PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION FOR EXECUTIVE PENSION TRUSTEES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to establish if there is an element of public service motivation (PSM) in pension trustee roles that extend across public and private boundaries in the UK. This qualitative research indicates that public service is a requirement to enhance social commitment to this executive role but that this is also influenced by the organisational and political context of the trustee representation as employer or employee representatives. This research highlights the multiple motives that encourage trustee participation but also how these can be changed through socialisation within this role utilising element of organisational citizenship and user orientation to serving and helping pension plan members. It is suggested that an orientation to public service should be made explicit in the recruitment process, induction and training of trustees.

Keywords - Public service motivation, Pension trustees, user orientation, recruitment, governance

INTRODUCTION

The pension trustee literature claims that the role of pension trustees in Anglo-Saxon contexts demands an element of public service as a motive for participation and governance Ambachtsheer (2007: 15). But there has been no investigation of what this means for trustees who come into the often voluntary role through a variety of routes in both the public and private sectors. Economists have often straightforwardly connected the concept of altruism with public service motivation (PSM) which, underpins Ambachtsheer's claim (Pandey et al 2008, Perry et al 2010). But as Ritz (2013) points out PSM is not determined solely by altruistic motives as suggested by the notion of social commitment in the pension trustee literature, it contains other motives, which also need to be recognised and considered when recruiting and selecting pension trustees.

Increasingly PSM research is not confined solely to the public sector. Steinhaus and Perry (1996) posit an argument that the category of industry is also influential to employees' organisational commitment more than a straightforward public/private divide. This is linked to contextual, organisational and individual characteristics that influence people's motivation to perform meaningful public and social service for a wider com-

munity (Brewer et al 2000, Perry 1997, Steen 2008, Anderfuhren-Biget et al 2013, Perry and Hondeghem 2008). This research suggests that this study should firstly establish; if there is an element of public service motivation in trustees' participation in their role across public and private boundaries? In order to answer this question the research will have to unpick the range of motives that push and pull people into participating in pension trusteeship to establish the extent of PSM. By exploring why people do choose to participate we can begin to analyse whether outlining PSM aspects can offer information that could be used within the recruitment and selection of pension trustees. This is an issue that has risen to the top of the trustee agenda due to increasing demands from the political community, labour community and employers (Sayce 2012) for greater understanding of why trustees choose to take on this role.

Public sector research has also linked PSM to organisational citizenship and organisational commitment (Kim 2006) that results in respondents going beyond the requirement of the job and engaging in prosocial behaviour and underpinning wider moral behaviour (Van der Wal et al 2006 cited in Steen 2008: 208). All aspects of which are welcomed when performing a role such as pension trusteeship that has a clear moral, economic and legalistic dimension and needs a high level of social commitment (Ambachtsheer 2007, Ambachtsheer et al 2008, Clark 2007, 2008).

The research design and the qualitative approach needed to explore trustee's motives is further explained in the methodology. First the concept of PSM and its multidimensional structure is introduced, then an outline of the pension trustee role and how it extends across sectoral and occupational boundaries at an executive level, is drawn. The findings are then analysed to illustrate the multiple motives and different descriptions that trustees use to explain their motives to participate, which are then mapped onto PSM theorising. The article finishes with a discussion about recruitment and socialisation. It concludes with remarks about research limitation and suggests areas for future investigation.

PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION FRAMEWORKS

Definitions of PSM vary across disciplines and fields but the link between them is the focus on motives, action and the common good (Perry and Vandenabeele 2008). However, definitions themselves have steadily expanded to include 'communities'. One example is Rainey and Steinbauer's (1999:23) more global definition of a general altruistic motivation that 'serves the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation or humanity' or Vandenabeele's (2007:549) more comprehensive definition that describes PSM as 'the belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self-interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate'. This latter definition recognises that values are shaped by organisational identity.

The theoretical basis of PSM is three specific motives; affective, norm-based and rational (Perry et al 2010) and these form the basis of this case's explanation and validation of the PSM construct. Affective motives suggest that individuals have a sense of emotional attachment about the importance of their role, a sense of doing good. Norm-based motives for individuals include how individuals' reasoning can have an ethical dimension, such as equality and fairness. The rational perspective suggests motivation is also linked to how individuals are attracted through self-interest to use policy-making as

a way to promote that interest. While research can examine the motives in isolation this research is more concerned about the interaction between different motives (Brewer et al 2000) as this interaction influences individual's engagement in this often voluntary role.

