

**The Motivation of Voluntary Sector
Employees: A Study of the Relevance
of Public Service Motivation**

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Abstract

This thesis uses Public Service Motivation (PSM) as a mechanism to explore the values and motivations of voluntary sector employees. It does so in the context of increased outsourcing of public service delivery to the voluntary sector and questions regarding the existence of distinctive motivations amongst those employed in voluntary sector organisations. Grounded in a pragmatic philosophy, the research draws on 35 semi-structured in-depth interviews with individuals working in 19 organisations.

There are four prominent findings from this study. Firstly, voluntary sector employees are shown to have a set of distinctive values and motivations. These include the four PSM dimensions but are supplemented by an oppositional identity, a belief in a cause, and a combined individual and global focus. Secondly, institutions such as the family and religious groups are found to have a function in the development of values, although transformative experiences are primarily important. Thirdly, organisations are shown to have a role to play in developing values through increasing employees' knowledge and awareness of the work of the organisation, and encouraging colleague interaction and support. Furthermore, treating employees as significant individuals, and exhibiting public values within the organisation, appear to encourage employees to enact their values. Fourthly, particular complexities in the field of motivation are revealed through the utilisation of qualitative methodology. Overall, the thesis finds that while PSM is applicable to voluntary sector employees, it does not fully explain their motivations.

More generally, the thesis extends existing research regarding the development of values and the PSM process theory. It also encourages voluntary organisations to adopt participative management practices and exhibit public values due to their importance to the values-infused nature of the employment relationship in this sector. Furthermore, while the study's findings offer some support to the government policy of outsourcing to the voluntary sector, they also suggest that there may be particular challenges due to the belief in a cause and the oppositional identity of staff. In addition, it is argued that, in the process of outsourcing, the unique culture of voluntary organisations should be protected. Finally, a number of avenues for future research are identified, including the development of a voluntary sector motivation construct, comparative research between public and voluntary sectors, and engagement in more qualitative (and longitudinal) studies.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Voluntary Sector and Employees' Motivation

The voluntary sector plays a crucial role in society and has been described as a 'significant economic and social force' (Clark *et al.*, 2009:1). Indeed, while the sector has contributed to society over many centuries, this role has expanded considerably in recent decades, and various UK governments have advocated for its importance (Deakin, 1995; Sheard, 1995; Office of the Third Sector, 2006; Office for Civil Society, 2010). This increasing role of the voluntary sector in society reflects the way in which successive governments have chosen to outsource public service delivery to both private *and* voluntary sectors (e.g. Taylor, 2001; Office for Civil Society, 2010; Alcock, 2011). This expansion has, moreover, continued under the current Coalition government, which has championed a vision of a 'Big Society'. In this vision, which includes a component of outsourcing public service delivery, voluntary sector and community organisations are seen to 'play an even more influential role in shaping a stronger sense of society and improving people's lives' (Office for Civil Society, 2010:1).

Both the Coalition and preceding governments have promoted the outsourcing of public services to the voluntary sector because they believe that it has unique characteristics and experiences. These make the sector particularly suited to the delivery of such services, most notably due to a specific type of ethos or motivation amongst its employees (HM Treasury, 2002; Office for Civil Society, 2010). However, although it is the perceived distinctive nature of the voluntary sector that has led to its greater

involvement in public service delivery, it has been argued that 'early observations of worker orientations ... are mainly anecdotal and have ... been subject to only limited empirical scrutiny' (Cunningham, 2008:2). Indeed, there are also suggestions of 'blurred boundaries' (Billis, 2010) and similarities between the public and voluntary sectors (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009; Word and Park, 2009), which imply that the voluntary sector is not as distinctive as has been suggested. Interestingly, such blurred boundaries are said to exist, in part, due to the increasing involvement of the voluntary sector in public service delivery (Billis, 2010). Furthermore, the very process of outsourcing public services to the sector has been argued to negatively affect employees within it, thereby potentially damaging one of its alleged distinctive characteristics (Cunningham and James, 2011a).

Against the backdrop of these contradictions and uncertainties, there is a clear need for further exploration of the voluntary sector's distinctive nature. This thesis consequently seeks to address this need by exploring work motivation amongst voluntary sector employees. It does so using the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM).

PSM is defined as 'a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind' (Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999). This motivation is seen to develop primarily through institutions, according to the process theory of PSM (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008), and it is seen to be important due to its ability to account for factors not present in dominant motivation theories (Perry, 2000). The construct is, furthermore, seen to be of significance because of the various positive employment-related benefits that have been found to

be associated with it, such as higher levels of employee commitment and positive behaviour within organisations (e.g. Kim, 2005; Taylor, 2008).

PSM has previously been examined amongst public and private sector employees (Brewer and Selden 1998; Brewer *et al.*, 2000; Wise, 2000; Horton and Hondeghem, 2006), but rarely in the voluntary sector. More generally, it has been assumed that employee motivation in the voluntary sector is similar to that in the public sector (Mann, 2006).

There are consequently important questions related to the applicability of PSM in the voluntary sector – can it be applied to employees in the sector, and is it *adequate* for explaining their motivations? In addition to this, a pertinent question relates to how PSM accounts for the emergence of such motivations? Although research has examined antecedents of PSM in the public sector (e.g. Perry, 1997) and theorised the development process of values related to PSM (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008), its current exclusive focus on institutional factors and its overwhelmingly use of quantitative research (Koumenta, 2011), suggest that it is an area that would benefit from further investigation.

In summary, the aim of the thesis, and associated research questions, can therefore be articulated as follows:

Aim

- To explore the motivation of voluntary sector employees through the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM).

Research Questions

- How far does PSM theory address values and motivations of relevance to those working in the voluntary sector?
- To what degree does PSM theory, as currently constituted, provide an adequate framework for understanding the development of such values and motivations?
- In the light of the above explorations, what are the possible implications of the research for government policy and management practices, as well as for future research?

Thesis Outline

The following chapter (**Chapter 2**) introduces the voluntary sector, and explores the arguments related to its distinctive nature. It does this firstly by defining the sector, highlighting, in the process, the very complex area that this is. The chapter then moves on to map out some of the history of the sector, demonstrating the way in which the relationship between the voluntary and public sectors has become increasingly close, particularly from the twentieth century onwards. Following this, the chapter focuses on the contested area of the similarities and differences between the voluntary and public sectors. It then turns to address the practice of outsourcing, which is undertaken due to the advocated *differences* of the voluntary sector.

Chapter 3, meanwhile, presents a thorough overview of PSM, which was deemed to be an appropriate tool for investigating the motivation of voluntary sector employees. As with the previous chapter, it starts by looking at definitions, before moving on to describe the development of the

PSM concept and the reasons as to why it is seen to be of such importance. Subsequently, the dimensional construct of PSM is presented, and attention paid to the incidence of PSM and how such motivation (*and* its constituent dimensions) might be found within voluntary sector employees. Following this, the chapter undertakes a detailed review of the antecedents of PSM, along with the PSM process theory, which attempts to explain the development of such motivations.

In the final part of the chapter, some key themes are identified from the literature review. These are shown to be (1) uncertainties regarding the possible distinct motivation of voluntary sector employees, and related issues surrounding the applicability of PSM and its dimensions to voluntary sector employees, (2) questions regarding the usefulness of PSM research and theory to explain the development of voluntary sector employees' values and motivations, as well as further questions regarding the adequacy of the process theory given its exclusive focus on institutions, and, finally, (3) opportunities that appear to be presented due to the extensive use of quantitative methods in PSM research.

Chapter 4 starts by considering in more detail the aim of the study presented above and the research questions. The rest of the chapter then details how it intends to achieve this. Having presented a brief overview of possible philosophies by which the research could be approached, the adopted philosophy of pragmatism is described, and the rationale for the use of qualitative methodology comprised of semi-structured interviews is detailed. After this, each part of the methodology is reviewed by initially highlighting guidance from literature, and then providing an explanation of the actual practice undertaken in the study. This includes interview

preparation and organisation, along with managing the interviews. It also covers the sampling undertaken which resulted in 35 participants across 19 charities being interviewed. In particular, it highlights that five types of charity were represented (environment, health, international development, social welfare, and youth) and people at different levels of the organisation, in different types of job, and at different points in their career, were included in the research. The thematic data analysis undertaken is also detailed. The chapter concludes with an acknowledgement of the ethical considerations in undertaking this study.

There follow three chapters concerned with the findings from the study undertaken. **Chapter 5** concentrates on addressing the first research question and, in particular, demonstrating the ways in which the findings show that the values and motivation described by PSM are applicable to voluntary sector employees. Specifically, it looks at employees' general motivation and the four PSM dimensions (*Attraction to Public Participation, Commitment to Public Values, Compassion, and Self-Sacrifice*).

The exploration of the question of the relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees is continued in **Chapter 6**, through paying attention to the way in which PSM explains the development of values and motivation. In particular, it presents findings related to institutional antecedents such as the family and religion, as well as the role of the organisation in both developing values and providing an environment in which individuals choose to enact such values.

Despite the relevance of PSM highlighted in chapters 5 and 6, in terms of explaining the values and motivations of voluntary sector employees and

their development, significant limitations in this regard were also revealed in the findings, and **Chapter 7** evaluates these. Primarily, the chapter focuses on detailing *additional*, non-PSM, motivations and values that voluntary sector employees were found to demonstrate. Further to this, the chapter elaborates on non-institutional ways in which such values developed.

Having explored the findings in chapters 5 to 7, and building on the adequacies and inadequacies of PSM to explain the motivations of voluntary sector employees, **Chapter 8** moves to a discussion of four key propositions to emerge and the related implications of these. The themes in question are, firstly, that those working in the voluntary sector have distinctive motivations, secondly, that while institutions do have a function in the development of values, the roles of other factors have to be acknowledged, thirdly, that organisations do have a role to play in developing values but that this is not exclusive, and fourthly, that the use of qualitative methods to explore motivation reveals its complexity. In the final part of the chapter, the implications of these themes for research, organisations, and governmental policies are elaborated.

