things on the following list would you like to spend more time on, which would you like to spend less time on and which would you like to spend the same amount of time on as now?</p> <p>Time in leisure activities</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Doesn't apply 1. Much more time 2. A bit more time 3. Same time as now 4. A bit less time 5. Much less time 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused

Variable name	Question wording
Age	<p>Respondents were asked either the year of their birth or how old they are (dependent on country).</p> <p>Coding: 15-98. (Age is derived from response.) 99. No answer, refused</p>
Government employment	<p>Respondents were asked if they worked for the private versus public sector.</p> <p>Coding: 0. NAP (unemployed, not in labour force, never had a job, not in paid work, not working) 1. Work for government 2. Public owned firm, national industry 3. Private firm, others 4. Self-employed 8. Can't choose 9. No answer; don't know in Bulgaria 5. Cooperative in Great Britain 5. Other, charity, voluntary sector in Netherlands 2. Semi-government (e.g. education, health care) in South Africa</p>
Female	<p>Respondents were either asked their sex or it was coded by the interviewer (dependent on country).</p> <p>Coding: 1. Male 2. Female 9. No answer, refused</p>

Variable name	Question wording
Married	<p>Respondents were asked their legal marital status.</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Married, living as married 2. Widowed 3. Divorced 4. Separated, but married 5. Single, never married 9. No answer, refused
Child in the household	<p>Respondents were asked about the composition of their household and how many children under 18 years of age were living in the household</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Single household 2. 1 adult, 1 child 3. 1 adult, 2 children 4. 1 adult, 3 children or more 5. 2 adults 6. 2 adults, 1 child 7. 2 adults, 2 children 8. 2 adults, 3 children or more 9. 3 adults 10. 3 adults with children 11. 4 adults 12. 4 adults with children 13. 5 adults 14. 5 adults with children 15. 6 adults 16. 6 adults with children 17. 7 adults 18. 7 adults with children 19. 8 adults 20. 8 adults with children 21. 9 adults 22. 9 adults with children 23. 10 adults 24. 10 adults with children 25. 11 adults 26. 11 adults with children 27. 12 adults 28. 12 adults with children 95. Other 99. No answer, refused

Variable name	Question wording
Religious attendance	<p>Respondents were asked how often they attend religious services.</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Several times a week 2. Once a week 3. 2 or 3 times a month 4. Once a month 5. Several times a year 6. Once a year 7. Less frequently 8. Never 97. Refused 98. Don't know, varies too much 99. No answer in Portugal 0. NAP, no religion
Right political party	<p>Political party affiliation left/right placement is derived based on country-specific inquiries about party identification.</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Not applicable, did not vote, not eligible 1. Far left, etc. 2. Left, center left 3. Center, liberal 4. Right, conservative 5. Far right, etc. 6. Other, no specification 7. No party preference 8. Don't know 9. No answer, refused

Variable name	Question wording
Left political party	<p>Political party affiliation left/right placement is derived based on country-specific inquiries about party identification.</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Not applicable, did not vote, not eligible 1. Far left, etc. 2. Left, center left 3. Center, liberal 4. Right, conservative 5. Far right, etc. 6. Other, no specification 7. No party preference 8. Don't know 9. No answer, refused
Want a job	<p>Respondents who were not working were asked if they would like to have a paid job, either now or in the future.</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Not applicable 1. Yes 2. No 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused
Looking for work	<p>Respondents who were not working were asked if they were looking for work at the time of taking the survey.</p> <p>Coding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0. Not applicable 1. Yes 2. No 8. Can't choose 9. No answer, refused

Variable name	Question wording
Unemployed	<p data-bbox="500 239 1289 306">Respondents who were not working were asked what was the main reason that their job ended.</p> <p data-bbox="500 348 607 384">Coding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="500 422 724 457">0. Not applicable <li data-bbox="500 459 846 495">1. I reached retirement age <li data-bbox="500 497 846 533">2. I retired early, by choice <li data-bbox="500 535 898 571">3. I retired early, not by choice <li data-bbox="500 573 954 609">4. I became (permanently) disabled <li data-bbox="500 611 902 646">5. My place of work shut down <li data-bbox="500 648 737 684">6. I was dismissed <li data-bbox="500 686 1040 722">7. My term of employment/contract ended <li data-bbox="500 724 826 760">8. Family responsibilities <li data-bbox="500 762 703 798">9. I got married <li data-bbox="500 800 716 835">98. Can't choose <li data-bbox="500 837 797 873">99. No answer, refused

VITA

Michael Christopher Moltz was born in northern Nevada, the son of Charles and Beverly Moltz. He attended the University of Nevada, Reno, earning his B.A. in Political Science (2009) and M.Ed. in Secondary Education (2011). After earning his M.Ed., he was employed as an information technology consultant with a consulting firm based out of the Washington, D.C. area. Michael returned to higher education to pursue his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Tennessee. While at the University of Tennessee, he earned professional certificates in nonprofit management and grant writing.

Michael's teaching experience includes serving as the instructor of record for graduate classes in alternative energy policy at the University of Nevada, Reno and undergraduate classes in American government and public administration at the University of Tennessee. He most recently taught the upper-division undergraduate public budgeting course at the University of Tennessee. In addition to his teaching experience, Michael has served as the President of the East Tennessee chapter of the American Society for Public Administration and the President of the University of Tennessee chapter of Pi Alpha Alpha, the national public administration honor society. In 2016 he was selected as the David W. Mock Award recipient for his teaching performance at the University of Tennessee.

In terms of Michael's scholarly accomplishments, he was awarded a National Science Foundation EPSCoR grant and was the Co-PI for a Nevada NASA Space Grant Consortium research grant. Michael and his wife, Taylor, will move to Pennsylvania in the summer of 2017, as he has accepted a tenure-track Assistant Professor position with the Political Science Department at Shippensburg University in Shippensburg, PA.