Perry's (1996) seminal model of PSM has been regularly used to explain and validate the attraction that individuals have to public service (Vandenbeele 2007). This explanatory framework has four dimensions: 1, commitment to public interests that include public values and a sense of duty, 2, compassion, which includes doing good for others by improving services, 3, attraction to policy-making/public participation and this includes improved decision-making [critical for good governance on pension boards] and 4, self-sacrifice of one's own needs. Another dimension was originally discussed by Vandenabeele (2008) around democratic governance in the area of 5, user orientation, the motivation to help the specific user of public services (Andersen et al 2011, Andersen and Pedersen 2012:48).

User orientation is a concept that can be interpreted differently in different settings for example in exploring professional workers attitudes (Perry 1997, Pandey et al 2008) or examining it as practice, as in volunteering (Steen 2006). Both these settings have relevance for trustees, who may come from professional backgrounds and also for those who volunteer. PSM research in different industries and sectors is also relevant. For example, Kjeldsen's (2012) research on nursing has indicated the importance of user orientation, which is linked to the professionalism of job occupations. Kjeldsen's links her findings on nurses to PSM theorising and a wish to do good for 'citizens who can't speak up for themselves', and that is why nurses try to defend their citizens, which in this case are patients, who use the service (Kjeldsen 2012:66).

However to be clear, the article's definition of user orientation is linked to helping and serving pension plan members only, this is an acknowledgement that in pension trusteeship user orientation is carefully regulated through trustees' fiduciary responsibility to make decision that are in the best interests of the members. This loyalty to the membership underpins both the recruitment and induction of trustees although a clearer understanding of trustee's motives may assist organisations in this process as well as facilitate better governance and performance.

Liu et al's (2013) wider PSM research into for-profit organisations is also useful. It exposes how organisational tasks can crossover between public and private organisations as the boundaries become more blurred. Steen's (2008:208) analysis of voluntary sector motivation too outlines how motives can contain a mix of self-interest with altruistic considerations but can still fit with PSM theorising. Taylor's (2008) exploration of private and public organisations in Australia infers there is a positive connection between PSM-fit and beneficial work outcomes for the organisation, which could be useful for organisations to harness. Buelens and Van Den Broeck's (2007) research in Belgium also indicates that differences in hierarchical levels and job content can help explain differences in motivation between public and private workers. Thereby justifying how a focus on an executive role that crosses these boundaries may add to PSM knowledge, a point that Jurkiewicz et al's (1998) research supports in its findings of motivational difference between supervised and non-supervised workers.

PENSION TRUSTEESHIP IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

In the Anglo-Saxon model, pension trusteeship is an executive decision-making role with high levels of legal and moral responsibility in employer/sponsors' occupational pension plans (Kakabadse et al 2003). Trustees oversee the management of significant financial assets. In 2011 these pensions assets were estimated in the US at $16.08 trillion, in the U.K. at $2.394 trillion and in Canada and Australia at $1.3 trillion each (Towers Watson 2012). In the Anglo-Saxon model trustees negotiate with corporate and public employers/sponsors and make benefit, investment and administration decisions on behalf of the occupational pension members of their schemes. Therefore understanding why trustees choose to take on this important but poorly financially rewarded, often voluntary executive role as employer/sponsor or employee representatives has become more urgent (Sayce 2012). It is this aspect that links trusteeship to PSM theorising, which indicates that employees who are motivated to serve public interest are less interested in monetary rewards (Anderfuhren-Biget et al 2010: 215).

While pension boards are not a public service in the UK, increasing engagement with their membership was considered to aid greater accountability and legitimacy in line with the principles of good governance (Jenkins et al 2005). The UK Pension Acts 2004 and 2013 stipulated that member elected representatives should comprise up to a third of UK private sector pension plan boards, while public sector scheme's member nominees have to be considered thereby increasing potentially increasing representational diversity. Prior to the governmental shift in thinking about representation and governance the majority of trustees were appointed as trustees from finance or managerial backgrounds where their role was considered by the pension plan sponsor to be 'a part of their job' (Kakabadse et al 2003:382). With increased diversity this motive can still exist but it would be expected to be less dominant and this proposition is examined in the research.

The heterogeneous nature of pension trusteeship and its institutional, political and organisational dimensions have to be recognised as well as the increasing heterogeneity in board composition which is a consequence of policy changes in 2004 for the private sector some of which are mirrored in the new Public Sector Act 2013. All of the above have implications for the examination of PSM and the strategy here is not to separate and examine these individually as evidenced in previous PSM research but to acknowledge the complexity. For example, Pandey and Stazyk (2008) endorse the assumption that higher levels of PSM are seen in well-educated older men as an individual characteristic of engagement in PSM. This is a characteristic of pension trustees, which is linked to the seniority of appointed trustees in organizational contexts and the importance of board level decision-making. However, pension interest becomes more salient as one ages, and representation brings retired members into trusteeship making the case more complex than a straightforward causal link.