Chapter 9 draws the thesis to a conclusion, providing an overview of what has been covered in the thesis, reviewing how the aim of the study and the research questions have been addressed, highlighting significant contributions of the thesis, and suggesting avenues of future research.

Chapter 2

The Voluntary Sector and the Outsourcing of Public Service Delivery

The voluntary sector, championed by various governments and politicians (Deakin, 1995; Sheard, 1995; Office of the Third Sector, 2006; Office for Civil Society, 2010), has an ever-increasing role in society, especially in the delivery of outsourced public services. In particular, the unique characteristics of the sector and its employees are asserted (HM Treasury, 2002; Office for Civil Society, 2010), however, there are questions and contradictions regarding such characteristics. The intention in this chapter is therefore to introduce the voluntary sector and explore some of the arguments regarding its distinctive nature. This is achieved by addressing three points.

Firstly, the history and development of the voluntary sector is summarised, with particular attention paid to its changing relationship with government over time. Secondly, arguments regarding the differences and similarities between the voluntary and public sectors are explored in order to illuminate contradictions that exist; this is particularly important considering the fact that it is assumed differences that are used as a justification for outsourcing public service delivery to the voluntary sector. Finally, the focus turns to a consideration of the outsourcing of public service delivery, a practice that is argued to affect the distinctive nature of the voluntary sector (Cunningham and James, 2011a). In doing this, the chapter lays out the broad context in which the empirical research for this thesis was undertaken.

A 'Loose and Baggy Monster' – Defining the Voluntary Sector

Any attempt to carry out research in the voluntary sector immediately confronts problematic issues of definitions and terminology. The international community is not unified around one definition of the voluntary sector (Vincent and Harrow, 2005), and it is challenging to pin down what it is and where its boundaries lie; hence the label given to it by Kendall and Knapp (1995) of the 'loose and baggy monster'. In part, this challenge is due to its diversity, as Harris *et al.* (2001:8-9) highlight:

The diversity is so great and operates on so many dimensions that any claim to be researching the voluntary sector *per se* is as improbable as any similar claim to be researching the public, corporate or informal sectors as a whole ... there is a temptation to impose definitions that 'create' a more homogenous and discrete sector for research and analysis than really exists. There is also a tendency to develop and apply definitions which give weight to the larger and more structured voluntary organisations (which are easier to identify, count and describe) at the expense of more informal voluntary activities.

The plethora of terminology used to describe the sector demonstrates some of this diversity, though there can also be a lack of clarity regarding their meanings (Chapman *et al.*, 2008). The different terminologies in use are summarised by Kelly (2007:1005) as the 'voluntary sector; charitable sector; voluntary and community sector; non-profit sector; not-for-profit sector; the third sector; and civil society'. These terms are often used interchangeably, despite some significant differences between them.

The term *third sector* highlights the fact that it is one of three sectors, the other two being the public and private, and that it therefore encompasses any organisation that does not fall into either of these. In line with this, the government 'defines the third sector as non-governmental organisations that are value-driven and which principally reinvest their surpluses to further social, environmental or cultural objectives' and states that it includes voluntary and community organisations (both those that are charities and those that are not), social enterprises and cooperatives and mutuals (HM Treasury and Cabinet Office, 2007:6).

Civil society, meanwhile, is seen to constitute an even broader category, which includes 'all forms of collective action that are independent of government and for public benefit' (Clark *et al.*, 2010). It therefore encompasses co-operatives, independent schools, universities, employee-owned businesses, trade associations and professional bodies, and financial mutuals, as well as voluntary and community organisations.

The term *non-profit* or *not-for-profit* highlights another key characteristic of organisations in the sector – that of not focusing on the attainment of private profit – while the word *voluntary* focuses on the fact that such organisations involve an aspect of voluntarism, whether just in the Board of Trustees or throughout the organisation (Cunningham, 2010a).

The complexity of the terminology can be clearly seen when trying to place an organisation within one of the different terms highlighted above. For example, some organisations falling under the banner of *civil society* may not be voluntary organisations (for example, universities), while employee-owned businesses might not be classed as *non-profit organisations*.

Additionally, voluntary organisations, such as small community groups, might not choose to register as charities as it may not be necessary for them to formalise in this way. Moreover, some would argue that the 'newly emerging bodies sometimes known as *not-for-profit agencies* in the UK, which are especially active in the social care area' (Kendall and Knapp, 1995:88), are not part of the sector due to the lack of voluntarism (in terms of either time or money donations). However, while some *not-for-profit* organisations may not include *voluntarism*, a *voluntary* organisation can generally be seen to have a *non-profit* motive.

As can be seen, there is no standard term for the sector and each of the terms in use have attractions. However, the term that seems most appropriate to this thesis is the *voluntary sector*. This is because it is more focussed and encompasses the traditional 'core' of the sector, as opposed to *civil society* and *third sector* which include a wider variety of types of organisation such as universities and financial mutuals. The term *non-profit sector*, more common in US literature, is also used when referring to such literature. Individual organisations are referred to as either *voluntary organisations* or *charities*, apart from where another term is used in a quotation. These are seen as interchangeable terms and, for want of a generally accepted definition, the NCVO definition of a charity is the one adopted in this thesis. This is because it clearly describes the particular characteristics of charities and thus highlights the boundaries between them and other types of organisations, although clearly within their definition there is still diversity. The NCVO has defined a general charity as having the following characteristics: formal, independent, non-profit-distributing, self-governing, voluntary, and providing a public benefit (Clark *et al.*, 2009:46; also see Schepers *et al.*, 2005). This means that a charity

has to have a 'structured organisational form', must be independent from the public and private sectors, should not have shareholders or owners who receive profits from the enterprise, should decide its own direction and programme, must involve voluntary work (including trustees) or voluntary donations, and provide a benefit to the wider public (Clark *et al.*, 2009:46).

A Golden Age? The History of the Voluntary Sector

Clark and Wilding (2011:38) argue that we are living in a 'golden age' for the voluntary sector, and the recent growth of the sector and its emerging significance in the economy have been highlighted by many authors (e.g. Davies, 2011a). However, other periods have also been depicted as a golden age. For example, the thirteenth century was described by Le Bras as 'The Golden Age of small associations of piety geared much less towards the practice of sacraments than towards liturgy and good works' (Rubin, 1988:251, cited in Davis Smith, 1995:11). Indeed, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries approximately 500 voluntary hospitals were founded (Rubin, 1988, cited in Davis Smith, 1995:11). Davis Smith (1995:14) also described the nineteenth century as a 'golden age' due to the rise of voluntary associations.

This is not to denigrate the recent growth of the sector or the related increase in government support for it. Rather, it is to simply highlight the fact that voluntary organisations in the UK have had a crucial role since the first century AD (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). In fact, 'it is impossible to chart the development of UK society without frequent allusions to the pivotal role that voluntary organizations have played in changing ideologies, values, responsibilities and policies' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996:1).

This section consequently summarises the history and development of the voluntary sector in order to provide some context for the present research. In particular, attention is paid to the significant role that it has played in the provision of public services and the ever-closer nature of its relationship with government. After giving a brief overview of the early history of the sector, the changing landscape of the twentieth century and beyond is detailed.

The Early History

Within the UK, mutual aid and friendly societies can be found as far back as the first century AD (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). In medieval times much charitable activity was related to the church and the practice of purchasing prayers (Kendall and Knapp, 1996); although the feudal obligation of a Lord of the Manor to ensure the essentials of life for suffering tenants, and merchant and craft guilds which developed mutual insurance and maintained almshouses, were also significant sources of charity at this time (Chesterman, 1979). The sixteenth century subsequently saw the start of charitable trusts (Davis Smith, 1995), as well as the interest of government in regulating charitable activity. For example, charity commissioners were introduced under the 1597 Charitable Uses Act for the purpose of combatting fraudulent activity (Davis Smith, 1995). Meanwhile, philanthropy was recognised in the preamble of the *1601 Statute on Charitable Uses* (Kendall and Knapp, 1996), an act which also legally defined charitable activity (Chesterman, 1979).

Following the reformation there was a further significant increase in benevolence focussed on 'almshouses, hospitals, houses of correction, workhouses' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996:32), while the eighteenth century

saw an increase in philanthropy, including friendly societies, endowments, soup kitchens, medical dispensaries and work with the disabled (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). Additionally, in 1736, the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act 'equat[ed] "charitable" more or less with "public"', justifying the charitable status of museums, for example (Chesterman, 1979:21).

During the Victorian years, mothers' meetings, temperance societies, Bible societies, maternity charities, coal clubs, sick benefit societies and city missions were also common (Prochaska, 1988), with many volunteers motivated by their religious beliefs. Fundraising also became an 'obsession' (Prochaska, 1988:59); by the 1890s, charitable giving in London alone more than equalled the budgets of various European countries, while even poor families contributed to charity on a weekly basis (Prochaska, 1988). In fact, the nineteenth century saw dramatic increases in voluntary associations caused by the need to respond to problems of population, industry and urban growth that previous responses, such as almshouses and endowed charities, could not adequately address (Davis Smith, 1995). The century also witnessed the establishment of the Charity Commission (Davis Smith, 1995).

Indeed, it was only in the early part of the twentieth century that the non-profit sector lost its place as 'the primary vehicle for social expenditures' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996:2). Although it should be noted that prior to the twentieth century, the state was not just a legislative bystander, but was involved in partnering with the voluntary sector. For example, the government provided assistance to institutions caring for poor children throughout the nineteenth century (Prochaska, 1980) as well as to the controversial Magdalene Asylums (Davis Smith, 1995). With the

introduction of the welfare state, however, the government took a more prominent role in actually delivering services itself.