What is unusual in the case under discussion is the possible interplay of different antecedents besides age, such as job role, one's education, work and professional backgrounds as well as organisational citizenship. Here a link could be made to Kim's theorising of how organizational citizenship promotes organisational functions and prosocial behaviour (Kim 2006:725), aspects of which may be encouraged within the role particularly for employee representatives, who have to be members of their organisational employer's occupational scheme. Thus a belief in organisational citizenship would help

trustees to achieve outcomes that benefit the membership and fulfil their fiduciary responsibility but also fit with showing sensitivity to employer's financial concerns, a concern that may be more significant for appointed employer's representatives. It is in dealing with tensions invoked by these conflicting responsibilities that public service and social commitment is considered to be a requirement (Ambachtsheer 2007).

METHODOLOGY

The increased diversity of employee and employer representatives whether elected or appointed suggests that we need to use a qualitative approach to examine the mix of motives that pension trustees bring to this executive role and whether this has a public service dimension. Kjeldsen (2012) highlights that public service may be described differently in different sectors and occupations, which underpins the needs for an in-depth qualitative approach because its richer data permits a greater depth of interpretation (Wright 2008). This suggests that semi-structured interviews are required to establish a greater understanding of the push and pull factors into pension trusteeship. This knowledge is needed to clarify the patterns of motives (Kjeldsen 2012:67) surrounding the concept of public service with other complex variables such as occupational characteristics. This point has a resonance with the increasing diversity of trustees' occupational backgrounds, professional backgrounds and employment sectors. Member representation has increased in importance, which may have implications for an individual's motive to participate. While the PSM literature suggests that different industries and sectors do exercise public service motives (Steen 2008), how this is operationalised in recruiting and selecting pension trustees is not understood and requires deeper interrogation before testing more widely with a larger sample of pension trustees.

RESEARCH SAMPLE

Pension trustees are not an easy population to reach for fine-grained research because of their geographical spread. Also because of the executive nature of the role they have busy agendas and have limited time for interviews, so a snowballing technique was used, mobilizing contacts in the pension industry and labour bodies such as the Trade Unions Congress and the National Association of Pension Funds to reach a cross section of geographically spread pension trustees to explore issues around the increased diversity of pension boards. The key concepts identified for sampling were experience of regulatory changes, public/private sector including a cross section of elected, appointed and independent trustees from a variety of different work backgrounds.

Kakabadse et al's (2003:380) research conducted prior to major pension changes in 2004 suggests three key areas should be included in the semi-structured interview. Thus the semi-structured agenda was operationalised around firstly, discussing trustees' interest in pension and finance issues. Secondly, exploring trustees' need for social commitment to the plan and members; and thirdly, recognising that notions of self-interest may also be relevant for motivational drivers. The agenda also focused on how they came into the role, whether the motives that pushed or pulled them into the role have changed. What motives do they expect to see from other trustees? How is this linked to skills and experience that are needed to deal with the responsibility and ongoing chal-

lenges of board-level decision-making? And finally, what motives would they recommend other trustees have before considering this role?

Interviews lasted on average 90 minutes, and all interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. A thematic analysis was used with the research data, and the themes were drawn from Perry's (1996) framework and included public interest, compassion, attraction to public participation, self-sacrifice and Andersen and Pedersen's user orientation (2012), interpreted here as to serve and help the pension plan members.

The research profile of the 19 interviewees was representative of the diversity of pension boards relative to age and occupational background. Elected representatives came from a broader range of occupations, such as data processing, engineering, and science, than the more traditional economist/legal and managerial background of appointed trustees (Kakabadse et al 2003), which may reflect the increasing diversity of pension trustees (Rafferty et al 2008), and the impact of the 2004 Pension Act, which stipulated that elected members must consist of a third of the board composition for private funds.

Table 1: Pension Trustee Profile

Trustees Age	M/F	Pension Role	Fund Type	Occupational Background
1 60+	F	Elected	Public DB	Pension secretary and trade union rep
2 50+	F	Elected	Private DB	Data Processing
3. 50+	F	Appointed	Private DB	HR Director
4. 50+	F	Independent Chair	Public DB	Manager and NED
5. 50+	M	Pension Advisory Committee	Private DB & DC	Trust Company lawyer
6 50+	M	Appointed	Private DB	Lawyer and company secretary
7 60+	M	Appointed	Private DB	HR Director
8 50+	M	Independent	Private DB &DC	Actuary, director corporate trustee companies
9 60+ retired	M	Appointed	Private DB	Education Director
10 60+	M	Appointed	Private DC	Former CEO and non-exec director
11 50+	M	Elected	Private DB and DC	Scientist
12 50+	M	Appointed	Public and Private DC	Financial director
13 50+	M	Elected (union rep)	Private DB	Engineer
14 50+	M	Elected	Private DB	Technician
15 60+	M	Professional	Private DB	Consultant actuary director; advisor to trustee schemes
16 40+	F	Appointed	Public DB	Management

					consultant
17	60+	M	Co-chair appointed	Private DB	Executive manager
18	50+	F	Independent	Public DB and Pte DB, DC	Actuary and professional trustee
19	50=	M	Appointed	Private DB. DC	Actuary and investment banking

Note: DB Defined Benefit; DC Defined Contribution Scheme; NED Non-executive director

Profile selection includes fewer public sector trustees than private this is linked to how there are a smaller number of public sectors boards, for example there are around 300 public sector boards, compared to the private sector where there are approximately 4700 private sector pension plans with more than a 100 members (ONS 2012). In respect of gender there were five female trustees, which is slightly higher than the UK average, which is 18% (Hymans Robertson 2007).

The above table indicates the diversity of trustee's occupational backgrounds. Appointed pension trustees in the UK have traditionally been finance or managerial personnel because they had a good understanding of the needs of the business (Kakabadse et al 2003). However, a number come from the professions and this may be linked to a public service ethos in the professions (Steen 2006). But there was a wider occupational background that went beyond that to include data processing, science and engineering. In addition the interviews with pension trustee 1,7,9,6 highlighted how people involved in administering pension plans represented the membership because of their knowledge, while a professional background also equipped others with specific and general skills that helped them to become a trustee.

The age respondent profile showed an inclination towards older age groups. This is in line with Hymans Robertson (2007) research where 60% of trustees in occupational pension schemes are 50+. It is also important to recognise that some trustees are themselves retired and chosen on that basis to represent the membership, which again may be an antecedent for volunteering (Brown and Ferris 2007).

PENSION TRUSTEE MOTIVATION RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section begins with the findings in connection to the first area to be explored that a major motive that can pull trustees into the role (Kakabadse et al 2003) is an individual's interest in pension and finance issues:

I kind of started to tick the boxes with my experience with pensions and it just seemed to me that I had the right skillset to do this and I knew it was quite challenging and something a bit different to do in my twilight years so I started to investigate it (Pension Trustee 18).

While another trustee who is a public sector trustee appointee but works in the private sector alludes to this interest.

I wanted to something extracurricular, really outside of work (director of her own private consultancy company) that would give me an insight into pensions, more so than I

was used to with just being a consultant to them. So it was 'big society' before 'big society' became the political buzzword and I just fancied doing it (Pension Trustee 16).

What the above indicates is that the pull motives into the role are not just rooted in one motive but linked to other motives such as self-interest but also social commitment to others [the notion of big society was a political ideology of the UK coalition government where communities volunteer with others on social projects]. An experienced independent pension trustee and chair considered that the motivation for elected member nominated representatives (MNTs) should have this element of social commitment, be more altruistic, because of the importance of the pension trustee role. But she also recognised that appointed people's motives could be more complicated because of their work role although she hoped that there was also some notion of altruism and interest in pensions and pension members in their motivation. The below quote illustrates how rational motives co-exist alongside affective motives (Taylor 2008):

The reason I took it on was I had become interested in the area. I was dealing with the fallout of a major pension trust where the employer had absconded with the funds. At that time my motivation was interest in the topic. My motivation for continuing was that I had become absolutely fascinated with the area because it has three strands, you don't find in other areas. One is high finance: the financial investment management, which I find interesting, the money markets and how to invest. Secondly it has the personal element, the people problems, it is talking about individual's livelihoods, and you have to consider discretionary payments and people's individual circumstances. It is so important having seen what actually happens when it all goes wrong, you realise that this is these people's livelihoods, their future, their savings, it is terribly important that they are well-run (Pension trustee 4).

For this public sector trustee, who had previously worked with private sector pension boards, there is also a wider political element. This is suggested by the complex regulatory environment and encompasses the relationship that the trustees have with the plan sponsors/employers, which seems to be linked to an attraction to policy-making but also a commitment to public interest in respect of the workforce, as outlined in Perry's PSM framework (1996) as indicated in the earlier quote. Many beneficiaries of pension funds are not rich people as acknowledged by the above trustee and this partly underpinned her motivation to chair a scheme with a large deficit. She highlights how her large public corporation pension scheme represents lower-paid workers who are more likely to be totally dependent on their pension income. She also considers what inspires member nominated trustees to stand for election should be altruism because the job needs a high level of social commitment.