The Twentieth Century and Beyond – Intertwined with the State

Throughout the twentieth century there are clear points at which the landscape shifted for the voluntary sector and, overall, during this period an increasingly close relationship can be seen between the voluntary and public sectors. There are four clear stages of this developing relationship starting with (1) the Beveridge report in 1948 which marked increased vocal support for the sector. This was followed by (2) the Wolfenden Committee Report in 1978 which helped to give the sector an identity, along with (3) an increasing role as contractors under the Thatcher government. The place of the voluntary sector at the centre of society was clearly demonstrated by (4) shifts under the Labour government, which have been continued by the Coalition government. These stages are outlined in more depth below.

An Unfounded Concern Over the Effects of War and the Welfare State

Legislation passed by the Liberal government in the period 1905 to 1914, including the National Insurance Act, made provision for increased social welfare, means tested old age pensions, school meals, medical services, and some unemployment insurance (Davis Smith, 1995). These developments led to concerns as to the negative effects that they would have on the voluntary sector (Davis Smith, 1995). However, this concern proved to be misplaced as the evidence shows that voluntary traditions did not decline (Prochaska, 1988). For example, 11,000 new charities were created during the First World War (Grant, 2011) and in the interwar years there was a plethora of different types of voluntary societies 'sustained by a

great army of busybodies, and anyone could enlist in this army who felt inclined to' (Taylor, 1965:175).

Therefore, as has been well summarised,

'voluntary action showed a remarkable gift for survival throughout the first half of the twentieth century ... Some voluntary agencies carried on much as before with their work quite separate from the work of the newly enlarged state. Others shifted the focus of their activity away from work which had been overtaken by the state into new areas of concern' (Davis Smith, 1995:25).

In addition, during the interwar period, increased partnership was seen between public and voluntary sectors; for example, it was estimated by Braithwaite in 1938 that, by that time, registered charities were receiving more than a third of their income from government (cited in Deakin and Davis Smith, 2011).

The birth of the National Health Service (NHS) in 1948 not only involved providing health care for all, but also the nationalising of all voluntary hospitals by the state (Deakin, 1995). Yet, as with the introduction of National Insurance, neither the NHS nor the new National Insurance Act of 1946 (Deakin, 1995) sounded the tolling bell for the voluntary sector. Thus, while the landscape had changed (Deakin, 1995) and much welfare provision was now delivered by centralised, state-run bureaucracies (Cunningham, 2006), the government continued to partner with the voluntary sector in areas such as social welfare (Davis Smith, 1995).

The Beveridge Report and Supportive Legislation

While there was already evidence of partnership working between the voluntary and public sectors in the early part of the twentieth century, and indeed, more broadly, it has already been seen that the government relied on the voluntary sector for many years prior to this, the relationship certainly became closer in the twentieth century. In particular, William Beveridge's 1948 report, *Voluntary Action*, marked a significant development through its clear advocacy of increased cooperation between government and voluntary organisations. As a major proponent of the role of voluntary action in society, in which he included philanthropy, mutual aid, thrift, and business with a bettering motive, Beveridge wrote, 'vigour or abundance of Voluntary Action outside one's home, individually and in association with other citizens, for bettering one's own life and that of one's fellows, is one of the hallmarks of a free society' (Deakin, 1995:10). Although Beveridge's detailed ideas were generally ignored, Lord Pakenham, a Labour peer, used the opportunity of a Lords' debate to reiterate the Labour government's position of supporting cooperation between the state and voluntary sector (Deakin, 1995). Pakenham also exercised caution, emphasising that the whole purpose of the voluntary sector was 'its freedom from external control ... its spontaneity, its uniqueness' (HL Deb 22 June 1949).

The voluntary sector continued to play a part in social welfare throughout the 1950s under the Conservatives, though mostly as a 'junior partner in the enterprise' (Deakin, 1995:47). The following decade saw the Charities Act 1960, which affirmed and extended the powers of the Charity Commission (Chesterman, 1979). More generally, the social welfare role of charities continued following the Labour victory in 1964 (Deakin and Davis

Smith, 2011), while in 1972 a Voluntary Services Unit was set up in the Home Office by Heath's Conservative government (Deakin, 1995). Indeed, support from the government for the voluntary sector increased during this period and continued following the 1974 Labour victory under Wilson.

The Wolfenden Committee Report and Conservative Governments

The Wolfenden Committee Report on *The Future of Voluntary Organisations* of 1978 marked another significant development, particularly regarding the new idea of a voluntary sector (Harris *et al.*, 2001). This report provided voluntary organisations 'with a sense of common identity. It also spurred a growing consciousness of their distinctive characteristics and problems. This in turn created the conditions in which the sector developed its own infrastructure institutions and a more powerful voice in public and social policy debates' (Harris *et al.*, 2001:2).

Not long after the Wolfenden Committee Report, Margaret Thatcher led the Conservatives to power in 1979. Thatcher, who famously said of society, 'there is no such thing', emphasised 'rolling back the frontiers of the state' (Harris *et al.*, 2001:3) and a professionalisation of management. Adopting the 'New Public Management' agenda coming from New Zealand and sweeping Europe, and indeed the world (Schedler, and Proeller, 2002; Koumenta, 2011), the Conservative government wanted to reduce its own role in the provision of welfare and move towards a role of overseeing services provided by others (Harris *et al.*, 2001). This came to involve voluntary organisations competing with others to become 'providers' and 'contractors' (Harris *et al.*, 2001:3). Private sector practices, seen as more 'business-like', were also extended to the voluntary sector (Deakin, 1995). This can be seen from Charles Handy's report of the outcomes of a working

party on *Improving Effectiveness in Voluntary Organisations*, produced by the NCVO in 1981 (Batsleer, 1995), as well as in the introduction of management development programmes in the sector (Deakin, 1995).

After the 1980s, the landscape continued to shift significantly as 'the state embraced the voluntary sector and assigned it a central role in public service provision that has not existed in modern times' (Davies, 2011a:18). In a 1992 white paper, 'The Individual and the Community', the then prime minister, John Major, called for 'more volunteering, more charitable giving and more business involvement in the community' (Deakin, 1995:62), along with greater flexibility and choice through continued voluntary sector involvement in public service delivery (Deakin, 1995). Only three years later, the 'Make a Difference' programme, delivered by the Home Office, emerged with a vision 'of a society in which the right of all citizens to engage in voluntary or community action is unequivocally recognised' (Make a Difference Team, 1995:3, cited in Rochester, 2001:67; Alcock, 2011). However, while Major championed the role of the voluntary sector, both within and outside the delivery of public services, in reality, the Conservative government focussed more on outsourcing public services to the private sector (Davies, 2011:21a).

It was also during the Major government that increased attention was paid to the internal aspects of voluntary organisations through reports such as that of the Nolan Committee in 1995. As Deakin summarises, 'there was now recognition that these bodies could not simply substitute for statutory ones: their organisational form, financial regimes, internal procedures and cultures were often dissimilar in ways that might crucially affect their capacity to undertake new tasks' (2001:28). Interest was therefore

focused on the establishment of efficient organisational and financial management in organisations that were delivering public services and receiving public funding (Deakin, 2001). In effect, the New Public Management practices introduced into the public sector from the private sector were now being emphasised in the voluntary sector to a greater extent than previously seen, at least in the case of organisations involved in public service delivery (c.f. Harris, 2010; Cunningham and James, 2011b).

An Established Sector Under New Labour and Coalition Governments

In 1997 New Labour came to power under the leadership of Tony Blair and, subsequently, Gordon Brown. This period of Labour government has been described as providing an 'enabling policy context' for charities (Chew and Osborne, 2009:91). New Labour kept many of the changes introduced by the Conservatives, thereby demonstrating 'that changes in the public sector were no longer a matter of partisan politics but an irreversible transformation' (Deakin, 2001:29). Thus, Blair's election campaign promised to 'put voluntary action at the heart of restoring civic society' (Labour Party, 1997:6, cited in Rochester, 2001:67) and this commitment was seen in some very practical actions. For example, under the Labour government funding for the voluntary sector doubled, the Office of Third Sector was set up, and earned income from the public sector grew significantly (Davies, 2011b).

New Labour, like the Conservative governments before it, believed that the public sector was marked by poor productivity, and that services were badly managed, of low quality, and high cost (Kelly, 2007). Labour was content to involve both private and voluntary sectors, seeing 'government as ... necessary in terms of funding ... [but] not always necessary in terms of

delivering the actual service' (Blair, 2006). However, they particularly emphasised the potential role of voluntary organisations. The idea of a Third Way was central to Labour policy at this time – a third way which rejected reliance on either public service delivery by the state or by the market (Alcock, 2011). It was this concept that 'created a potentially new space for a proactive role for the sector as a tailor made alternative to both the state and the market' (Alcock, 2011:164). During the Labour government's time in office, the idea of a third sector was therefore encouraged and broadened to include cooperatives and social enterprises, amongst others (Alcock, 2011).

Rather than focusing on a terminology of contracts, the Labour government talked of partnership and compacts (Harris *et al.*, 2001), although in essence the government was still providing contract funding (Davies, 2011b). Service provision, it argued, should be carried out in the most appropriate way according to prevailing need; organisational boundaries were seen to be of the past (Harris, 2010). The services provided by the voluntary sector were consequently often no longer something extra, a small part of, or an addition to, services provided by the state (Taylor, 2001). Rather, the voluntary sector was instead delivering mainstream public services.