However, 'part of the job' that could lead to career progression was still a motive for others as highlighted in Kakabadse et al's research (2003:380), which would seem to suggest a strong element of rationality and self-interest, which is distinct from a PSM model (Perry et al 2010). This seemed particularly pertinent for appointed employer representatives of private sector pension plans. As pension trustee 2, a former HR director indicates, choice for her was 'Hobson's choice' although she felt flattered to be asked and thought the post would be good for her career. Another private pension plan trustee considered that:

When I was first asked to be a trustee by the employer it was less democratic than it is now. I suppose I saw it as a bit of an honour to be made a trustee and I saw it as a stepping stone in my career progression. (Pension Trustee 10)

There could be a combination of motivations that include self-interest. Also as another pension trustee (17) pointed out in the 1990s it was common for managing directors to automatically be appointed to the board, however this practice has now changed because of governance concerns over conflict of interest. One pension trustee considered that while there was an element of self-interest this was tempered by 'a sense of duty in doing this role', (Pension trustee 6), an element of self-sacrifice that relates to Perry's classic model (1996). A combination of rational and affective motives were also relevant to other appointed trustees:

I think it is a genuine desire to look after fellow employees coupled with a huge degree of interest. The role interested me as a lawyer and effectively because my boss suggested it would be a good idea meant that was a powerful influence, although I wasn't cajoled. It was something that fleetingly seemed attractive in earlier years but I had never put myself forward and now there was a good excuse to do so I put myself up for election and lost but then a vacancy came up for a company appointed trustee (Pension Trustee 12).

For other trustees who were retired volunteering was about using their skills to put something back. This is linked to how some people when they retire, or are near to retirement are able to use their higher levels of social networks and capital to pick up a challenging voluntary trustee role to utilise their time and skills (Brown and Ferris 2007, Steen 2006). However, Brown and Ferris also highlight how regardless of whether individuals' action in volunteering has an element of self-interest, the act involves a 'degree of compassion and commitment to others' (ibid 2007:85), which for some trustees is also linked to the organisational context and the skills and knowledge they have gained within it to hopefully be a more effective trustee (Kim 2006). This notion of commitment can be extended to include an element of social justice that includes norm-based motives around equality and fairness:

The thing was obviously safeguarding our scheme to make sure it didn't go the same way as so many others. See that the right decisions were made and it (still is) very biased towards male representatives. I thought they needed a female voice (Pension Trustee 3).

Another female trustee (Pension Trustee 1) located in the private sector, stresses norm-based motives when talking about fairness being a major driver in her being a pension trustee. As a member–elected trustee and as a former pension secretary and union representative she considers that her aim is to ensure all members receive their pension entitlement. According to Perry's PSM framework her motivation would relate to the compassion dimension, 'the commitment to public interest', while her background also included a trade union perspective, which may have sparked her 'attraction to policy-making and public participation' (Perry 1996) as well as 'user orientation' of helping and serving the pension members in this case to gain what they are entitled to (Andersen and Pedersen 2012: 48).

However, another retiree indicated that sometimes there is little choice to stand as a member nominated trustee because they have to come from the membership. Consequently smaller schemes have a much smaller pool of people with the necessary skills and knowledge to recruit from, which means that people with the necessary competencies may feel obligated:

I did not particularly want to do the role but it being a small scheme and I was a senior director of the organisation for a number of years I felt duty bound to assist. So I felt

obliged rather than enthusiastic about it. My enthusiasm for the role did develop slowly and surely in my first few months of involvement (Pension trustee 6).

The industry acknowledges that it is more difficult for smaller pension schemes to find competent representatives (Sayce and Ozbilgin 2014) and thus individuals may feel constrained by affective motives to sacrifice future plans to take up the role fitting in with Perry's notion of self-sacrifice for others (1996). Underpinning this is also a sense of organisational commitment of identification with the organisation, of prosocial behaviour that goes beyond everyday behaviour as these trustees are not explicitly rewarded at a material level commensurate with their professional experience (Kim 2006).

The above discussion outlines the variety of possible motivational factors as well as their interconnectedness but while the above quote is explicitly linked to the organisational context in the next, it is interconnectedness within the sector that is an important motive.

I worked in investment banking and I had had enough. Financially I was pretty sound. So the motivation for me going and doing something was three-fold. One was the financial one which is if the world really blows up financially, I might need to go back and get a proper job and actually having one's finger in a pie, is not bad things in terms of still being involved in the market. Two it was intellectual stimulation and thirdly, there are actually an awful lot of nice people in the in the pensions industry, there is a social element to it, catching up with people that you quite like (Pension Trustee 19).

Taylor (2008) indicates that a pleasant work relationship can reinforce positive perceptions of work that that those work tasks are important and meaningful as indicated also by trustee 1 when talking about the importance of the role. However, Kim (2006) suggests there is link between those who have achieved a higher level of material reward as in the above quote and engagement in more pro-social behaviour. This could help explain why trustees may find satisfaction (Bateman and Organ 1983) in becoming a trustee with its lower levels of financial reward. How many are already higher-paid professionals and executives so may be less reliant on financial rewards. Thus they can see it as a way to continue to use their skill and knowledge and are drawn to the role as an outlet for pro-social behaviour.

 A major pull factor in becoming a pension trustee was the belief in social commitment, using their skills to benefit others and the intellectual component, thus moving beyond self-interest to include commitment to public values as suggested by Perry's framework (1996) but also to help the specific user of public services, which can also include themselves (Vanadenabeele 2008 and Andersen and Pedersen 2012). This belief resounds with the trustees' primary fiduciary responsibility.

While some saw the role as a continuation of their job they also emphasised that rational self-interest was not the only motivation, there could be multiple motives for participation including a sense of social commitment to the membership despite seeing the role as part of their job. This would suggest that one's job can be a push factor into trusteeship. The next quote indicates how pension involvement and the seniority of his role was crucial for becoming a trustee in the 1990s. However, this aspect needs further unpacking as some trade union representatives could also see their trustee role as part of their job, which indicates the influence of union involvement as their involvement in pensions is an important rallying point for many unions such as Unison and the Universities and Colleges Union (UCU). For example the next quotation is from pension chair whose co-chair (pension trustee 17) is from their major trade union Unite. Indeed the

company's recognised trade unions run the elections for employee representatives and this is written into the pension plan regulations.

I had some involvement with pension matters when I worked in the pre-privatisation processes. Then during privatisation I got more involved because I was a Director and I had to set up the pension arrangement for the new private business (Pension Trustee 17).

When analysing the interview data self-interest could be push factors for trustees such as being recommended to take on this role by a senior executive. But also understanding the context in which this occurs as above is also important for example, the above trustee helped to design a more unusual scheme with co-chairs, one of which is a union representative, which suggests that motives can be tempered by a sense of social commitment and attraction to policy-making/public participation. This is evidenced in the following quote:

It was something that I was interested in. I knew it was a substantial amount of money and I've always been interested in areas of finance although I am an analytical chemist. I also didn't see myself working after 55 so I took interest from that perspective, it is a complex area and after a while people start to depend on you at work for information and knowledge. I find it satisfying to deal with people's queries when they come to me (Interviewee 11).

The shift towards norm-based motives from purely rational ones helps to ensure the principles of fiduciary responsibility is maintained. The above quote shows that it is interaction with the users that generates this trustee's ongoing commitment to the role.

Push factors that motivated them to become a trustee still indicate that for some that the role can be seen as part of their job as highlighted by (Kakabadse et al 2003:380). There was also recognition that the people interviewed particularly those in executive positions valued the power of performing this board level role and it could offering opportunity for future progression by raising their profile as outlined by pension trustee 3. But while there is an element of self-interest, again this motive is not the whole story. The volunteering literature may give insight into how differing motivating factors intersect and in particular how trustees can hold both altruistic and well as rational more egoistic reasons for agreeing to participate in the role (Clary and Snyder 1999, Le Grand 2003, 2010). Indeed Steen (2006) argues that PSM research needs to recognise the overlap between altruistic and rational choice theory highlighted by the volunteering researchers. For example, (Trustee 1) talks about the importance of pension for the pension plan members how as both a pension secretary and a trade union rep she was uniquely equipped to take on the role. You could argue that this thinking indicates links with wanting to participate in policy making in order to promote a political agenda, although in this case the agenda is fairness for the member and their dependents by ensuring that all voices are heard. In order to enhance this the trustee sees their role to provide a conduit between the membership and the board after seeing a disabled dependent not receiving entitled benefits.

Helping others as an elected trustee may be more of a push factor as it maybe that they hold a different ideological perspective (Verma and Weststar 2011) making it more of a norm-based motive as with interviewee 1. Also labour too have a voice within pension boards whether as trustees or supporting pension plan members who participate in trusteeship This would seem to relate to 'users orientation' in ensuring that member's concerns are addressed as well as the employer's (Andersen and Pedersen 2012:48).