The 1998 Compact aimed to provide a structure within which the working relationship between government and voluntary sectors could be strengthened (Chew and Osborne, 2009). It included a commitment to consult the voluntary sector and this emphasis on partnership working was welcomed by significant leaders in the sector (Alcock, 2011). Introduced initially in England – due to the devolution of responsibility for third sector

relationships – compacts were also introduced not long afterwards in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and these were then cascaded down to local areas (Alcock, 2011).

The 2002 Cross Cutting Review continued to assert the government's belief in the importance of the voluntary sector, with Labour politician, Paul Boateng, writing in the introduction that 'This government is passionately committed to the work of the voluntary sector. We believe that voluntary and community sector organisations have a crucial role to play in reform of public services and reinvigoration of civic life. We in government cannot do this alone' (HM Treasury, 2002:3).

However, it has also been contended that this review marked 'a move towards selective engagement with a limited range of 'preferred' VCS actors ... selected by their willingness and capacity to embrace the modernization process' (McLaughlin, 2004:557). Thus, the requirements it placed on voluntary organisations receiving funding included a commitment to improved information regarding their activities and standards regarding the reporting and recording of information (HM Treasury, 2002). The government reasoned that it could not justify the provision of funding if return on investment could not be accurately judged or if there was no government control over performance (McLaughlin, 2004). However, this modernisation agenda, which included replacing volunteers with employees, adopting quality systems from the private sector, and training (Harris, 2010), did come with increased capacity-building investment of £188 million (McLaughlin, 2004). Examples of this investment can be seen in the Futurebuilders fund and the ChangeUp programme, both of which

contributed to a mass increase in available funding for the sector (Alcock, 2011).

The Labour Party manifesto in 2005 highlighted some of the reasons for following the policy of increased involvement of the voluntary sector in public service delivery. It was argued that the voluntary sector was more efficient and innovative and it was 'also claimed to bring additional benefits related to its advocacy role, its influence on policy development, and its positive impact in deepening democratic engagement and strengthening civil society' (Davies, 2011a:22). Furthermore, the public was seen to generally trust charities (Davies 2011a) while outsourcing to the private sector was noted to be less politically palatable to many Labour Party members (Davies, 2008).

By the mid-2000s, the shift in voluntary sector involvement in the provision of public services was described as a 'revolution' (Mathiason, 2005). Meanwhile, notwithstanding the defeat of the Labour party in 2010, government attitudes to the voluntary sector remain highly positive.

Coalition Government Policy 2010 Onwards

The current Coalition government, has championed a vision of a 'Big Society' where voluntary sector and community organisations 'play an even more influential role in shaping a stronger sense of society and improving people's lives' (Office for Civil Society, 2010:1). Key components of this vision are empowering local communities, encouraging volunteering, and opening up public services, including via outsourcing them to voluntary organisations. The government favours this position because of 'the special ability of voluntary and community organisations to mobilise and support

people ... [and they] want to harness their power to find better solutions to our social problems' (Office for Civil Society, 2010:1).

With a new Compact agreement in December 2010, the Coalition government's actions related to this vision include the introduction of a National Citizen Service for young people, the launch of Big Society Capital in 2012 (Woodhouse, 2013) and the Social Value Act 2012, which requires all service procurement to consider social value (Sloccock, 2013; Woodhouse, 2013). Funding in 2011 included a Transition Fund of £100 million for voluntary organisations affected by cuts and a Social Action Fund of £20 million (Bhati and Heywood, 2013). Further funding of £3.1 million was announced in March 2013 for social action projects (Woodhouse, 2013). However, when placed against cuts, the impact of this 'extra' funding can be questioned. Cuts are estimated to have been at least £396 million in 2011/12 and overall are estimated to be £1.7 billion between 2010-11 and 2017-18 (Bhati and Heywood, 2013); unsurprisingly many charities have been forced to close (Clark, *et al.*, 2012). Of course, this is within an environment where funding cuts have been widespread across the public sector.

More broadly, there have been challenges to the government's track record regarding their Big Society agenda (c.f. Bartels *et al.*, 2013). Civil Exchange, a think tank focussed on civil society and government, accused the government of 'failing to live up to its own rhetoric in key areas', particularly regarding the opening up of public services (Sloccock, 2013), while others have suggested that currently 'there is little sense that [the voluntary sector] in some ways is a special or privileged partner of the state' (Dayson and Wells, 2013:95). However, regardless of whether or not

the Coalition government has fulfilled its promises or whether the sector is a privileged partner, there is no doubt that the general trend of governments over the last twenty years has been to increasingly include the voluntary sector in public service *delivery*; although it is, at the same time, important to recognise that there has been much work continuing in the voluntary sector which is not touched by the government – for example, three quarters of all charities do not receive any funding from the state (Clark *et al.*, 2012).

The Same But Different? Comparing Voluntary and Public Sectors

The increasingly close relationship between government and the voluntary sector, and the challenges of defining the sector so far described in this chapter, naturally lead on to a discussion of the boundaries between the public and voluntary sectors. In relation to this issue, there are numerous references in the literature to blurred boundaries, as well as hybridisation (Billis, 2010), and a number of similarities are said to exist. However, differences are also espoused; even in 1949, Lord Pakenham was emphasising the uniqueness of the voluntary sector, and this distinctiveness continues to be highlighted today.

These contradictions suggest that there is a lack of clarity regarding possible differences or similarities between the two sectors, and that the distinctiveness which is claimed for the voluntary sector is still not well understood. These differing views will therefore be outlined below, before moving on, in the following section, to look in more detail at the practice of

outsourcing and the way in which its supporting rationale draws on elements of this alleged distinctiveness.

Sector Similarities

The similarities seen to exist between the voluntary sector and public sector include themes related to their origins, economics, work, and employee characteristics. Firstly, both public and voluntary organisations (and thus, sectors) originate from the fact that markets failed 'to meet the needs of society' (Word and Park, 2009:105), although how the two address this is different. The government gives its attention to society broadly, and the voluntary sector focuses on smaller groups of individuals within society (Steinberg, 2006). The fact that both sectors have the aim of serving the public interest or providing a public benefit is therefore one of the most significant similarities (Word and Park, 2009). In addition, intrinsic motivation is seen to be more important than extrinsic motivation in both sectors (Park and Word, 2012).

Another noted similarity between the two sectors is that neither has aims that centre on profit (Moore, 2000; Feeney and Bozeman, 2009). Instead, both sectors operate within a non-distribution constraint, which means that any 'profit' made is not distributed to shareholders (of which there are none). Additionally, there is no profit incentive for employees within the two sectors (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009). A further related similarity revolves around the mechanism for funding work – in both the voluntary sector and the public sector, money to finance services generally comes from individuals (respectively donors and taxpayers) who are unlikely to benefit

from the service themselves, whereas in the private sector individuals typically buy products or services that benefit themselves (Moore, 2000).

The nature of the work undertaken by the voluntary and public sectors constitutes another area of similarity between them. For example, the services that they provide are often hard to define, it can be hard to assess the success of programmes and services, and the existence of multiple stakeholders within both sectors leads to challenges of accountability and debates about the relative importance of goals (Word and Park, 2009).

The profile of employees within the voluntary sector in the UK is also comparable to those in the public sector, while contrasting with those in the private sector as a whole. In the non-profit sector women make up 66% of the workforce and 44% have a degree, very similar to the public sector, where the equivalent figures are, respectively, 66% and 45%. These statistics contrast sharply with those in the private sector, where 39% are women and 25% have a degree (Kane *et al.*, 2014).

Other similarities are suggested to have come from the increasing involvement of the voluntary sector in public service delivery. In fact, this is not simply limited to the voluntary and public sectors but to the private sector as well. As Billis (2010:8) summarises, 'organizations in all three sectors ... are now so influenced by adjacent sectors that 'blurring' scarcely does justice to what is happening'. In fact it is suggested that, as all three sectors interact with each other, they thus acquire the others' characteristics (Antonsen and Jørgensen, 1997; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002). Harris (2010:32), in referring to this as normative isomorphism, particularly highlights how third sector organisations in the

area of welfare provision, 'are required to think more like a government agency'. More specifically, the significant funding involved in service delivery is seen to provide an important pressure on the voluntary sector to adapt and there have been suggestions that charities are increasingly weighted towards the interests of local government or public policy makers (Brereton and Temple, 1999) due to this funding relationship. This idea is explored further below, where the effects of outsourcing are examined in more depth.

Sector Differences

Although there are similarities between the voluntary and public sectors there are also significant differences. Indeed, as will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter, alleged differences between them have been used to justify the trend towards outsourcing public service delivery to the former. Such differences are argued to be present in each of the elements of similarity already described above: origins, economic factors, the nature of work, and employee characteristics or behaviours.

The origins of public and voluntary organisations have been argued to stem from a similar source – that of a 'failure of markets to meet the needs of society' (Word and Park, 2009:105). However, the two sectors also originate, to some degree, from a failure of the other. Thus, on the one hand, the government does not meet all the needs of society (Steinberg, 2006) and the voluntary sector therefore fills some of the gaps in public sector provision. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the welfare state was set up due to 'voluntary failure' (Salamon, 1987), for example stemming from the inadequate and amateur provision of welfare by voluntary organisations (Harris *et al.*, 2001). The fact that some charities

are set up to oppose and change government policies (Brudney and Gazley, 2006) also highlights a potential difference between the two sectors.

In terms of economic arguments, Newman and Wallender (1978) oppose the suggestion that the public and voluntary sectors are similar due to a lack of profit. Instead, they suggest that there can be a high level of difference between non-profit seeking organisations (either public or voluntary) due to divergent goals and management. Here, the lack of profit motive is of less importance in grouping organisations than issues regarding the nature of management such as adopting a formal or flexible organisational structure or planning with the long term or short term in mind. For example, they suggest that there are important differences in planning needs between a water supply cooperative and a tenants association, amongst others.