If being appointed as a trustee is part of the job so representing members in pension plan decision-making could be a continuance of the trade union role, which would have implications for PSM analysis. Labour trustees are a part of the UK pension landscape and do get involved in recruiting employee representatives in particular and an activist ideology can help promote involvement as with (trustee 1), who was both involved in pension administration as well as being the trade union representative. It is the case that showing interest in the pension scheme and recruitment are linked as this happened to several trustees:

I *talked a lot to the pension trustees a year before I retired so I got to know them, who they were and broadly what they were doing...A few months after I retired a former fellow director who had executive responsibility for the employer phoned and then wrote formally to ask if I would be willing to serve as a pension trustee* (Interviewee 6).

Thus there could an element of establishing via recruitment an element of PSM, thus indirectly ensuring that candidates have affective as well as rational motives for taking on the role. People can feel flattered to be asked to participate and invitation is a recruitment route for many trustees.

Gailmard (2010) considers that one option for growing PSM for public organisations is to select individuals who already possess high PSM but how this works at a causal level is less clear. It may be that the causal links could be examined in future research to uncover how much showing an interest in pension issues on behalf of oneself indicates a PSM orientation which could be translated into recruitment of pension trustees. The volunteering literature offers useful insight into this causal link. According to Freeman's (1997:141) theorising the above quote may be considered to be less about volunteering but 'aceding to requests to participate'. Freeman suggests these requests are more likely to be accepted where there is an element of reciprocity in the altruism, which is more apparent if trustees are scheme members. However for employer appointed trustees it can be difficult to refuse the appointment when asked by a senior manager, then it can be 'Hobson's choice' as it was for interviewee 3. In smaller private or public schemes, where recruitment is a perennial issue (Mellish 2006) and where participation in trusteeship can be seen as a duty by some, as there may be less choice because of the smaller pool of people who could be recruited.

When analysing the multiple motives that push or pull trustees into their role it seems to indicate a range of, rational motives: from forming part of my job role, aiding job progression, recognising the significance of this powerful role and intellectual challenge. Normative motives include: representing members and work colleagues, welfare, being useful while affective motives seem more linked to fairness and moral obligation. However, what the research does also highlight is how these multiple motives can be modified over time because of the socialisation process within the organisation Taylor (2008). In order to investigate this in more depth would require a longitudinal approach as recommended by Wright (2008). It would also require wider quantitative empirical research to test the extent to which the above motives indicated in the data interact in trustee's motives to participate to improve reliability and generalisability of these motives.

DISCUSSION: PUBLIC SECTOR MOTIVATION AND TRUSTEES

It appears based on the above empirical findings that there is an element of public service motivation in trustees' participation in their role as posed by our research questions. But to clarify what this means and how it could be used within the recruitment and selection of pension trustees we need to map more precisely how trustees multiple motives impact on participation. PSM is oriented to helping others, which makes its distinct from self-interest and one's self-concern claims De Dreu (2006) which would seem to fit with our data. This is not to deny that rational notions that do stress self-interest can be push factor into the role but this seems tempered by other normative and affective motives such as citing commitment to colleagues and other members. For example, (Pension trustee 12) after twenty-five years wanted to give something back to his organisation and colleagues. This suggests that it would be useful to develop theorising around linking organisational citizenship (Kim 2006) and user orientation in PSM as outlined by Andersen and Pedersen (2012). The user orientation of serving and helping the pension members includes dealing with member's concerns and communicating with members about pension issues and ensuring they receive their entitlement. The trustee role has a clearly defined user orientation enshrined in fiduciary responsibility and pension regulation, so when organisational identity and citizenship are added to this it may be a useful pull factor into trusteeship.

However, what is required of trustees in respect of public service and commitment needs to be clearly defined and considered within the web of rational, normative and affective of motivational push and pull factors that emerge from trustees' occupational and experiential backgrounds. This has implication for operationalising measures of PSM within different sectors where standardisation is rooted in the job role, the similarities in hierarchical level, job content and age more than educational, occupational and experiential backgrounds because as Buelens and Van Den Broeck (2007) claim sometimes samples can contain too many differences to offer meaningful contribution. Nevertheless what is undeniable is how the trustee role crosses public and private boundaries and can make a contribution to PSM literature that explores both public and private sectors around user orientation.

Political ideology is an antecedent of PSM (Kendall 2010, Anderfuhren-Biget et al 2010) as it influences people's belief and their normative concerns towards public service, which resonates with those who come from differing political ideologies and have trade union background or a labour activism background. Here labour bodies have advocated and acted to help make pension boards more accountable and transparent to pension plan members through member representation (Weststar and Verma 2011). But as Kjeldsen (2012) outlines in her study of nursing many public sector workers are professionals as are our trustees who come from professional backgrounds such as actuaries, lawyers and thus may have a professional group identity and a specialist theoretical knowledge. Professional values and the need to maintain certain standards can result in the institutionalisation of professional norms, which suggest to professionals which actions are needed and permitted within certain institutional contexts, which can be oriented toward public interest. However, as Abbott's (1988) study of professionalisation indicates there also is self-serving element to this professionalisation. But it could also be argued that there is a self-serving element to labour involvement in pensions as it makes their activities more relevant to the wider union membership although clear understanding of fiduciary responsibilities should help to limit this self-interest for both professionals and labour activists.