Meanwhile, although aspects of the nature of the work undertaken are seen to demonstrate similarities between the sectors in the previous section, differences can also be highlighted. Voluntary organisations are often founded by individuals or small groups interested in carrying out a specific mission and are focused on a particular group of users or clients; this is in contrast to public sector bodies that serve whole populations and are set up by government (Word and Park, 2009; Lee and Wilkins, 2011). Indeed, while both sectors are said to face challenges in the nature of their work, Harris and Billis (1996) suggest that there are, nevertheless, distinct challenges and features within the voluntary sector, relating, for example, to the nature of governance, the challenge of accountability, and the demands of listening to, and engaging with, various stakeholders (also see Paton and

Cornforth, 1992). Harris and Billis (1996) also highlight the peculiar challenge of conflict caused by values, and that of working with volunteers, paid staff and governing bodies.

Continuing with the theme of the nature of work, an emphasis on fluidity in the voluntary sector, as opposed to the bureaucracy of the public sector (Cunningham, 2010a), is suggested to be a key difference, along with high role conflict and job ambiguity. For example:

A lack of strict job descriptions and position classification frees non-profit workers to take on tasks beyond their job descriptions and pay level. Furthermore ... there are more likely higher expectations for workers to take on tasks, regardless of role and job duty, so that the organization can achieve its goals. (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009:463)

In addition to arguments regarding origin, economics, and the nature of work, there are also suggested to be differences in the kind of workforce attracted to each sector and their behaviour. Here, the difference in organisational purpose and the specific focus of the work are argued to be related to a motivational difference between public sector workers and those in the voluntary sector (Mirvis and Hackett 1983; Goodin, 2003; Lee and Wilkins, 2011). Moreover, evidence for this can arguably be seen in research comparing the behaviour of workers in the two sectors. Although few such studies exist, those that do highlight differences such as higher overtime and higher job involvement in the voluntary sector (Di Maggio and Anheier, 1990; Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004; Feeney and Bozeman, 2009; Word and Park, 2009). Combined with the nature of voluntary sector work, these behaviours are thus said to contribute to a different culture or a

different 'feel' in the voluntary sector (Greer *et al.*, 2011:163). Similarly Billis (2010:8) argues that 'Despite blurring and the apparent diminution of boundaries, sector identity remains powerful and important. It still provides a deep-rooted and fundamentally different way of responding to problems'.

In this context, it is worth highlighting here the idea of 'publicness'. This is a concept suggested by Antonsen and Jørgensen (1997:341-2) to describe elements of organisational purpose, function, and focus. They argue that welfare, knowledge, and culture are produced in high 'publicness' organisations which emphasise 'long-term results and societal considerations'. This is in contrast to low publicness organisations where the focus is on producing services (not welfare) and some knowledge and culture. Moreover, low publicness organisations focus on short-term results and individual users. Thus, it may be that sector is less important than degree of publicness in explaining some of the similarities and differences described above.

Nevertheless, having outlined the conflicting arguments regarding the differences and similarities between the sectors, it is clear that this area would benefit from further consideration. This is particularly relevant since it is the alleged differences that the voluntary sector exhibits, compared to the public sector, that are most pertinent in decisions to adopt outsourcing practice, especially the unique and positive characteristics that the sector is said to possess. It is therefore useful for this study to explore, in more depth, the rationale for outsourcing to the voluntary sector.

Outsourcing Public Service Delivery

In this section, after highlighting some of the key statistics related to the deepening relationship between the government and voluntary sector, the rationale for outsourcing to the voluntary sector is outlined. In particular, a more detailed understanding of the uniqueness that is espoused, and used to justify outsourcing practice, is developed. However, this very ethos is argued to be damaged through outsourcing and in the final part of this section, therefore, these effects are discussed.

Outsourcing Growth

The increase in outsourcing to the voluntary sector can be seen primarily in the way statutory funding has risen significantly. In the eleven years from 2000/01 to 2010/11 statutory income to the voluntary sector increased from £8.6 billion to £14.2 billion. If statutory grants are excluded, the figures show a rise in contract funding from £4.3 billion to £11.2 billion respectively, an increase of 160% (Clark *et al.*, 2012; Kane *et al.*, 2013). This funding comes from both central and local government: in 2009/10 £4.4 billion was from central government, while £6.1 billion was from local government (Clark *et al.*, 2012).

While the private sector still receives the lion's share of external government funding (in 2007 14% of total government spending went to the private and voluntary sectors for purposes including service delivery and capacity building, but only 2.2% of that amount went to the voluntary sector), the amount of funding going to the voluntary sector does represent exponential change relative to 2001 levels (Clark *et al.*, 2009). In addition, the importance of state funding for the voluntary sector can be seen in

figures for 2009/10 showing that organisations with £100,000 or more income received 39% of their income from the state (Clark *et al.*, 2012). More recently it can also be seen in the fact that 25% of all voluntary sector organisations were in receipt of state funding during 2011/12 (Kane *et al.*, 2014). Indeed, such figures 'show a substantial degree of dependence ... on state income' (Cunningham *et al.*, 2013).

The Rationale for Outsourcing Public Services to the Voluntary Sector

The Coalition government favours outsourcing public service delivery to the voluntary sector because they 'recognise and value the special ability of voluntary and community organizations to mobilise and support people ... [and] want to harness their power to find better solutions to our social problems' (Office for Civil Society, 2010:1). This view of the voluntary sector as being able 'to demonstrate more easily a range of specialized skills and experience needed to deliver services' (HM Treasury, 2002:16), is one that has been expressed by various governments as well as in the research literature (e.g. Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002; Clark and Wilding, 2011). These alleged advantageous characteristics include a focus on the user, access to the community, an ability to involve people, as well as a particular type of ethos or motivation.

Firstly, the voluntary sector is seen as having specialist knowledge and experience, especially regarding the 'user' or beneficiary (HM Treasury, 2002). Although this focus on the user has, at times, led to 'charges of paternalism or particularism' (Knapp, 1996), it is considered a positive attribute which enables voluntary organisations to be closer to clients than

public sector organisations (Brindle, 2005; James, 2011) and to have an ability to better address more individual or specialised needs. For example, voluntary organisations are seen to be able to provide more 'comprehensive, holistic' care (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002:5). In fact, due to its independence from government (which is formally required to provide services to all), the voluntary sector is able to focus on a narrow group of users (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002), and it is particularly this 'willingness and ability to 'serve those in greatest need'' (Kendall, 2003:106) which is argued to constitute a distinguishing feature of the voluntary sector.

Access to the community is seen as another key strength of the voluntary sector (HM Treasury, 2002). The access that voluntary organisations have to the community is possible due to the high levels of trust, as well as confidence and affection, that the public have in them (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002; Office of the Third Sector, 2006; Davies, 2011a), much of which stems from their independence from government (Knapp, 1996). With this access and trust, voluntary organisations are able to play a role as a community builder (Office of the Third Sector, 2006). Interestingly, both with this characteristic and the previous one regarding the user, independence from government is an important element, yet, as has already been seen, boundaries are being blurred due to outsourcing practices, thereby compromising this independence.

The culture within the voluntary sector and the practice of service delivery are also seen to be distinctive. Not only is the voluntary sector seen as valuing and having the ability to involve people in service delivery (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990; HM Treasury, 2002), voluntary organisations

are also considered to be more likely to adopt 'participative forms of decision making' (Cunningham, 2001:227), internal democracy (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002), and high levels of internal communication (Osborne and Flynn, 1997). Voluntary organisations are also argued to be more flexible (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002) than the public sector, in part due to decision-making autonomy (Osborne and Flynn, 1997), and hence more able to tailor services to meet user's needs (Knapp, 1996) and respond more rapidly to changing situations.

Finally, a key (and frequently espoused) characteristic of the voluntary sector, that touches on many of the features already mentioned, is that of its ethos and values. Indeed, the 'values driven nature' (Burt and Scholarios, 2011) of the sector is widely seen to be preferable to the resource focus of its private counterpart (Frumkin and Andre-Clark, 2000; James, 2011). These values, including altruism (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990) and 'principles of equality and justice' (Lewis, 2010:224), are seen to flow out of organisational missions and thus contribute to a 'distinctive culture' (Cunningham, 2001:227). In fact, research has shown that voluntary organisations pay significant attention to recruiting for values, and that this is sometimes at the expense of recruiting for qualifications on the grounds that skills can be dealt with after appointment (Cunningham, 2010b). Furthermore, the ability of the sector to motivate staff is suggested by research findings showing it to have lower absence rates than in both the public and private sectors, and fewer grievances and employment tribunal complaints (Nickson *et al.*, 2008).

However, caution is needed in relation to the rhetoric around voluntary sector attributes. In 2008 the Commons Public Administration Select

Committee investigated claims that voluntary sector delivery of public services is preferable due to its 'distinctive characteristics' (Davies, 2011a:26) and were not convinced by what they found. They argued that a user focus was not unique to the voluntary sector, could not verify the specialist knowledge and expertise of the sector, and found the provision of flexible and joined up services to be inconsistent. The committee also suggested that the ability to secure users' trust may be more due to a fear from users of dealing with the state (House of Commons, 2008). Indeed, the report concludes that 'The evidence is simply not there to judge conclusively whether there are shared characteristics across all third sector organisations, arising from their commonality of origins or ethos, which might make them particularly suited to the provision of public services' (House of Commons, 2008:4).

Nonetheless, despite this lack of a significant evidence base, the special features of the voluntary sector continue to be espoused by government and academics alike, and underpin the practice of outsourcing. Clearly, therefore, there is a need for such claims to be submitted to further empirical examination.