Pension trustee motives for participating whether in the public or private sector need to go beyond rational norms of personal and institutional self-interest to include public interest, a commitment to doing good for its primary end-users. It has to be norm-based reinforced by the notion of professional and personal values that include honesty, integrity, accountability, probity (Rayner et al 2010). These values resonate with the fiduciary responsibilities and should help improve accountability and governance for their occupational pension schemes.

PSM is linked to the notion 'logic of appropriateness' where individuals comply with institutional norms and standards (March and Olsen 1995). While experienced trustees recognise that there is a huge learning curve for taking on this role there is a suggestion that they are also guided by how other board member operate according to pension trustee 8. Thereby helping ensure that at more inexperienced trustee trustees fit with institutional norms and standards at a board level (Pye and Pettigrew 2005), which fits in with Taylor's argument that interaction with significant others means that motives can be modified as individuals become subject to the socialisation of the organisation (2008:68). However, while there may be a pre-existing element of organizational citizenship to employee representatives who are members of the scheme, this is not straightforward as there can be tension between how employee representatives and employer representatives perceive the trustee role, particularly if it is seen as part of their job and the commitment to the role is not valued. Employer representatives who are appointed to the role may have a higher degree of rational motives to participate as indicated in the data and this may need modification as they wrestle with fiduciary responsibilities. An indispensable component of pension trusteeship is a belief in stewardship and a moral obligation that you are protecting the assets of workers' investments, which to use PSM terminology occurs in a values-based structured interactional institutional [boardroom] context (Perry and Vandenabeele 2008). This indicates that there should be a fit with user orientation (Vandenabeele 2008, Andersen and Pedersen 2012) and fiduciary responsibilities.

It is this need to enhance commitment that underpins Ambachtsheer's call for public service. But it cannot be assumed that all trustees may have the pro-social motives needed for user orientation (Andersen and Pedersen 2012) despite this call. This can create conflict in performing the role and has to be considered in how socialisation is conducted through induction and continuous education. This does seems to indicate that some way of measuring PSM may be useful for recruiting people to trustee roles as well as stressing what is required through a public service orientation. While the literature suggests that people in the public sector may have higher levels of pro-social motivation, it does exist in the private sector as well. What is key to pro-social motivation is that in this trustee role it has to be tailored specifically to the pension plan members and their organizational context rather than the general good although this belief could push someone into the role. This would need to be considered when recruiting and socialising pension trustees to legitimise the fit between user orientation and public service motivation as an organizationally desirable attitude and behaviour (Brewer 2003).

CONCLUSION

The academic pension literature (Ambachsteer 2007) has highlighted the need for public service within the motivation of pension trustees. This inspired this research and our research question about whether there an element of PSM in trustee's participation in a role that crosses public and private boundaries. The above data would seem to indicate that there is an element of public service within the multiple rational, normative and affective motives that push and pull people into trustee participation. It also seems to support Kjelder's claim (2012) that how individuals not located in the public service talk about public service may not be articulated as in the public sector but targeted more towards user orientation and helping and serving the membership through dealing with their concerns and communicating that concern to the board.

A secondary question was how could exploring PSM aspects offer information that could be used within the recruitment and socialisation of pension trustees. The literature and the findings seem to suggest that organisational identities and motives for participation in trusteeship can be modified through socialisation. This suggests that articulating the importance of public service in induction and continuous education may help assist in modifying trustees motives.

The findings tentatively suggest that showing an interest in pensions and pension plan schemes is a way of implicitly identifying those people who may be willing to participate in trusteeship in the future. Thus future research that maps and measures more explicitly the multiple motives that trustees bring to trusteeship could be used to help inform specific pension plans' criteria for recruiting and selecting new trustees.

The qualitative research adds to a limited but growing PSM literature that explore the boundaries between public and private sectors. Specifically by focusing on one specific role that transcend these boundaries but whose executive nature ensure a similarities of hierarchy, job content and in demographics of age while the diversity of professional and occupational increases can give an insight into how public service can be harnessed within a specific executive role that has important economic, regulatory and moral implications.

However there are research limitations in that while this in-depth research gives us an insight into the multiple rational, normative and affective motives that different trustees bring to the role. The importance of these different motives to different trustees needs to be more widely measured to increase the reliability and generalisability of the findings.

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