The Effects of Outsourcing on Voluntary Organisations

Despite the distinctive values of the voluntary sector being espoused by governments who champion outsourcing, it is concerning to note that there is evidence to suggest that this very practice of outsourcing has a negative impact on the sector. In the 1990s there were already suggestions that the rise in contract relationships between government and voluntary organisations would negatively impact on the latter (Taylor, 1996) and Owen (1964, cited in Taylor, 1996) highlighted the fact that this was not a

new idea. For example, in the eighteenth century, the London Foundling Hospital was given government funding if it would expand its services nationally. As might be expected, this had a significant impact on the hospital, overwhelming it and almost forcing it to close. Indeed, Cunningham (2001) has called for increased understanding into the effects of outsourcing public service delivery to the voluntary sector, highlighting, for example, a lack of awareness regarding the effect on employee commitment of changes to the internal policies of voluntary organisations.

Recently, the discussion of negative effects on voluntary organisations has involved highly emotive language, with references, for example, to them 'losing their soul' (Greer *et al.*, 2011:155) and suggestions that, through contracts with government, the voluntary sector has become a 'parasitical body' (Davies, 2011b:646). The relationship is seen by some 'as profoundly challenging in its potential to undermine the organizational characteristics and arrangements that are held to make charities uniquely valuable' (Burt and Scholarios, 2011:105). The particular aspects of the voluntary sector that are seen to be affected negatively include its mission and values, the manner of its working, and its independence and autonomy.

A key theme in the critique of outsourcing to the voluntary sector is that it results in mission drift and a change in values. For example, it has been suggested that the requirement to become a player in the marketplace entails risks to the sector's distinct attributes including its value base and unique culture (Cunningham and James, 2011a). Mission drift, it is therefore argued, is a significant risk (Cunningham and James, 2011a), and it has been proposed that outsourcing moves the voluntary sector away from its mission to provide care to those in need (Clutterbuck and Howarth,

2007). In fact, research in the US in the 1990s suggested that marketisation has meant that voluntary organisations serve the poor less (Taylor, 1996). Cunningham (2008), looking at 24 Scottish voluntary organisations involved in public service delivery, found that in some cases quality of care was reduced and there was a change in mission and values.

The nature of the work of the voluntary sector has similarly been shown to be affected by outsourcing. The variety of activities that voluntary organisations carry out, for example, advocacy and development (Taylor and Lewis, 1997), is seen to reduce, due to the need to focus on the delivery of the public service. In a similar vein, the way in which the voluntary sector works has been shown to be affected. For example, the involvement of volunteers which has been found to reduce due to funding being more likely to go to organisations relying on paid staff to deliver services (Suarez, 2010). Employee deskilling (Cunningham, 2008), standardisation of work, and loss of variety, control, and decision-making power have also been found to result from outsourcing (Baines, 2011).

A further criticism of the increase in outsourcing public service delivery to the voluntary sector is that it compromises the independence and autonomy of the sector (Charity Commission, 2007), an accusation that was also being made during the 1980s (Prochaska, 1988). As mentioned above, the voluntary sector is no longer separate from government but is increasingly a partner and is thus forced to think like a public sector body (Harris, 2010). In addition, voluntary organisations involved in delivering public services are increasingly unable to decide for themselves which users to focus on and instead have this prescribed by a government body (Taylor and Lewis, 1997; Cunningham, 2008). Indeed, it has been argued

that the balance of power in these government-charity relationships is uneven to say the least (Taylor and Lewis, 1997), with charities often the weaker partner.

However, while there have been many suggestions of the negative impact of outsourcing on the voluntary sector, it is important to recognise that the effects are not all negative. Some case study research, for example, suggests that gaining contracts from the public sector can lead to improvements in internal systems (Scott and Russell, 2001). Meanwhile, whilst acknowledging the dangers of outsourcing, Billis (2010) more optimistically argues that the ethos and values unique to the voluntary sector will survive and that government contracts will ensure that more people in need are reached. Alternatively, and rather interestingly, McLaughlin (2004:560) has suggested that a likely outcome of the increase in outsourcing to the voluntary sector is a split into one sector that is 'modernized' and reliant on public funding, and another that is 'working at the margins' and reliant on voluntary income.

Conclusion

The purpose of the chapter was to introduce the voluntary sector and explore questions regarding its distinctive nature. This was achieved by, firstly, elaborating the challenges regarding the terminology and definitions used to describe the voluntary sector, and then providing a necessarily brief overview of the sector's history and development. While briefly highlighting the work of the voluntary sector in the period from the middle ages to the nineteenth century, more attention was paid to the changing landscape of the twentieth century and beyond. The key reports of Beveridge in 1948 and Wolfenden in 1978 were described, and the importance of Thatcher's

views on privatisation highlighted, before focussing on the involvement of the voluntary sector in public service delivery under the New Labour and Coalition governments. In looking at the history of the sector, it became clear that increasingly there is a much closer, even reliant, relationship between the voluntary and public sectors.

The intertwined nature of the relationship between the voluntary sector and state necessarily leads to questions about the extent to which the voluntary sector is distinctive. It was shown that this is an area where there is a lack of clarity and contradictory arguments. On the one hand, there are blurred boundaries between the voluntary and public sectors, and a number of similarities between them can be identified, such as their aim of serving the public interest (Word and Park, 2009) and their operation within non-distribution constraints (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009). On the other hand, it has been argued that differences exist with regard to the nature of the work they do (e.g. Harris and Billis, 1996) and the motivations of employees (Mirvis and Hackett, 1983; Goodin, 2003; Lee and Wilkins, 2011).

The chapter then moved on to specifically focus on the practice of outsourcing public service delivery to the voluntary sector. The growth in the practice and the rationale for it were highlighted. In particular, attention was drawn to how a series of alleged 'special abilities' have been used to justify the sector's greater involvement in the delivery of public services (HM Treasury, 2002; Office for Civil Society, 2010). At the same time, it was also noted that some argue that these distinctive abilities are in fact, somewhat ironically, negatively affected by the practice of outsourcing (Cunningham and James, 2011a).

Considering the increasingly significant role that the voluntary sector has to play in society broadly and in the delivery of public services, the limited research regarding employment in the sector is especially surprising. As such, there is clearly a need to develop understanding within this area. In particular, it is necessary to explore the assumptions made regarding employees within the sector.

This thesis takes up that challenge by exploring the most pertinent of the voluntary sector's 'special abilities', that of the ethos and motivation of its employees: an area in which there has been particularly limited research (Cunningham, 2008). More specifically, the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) is used to provide a framework for examining the motivations of voluntary sector workers, the factors that inform them, and the extent to which they echo, or differ, to those suggested by this framework. Considering the context of voluntary sector involvement in public services and PSM's focus on serving society, it seems a highly relevant concept through which to explore the motivation of employees in the voluntary sector. The following chapter therefore introduces PSM by providing an overview of existing research and theory regarding its importance, incidence, and development.

Chapter 3

Public Service Motivation

This chapter presents a detailed overview of PSM, with the aim of developing an in-depth understanding of the concept, and thus enabling its use as a tool to examine the motivation of employees in the voluntary sector. To achieve this, the chapter firstly examines the different definitions of PSM, before moving on to explore how the idea of PSM developed and the reasons as to why it is seen to be such an important concept. The dimensional structure of the PSM construct is then discussed, before presenting a summary of research regarding the incidence of PSM. In particular, possibilities regarding the existence of PSM in the voluntary sector are elaborated. Finally, the chapter examines PSM theory and research regarding the development of values in order to be able to consider how the theory applies to value development amongst voluntary sector employees.

PSM: Complexities of Definition and Terminology

Within PSM literature there are differing but overlapping definitions and terminology in use. Therefore, before starting to explore PSM in more detail, it is necessary to pinpoint exactly what is meant by 'PSM'.

Unsurprisingly, since it is described as *Public Service* Motivation, most definitions include the idea of service of society in some way. For example, Brewer and Selden (1998:417) propose that 'PSM is the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service (i.e. public, community, and social service)'. In particular, some definitions specifically

highlight a link with the public sector or public organisation in some way. Thus, in their seminal work, Perry and Wise (1990:368) describe PSM as a 'predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations'. Meanwhile, a more recent definition, proposed by Vandenberg (2007:547), conceives of it 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'.

Other definitions are less limited. In particular, Rainey and Steinbauer (1999:23) suggest that PSM is 'a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind', thereby opening up the possibility of finding PSM in multiple sectors.

When exploring the relevance of PSM amongst voluntary sector employees, Rainey and Steinbauer's (1999) and Brewer and Selden's (1998) definitions clearly have advantages as they include the idea of serving the community but do not restrict this to public service carried out by the public sector. Instead, these definitions suggest that individuals demonstrate such values regardless of sector.

These definitional variations, in turn, exist alongside the (confusing) usage of differing, but apparently overlapping, terminologies. In the US, 'Public Service Motivation' is the term in general use (e.g. Perry and Wise, 1990) while, in the UK, the favoured term tends to be 'Public Service Ethos' (e.g. Horton and Farnham, 2005). Other closely related terms include 'Public Service Ethic' (Buchanan, 1975) and 'Pro-social Motivation and Behaviour' (Gregg *et al.*, 2011).

While Public Service Motivation (PSM) and Ethos (PSE) have been treated as interchangeable terms by some (e.g. Vandenabeele *et al.*, 2006; Horton, 2008), Rayner *et al.* (2011 and 2012) propose that they are very different concepts due, in part, to their differences in origin. They argue that PSE's roots are found in a tradition of public service while PSM's are found in motivation theory. They also argue that PSE is located very specifically in the public sector and 'explicitly requires supporting organizational processes and values' (Rayner *et al.*, 2012:120). Rayner *et al.* (2011:29) consequently define PSE as 'a way of life that includes a set of values held by the individual, together with organisational processes and procedures that shape, and are shaped by, those values. Such values are enshrined in organizational goals that are directed toward public rather than private or sectional interests'. Despite Rayner *et al.*'s assertions, there are, nevertheless, very clear elements of overlap such as the importance of values, the institutional shaping of these values, a belief in the public interest and aspects of self-sacrifice.

Against this background, the term 'PSM' is adopted in this thesis as it is the more widely used and commonly understood term within the broad literature. In the meantime, there is clearly work to be done to establish if there are similarities and differences between PSM and PSE (Rayner *et al.*, 2011; Moynihan *et al.*, 2013) and hence whether the terms PSE and PSM can correctly be used interchangeably.

PSM: A Critical Concept

PSM is a critical concept for two reasons, both of which are related to behaviour. Firstly, PSM was developed in order to explain behaviour that could not be explained by dominant motivation theories, and therefore filled

a significant conceptual and empirical research gap. Secondly, the concept of PSM, and its related construct, has been found to be related to a number of positive behaviours, including employee commitment and performance, and hence is of obvious potential importance to the way in which voluntary organisations deliver public services. In this section, these two issues will be examined in turn.

The Limitations of Dominant Motivation Theories

Within the academic community, foundational interest in, and investigation of, the idea of a public service motivation focussed on differences between public and private sector workers (Kilpatrick *et al.*, 1964; Wittmer, 1991; Buchanan, 1975). In the first piece of research that can be most clearly related to PSM as a concept, Rainey (1982:291) found that public managers wanted to 'engag[e] in meaningful public service' more than private managers. Indeed, central to the PSM concept is the view that the different behaviours seen amongst public and private sector employees could not be explained by existing motivational theories. Within these motivation theories, such as those focussed on need, equity, expectancy, and goal-setting, a rational choice model prevails where 'Individuals choose among courses of action based upon the principle of utility maximization' (Perry, 2000:476). A number of problems are seen to be associated with this dominance of rational choice and these have been well summarised by Shamir (1991).

Shamir argues that existing theories are 'restricted ... due to their over reliance on individualistic-hedonistic assumptions and their over emphasis of cognitive calculative processes' (1991:405). This criticism is echoed in

many ways by Dilulio (1994:277), who argues that dominant motivation theories and models,

Are far better at explaining why bureaucrats shirk (goof off on the job), subvert (commit acts of administrative malfeasance), or steal (use public office for private gain) than they are at explaining why bureaucrats behave as “principled agents” – workers who do not shirk, subvert, or steal on the job even when the...incentives to refrain from these behaviors are weak or nonexistent. These workers ... often perform thankless tasks, go above and beyond the call of duty, and make virtual gifts of their labor even when the rewards ... are highly uncertain at best.

Shamir's other criticisms include the individualistic bias inherent in the theories, as well as their bias towards strong situations, by which he means situations where there are clear goals and a link between performance and reward (something that is less common in the public and voluntary sectors). The dominant theories also tend to focus on explaining discrete behaviour as opposed to 'large units of analysis and complex patterns of behaviour' (Shamir, 1991:408) and exclude any acknowledgement of values and moral obligation, or attention to collective concerns – all things that are important in the voluntary and public sectors.

Against this backdrop, Shamir (1991) put forward some important elements that should be taken into consideration in the development of an alternative theory – a self-concept based theory of work motivation. Firstly, he suggested that individuals are 'not only goal-oriented but also self-expressive' (p.411), that they are motivated both 'to maintain and enhance their self-esteem and self-worth' as well as 'retain and increase their sense

of self-consistency' (p.412). Finally he suggests that self-concept based behaviour is 'often guided by imagined possibilities and faith' (p.413-4), rather than being 'related to clear expectations or to immediate and specific goals' (p.413).

Rainey and Steinbauer's (1999:23) definition of PSM as 'a general altruistic motivation' clearly deals with some of the criticisms highlighted by Shamir and Dilulio. Altruism, which is moral, collectivist, public-spirited and pro-social (Le Grand, 2003:26), is a behaviour where an individual serves others 'in dutiful, compassionate, and self-sacrificing ways' (Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999:25). The behaviours described by Dilulio above, in particular, going 'above and beyond' and making 'gifts of their labour', can thus be clearly described as altruistic.

The voluntary sector is similarly seen to demonstrate altruistic behaviour and can be described as 'value-rational rather than means-rational' (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990:145). Voluntary employees donate their labour through the levels of overtime that they engage in and, as has been previously mentioned, voluntary organisations do not pursue financial profit (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009). The 'non-monetary orientation' of the voluntary sector (Mirvis and Hackett, 1983:10) can also be linked to altruism in that better salaries are sacrificed in the pursuit of non-profit sector work. All this suggests that a motivational theory that accounts for such behaviours would be more relevant to the voluntary sector than dominant rational choice models, thereby supporting the choice of PSM as a tool to examine voluntary sector employee motivation.

It can be argued that there are many ways to explain behaviour deemed to be altruistic, and these are not all 'pure', for example, pressure from others, a sense of guilt, or wanting to have a 'warm glow' (Andreoni, 1990:464). This impure altruism (Bussell and Forbes, 2001; Horton and Hondeghem, 2006) can particularly be seen in the practice of volunteering where instrumental motives can be seen, for example, volunteering in order to meet other people or achieve career development (Mesch *et al.* 1998; Clary and Snyder, 1999). Some suggest that behaviour can never fully be described as altruistic (as discussed by Le Grand, 2003), whereas others have argued that it is possible for altruistic and self-interested motives to coexist (e.g. Le Grand, 2003; Koumenta, 2011). This coexistence of motives can be seen in research which showed that public servants believed public service *and* salary were important elements of their work (Wittmer, 1991). It is important to therefore also acknowledge that goal-setting motivational theory can coexist with a more altruistic motivation theory; and 'self-interested behaviour can co-exist with public service motivation' (Koumenta, 2011:50). However, apart for Koumenta's work, there is little, if any, acknowledgement within the PSM literature that other motivations can be at play. This is something that will be returned to later in the thesis.

The Benefits of PSM

The importance of PSM can also be demonstrated by the behaviours associated with it and it is no surprise that this has been a key focus of research to date. While acknowledging that behaviour can be affected by a number of things other than motivation (Le Grand, 2003), and recognising that causality is sometimes unclear, for example in research regarding PSM and performance (Wright and Grant, 2010), there is increasing evidence

that it can be advantageous for organisations to employ individuals with high levels of PSM.

High levels of PSM have been associated with job satisfaction (Brewer and Selden, 1998; Naff and Crum, 1999; Kim, 2005; Taylor, 2008; Cerase and Farinella, 2009) which, in turn, has been linked to employee retention, and productivity through a reduction in negative employee behaviours (Wright and Davis, 2003). Increasingly, the link between PSM and job satisfaction is being nuanced. For example, Steijn (2008) suggests that PSM *and* perceived usefulness are correlated with higher job satisfaction. Other research developments look at 'PSM fit' and how it positively relates to both satisfaction and commitment (Steijn, 2008; Taylor, 2008); in particular, recent research from Kim (2012:836) demonstrates that 'when public employees believe that their values match an organization's values, they are more likely to feel satisfied with their jobs and be committed to their organization'.

PSM has been linked to organisational commitment as a whole (Crewson, 1997; Taylor, 2008) as well as to specific commitment dimensions – affective (emotional attachment), continuance (costs of leaving the organisation) and normative (obligation) (Allen and Meyer, 1990). In particular, affective commitment has been highlighted as being higher for those with high PSM levels (Kim, 2005; Castaing, 2006; Ritz, 2009; Kim, 2012). Interestingly, Camilleri (2006) suggests that organisational commitment is an antecedent to PSM rather than the vice versa, thereby highlighting the challenges of attributing cause and effect when using cross-sectional, quantitative data. The limitations of quantitative research is another theme that will be returned to later in the thesis.

Other positive behavioural outcomes that are linked with PSM include interpersonal citizenship behaviour (Pandey *et al.*, 2008), organisational citizenship behaviour (Kim, 2005; Koumenta, 2011) and whistle blowing (Brewer and Selden, 1998), as well as a reduction in organisationally deviant behaviours (Koumenta, 2011). Outside of work PSM has been shown to impact on volunteering and donating. In particular, Clerkin *et al.*'s (2009:684) work suggests that, 'In general, the greater a person's affective and normative motivations to serve the public interest, the more likely he or she will volunteer or donate'.

There is some evidence, furthermore, demonstrating a link between PSM and organisational performance (Naff and Crum, 1999; Kim, 2005; Vandenberg, 2009) and other evidence that can be related to it. This includes Ritz (2009) showing a positive correlation between PSM and internal efficiency, Brewer and Selden (1998) showing a correlation with achievement, and Koumenta (2011) who showed an increased likelihood of carrying out unpaid overtime. There is also evidence that appears to cast some doubt on this link. For example, Alonso and Lewis (2001) found mixed evidence as to whether PSM affected performance, although they themselves admit to using problematic measures of performance (federal grade levels and performance ratings) and a significantly amended measurement of PSM. Others have suggested that person-organisation fit needs to be taken into account and, where it is, no effect of PSM on performance has been found (Bright, 2007).

The Dimensions of PSM

The fact that PSM fills a gap in motivation theory and has such key outcomes demonstrates its importance as a concept. The most pertinent information needed, however, in order to use it to examine the motivation of voluntary sector employees, is detail regarding the construct of PSM, research regarding its existence and incidence, and theory regarding its development. It is to the detail of the construct that this section therefore now turns.

The Development of the Dimensional Construct

Initial work theorising the dimensions of PSM was carried out by Perry and Wise (1990) and this was then empirically developed by Perry (1996). The outcome was a construct comprising of four dimensions: *Attraction to Policy-Making*, a *Commitment to Public Interest*, *Compassion*, and *Self-Sacrifice*. Perry and Wise (1990) developed these dimensions out of the belief that rational, normative *and* affective processes motivate people (Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982; Shamir, 1991; Perry, 2000). *Attraction to Policy-Making* built on the ideas of rational motivation, *Commitment to Public Interest* built on normative motivation, while the *Compassion* and *Self-Sacrifice* dimensions were linked with affective motivation.

However, Perry and Wise's rational, normative and affective model has, more recently, been called into question by Kim and Vandenabeele (2010). They proposed that the PSM construct should be based on instrumental, value-based, and identification motives (which they linked with *Attraction to Public Participation*, *Commitment to Public Values* and *Compassion*

respectively). They also argued that *Self-Sacrifice* should be seen as underpinning the other three dimensions.

In Kim and Vandenabeele's construct the *Attraction to Public Participation* dimension covers 'a disposition to work in the public sector and to participate in the public policy process and in activities for community and social development' (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010:704). It includes a desire to tackle social problems and contribute to the common good (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). The *Commitment to Public Values* dimension relates to a 'personal disposition to pursue public values' (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010:704) and includes ethical values, a belief in equal opportunities, and a consideration of long-term public needs (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). The *Compassion* dimension is based on Frederickson and Hart's (1985) concept of a 'patriotism of benevolence', which is about loving others and wanting to safeguard their rights (Perry, 1996), in addition to an ability to identify with others (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010). In particular, it includes sympathy for the underprivileged and those who are unfairly treated (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). Finally, the *Self-Sacrifice* dimension relates to an individual who is willing to substitute their own 'tangible personal rewards' with serving others (Perry, 1996:7). It involves a sense of duty and making sacrifices for the benefit of the poor or wider society (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92).

There are virtues to this adaptation, and Kim and Vandenabeele's (2010) proposal has met with general approval. This is evidenced by more than ten PSM scholars working together on the development of an international measure for PSM based on them, including Perry (Kim *et al.*, 2013). In particular, it addresses problems with Perry's (1996) measurement scale, especially cross-cultural ones (c.f. Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010). In

addition, the Kim and Vandenabeele construct is much more relevant to this thesis due to its focus on *Attraction to Public Participation* rather than *Attraction to Policy-Making*, which is less relevant in the voluntary sector.

The Dimensional Manifestation of PSM

Despite general agreement on Kim and Vandenabeele's proposal in respect of PSM dimensions, there continues to be limited understanding of the dimensional structure and manifestation of PSM. This is perhaps due to the tendency in PSM research to use proxies or severely limited versions of the construct (e.g. Taylor, 2008; Ritz, 2009; Houston, 2011), despite it being argued that each dimension makes an important contribution to the PSM construct (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010). As a result, it is not clear if it is possible, amongst individuals with high levels of PSM, for one individual to emphasise one dimension while another individual prioritises another dimension – for example, an emphasis on *Attraction to Public Participation* is likely to be quite different to an emphasis on *Compassion* (Le Grand, 2003; Pandey and Stazyk, 2008).

Some work has started to clarify this area, such as the findings of Andersen and Pedersen (2010) which show that *Attraction to Public Interest* was lower amongst employees in the private sector but a focus on *users* was higher, and the findings of Koumenta (2011) in which public sector employees had higher levels of *Attraction to Public Interest* and *Self-Sacrifice* than private sector employees, whereas there was no significant difference in *Compassion* and *Attraction to Policy-Making*. In particular, it is useful when, in quantitative research, the actual scores for different dimensions are recorded, such as in Koumenta's (2011) study. As can be

seen, however, much of this research is still using Perry's (1996) challenged version of PSM dimensions.

Interestingly, research from Brewer *et al.* (2000) showed that individuals could have different perceptions related to PSM. In their findings, some individuals saw themselves as Samaritans, which Brewer *et al.* defined as 'guardians of the underprivileged', while others saw themselves as Patriots or 'guardians of the people'. Communitarians who were 'motivated and stirred by sentiments of civic duty and public services', and Humanitarians, 'motivated by a strong sense of social justice and public service' were also represented (2000:259-60). Brewer *et al.* proposed that each type described had a different focus: Samaritans were concerned about individuals, Communitarians about their community, Patriots about their nation, and Humanitarians about humankind.

The research from Brewer *et al.* (2000), Andersen and Pedersen (2010), and Koumenta (2011) all indicates, therefore, that PSM should not be presented as one fixed and distinct motivation. Related to this, Pratchett and Wingfield (1994:7), looking at PSE, proposed that different individuals would interpret PSE in different ways 'influenced by a range of factors, including the institutional and organisational locations of actors and their social and educational background' but also argued that this did not negate a 'common set of values'. However, as has already been mentioned, there is limited understanding of the dimensional manifestation of PSM. This, combined with the fact that there appears to be the possibility of different perceptions regarding PSM, provides yet another area requiring further investigation.

PSM Incidence

PSM research has gathered pace since the 1990s with academic interest initially focussing on the incidence of PSM according to sector, organisation type and type of work, and this section focuses on the findings of this research. In addition, it also explores the possibility of finding PSM amongst voluntary sector employees.

Research on the Incidence of PSM

Early research on the idea of a public service motivation concentrated on differences between public and private sector employees, mostly related to reward preferences (Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991). Alongside this, Perry and Wise (1990) developed theory regarding PSM which was formalised in the 1996 PSM construct (Perry, 1996). It was clear from this initial research, as well as the definitions reviewed earlier in this chapter, that PSM was a concept that was seen to be tied primarily to the public sector.

Some research, however, has shown that PSM is not simply restricted to the public sector. Rather it suggests that this type of motivation, or related behaviour, can be witnessed amongst employees in other sectors (Wittmer, 1991; Brewer and Selden 1998; Brewer *et al.*, 2000; Wise, 2000; Horton and Hondeghem, 2006; Houston, 2006). In explaining such evidence it has been argued that 'people with higher PSM are more attracted to altruistic public service opportunities and activities regardless of the formal organization or sector' (Coursey *et al.*, 2011:49). An example of this can be seen within the private sector where Corporate Social Responsibility is one way in which employees with high levels of PSM can enact this motivation (Steen, 2008). It has also been suggested that PSM is not just related to

work, but that 'a sense of compassion and self-sacrifice suggests that public service motivation drives individuals in their interactions with other citizens beyond the front door of the office building' (Houston 2008:178).

In research carried out in Denmark, PSM appeared to be high for both public and private doctors and dentists (Andersen, 2009) and, in more recent research, the PSM of public and private physiotherapists also appeared to be similar (Andersen *et al.*, 2011). In this latter research, financial aspects and control were similar for both sectors and so this enabled a good comparison to be made while many variables were held fairly constant.

It should be noted, however, that while Andersen (2009) and Andersen *et al.* (2011) suggest that PSM can be found in multiple sectors, this may be due to the peculiar context found in Denmark where the difference between public and private healthcare is mainly a case of ownership (private healthcare providers receive much public funding). Other research still continues to suggest that PSM is found predominantly in employees in the public rather than the private sector (e.g. Koumenta, 2011) and it is also proposed by many to be higher amongst public *and* voluntary sector employees than private sector employees (Mann, 2006; Perry and Hondeghem, 2008).

There is some evidence to support this proposal of higher PSM in the voluntary sector, such as Houston's (2006) study of employees participating in charitable activities, which found that this was more common in the public and non-profit sectors than in the private sector. However, there are no studies specifically examining PSM amongst

voluntary sector employees, using the model proposed by Kim and Vandenberg (2010).

There is one study related to PSM in the US voluntary sector (Word and Carpenter, 2013) that theorises and develops a non-profit service motivation (NPSM) scale and suggests that PSM is appropriate for the non-profit sector. However this draws on Perry's contested PSM construct and only used three dimensions; additionally, it is focussed exclusively on the US. The theme of PSM in the voluntary sector is addressed in more detail later in this section.

Against this background the notion that PSM will be different depending on organisation type has been theorised by various academics. Some have argued that it is in organisations that have a high degree of publicness that PSM will be found (Antonsen and Jørgensen, 1997). As discussed in the previous chapter, Antonsen and Jørgensen (1997:341-2) argue that welfare, knowledge, and culture are produced in high 'publicness' organisations which emphasise 'long-term results and societal considerations'. In contrast, low publicness organisations focus on short-term results and individual users. Considering PSE difference according to public service department, Pratchett and Wingfield (1994) suggested that the emphasis within PSE would be different based on the section of public administration in which individuals worked. However, Leisink and Steijn (2009) actually examined PSM within different public service sectors such as public administration, defence, and education, and found any differences to be small; although they did not look in detail at the dimensional values and so it is possible that there were different emphases.

In addition to research regarding differing forms of PSM based on organisational type, there has been research that examines differences in work values amongst those involved in, for example, administrative as opposed to public-facing roles (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Steijn and Smulders, 2004; Lyons *et al.*, 2006). This highlights the matter of whether 'motivating forces can remain operative without any concrete involvement in the activity' (Leisink, 2004:4), a question raised by Leisink, who suggested that it was important for nurses to have contact with patients in order to maintain their levels of compassion. This is supported by research on commitment, which suggests that the work individuals are involved in is more important than sector (Steinhaus and Perry, 1996).

Indeed, this discussion regarding PSM in relation to sector, organisation type, and job type links to the topic of occupation choice and the question of whether individuals with high PSM actually favour a particular sector or type of role. The work of Steinhaus and Perry (1996) would suggest that generally the type of work is the more important factor, though their research did not look at PSM specifically. In research carried out amongst students in the US, however, Christensen and Wright (2011:737) found that 'PSM by itself neither increased the likelihood that individuals would accept a public sector job nor decreased the likelihood that they would accept a private sector job'. In addition, Bright (2011:20) found that there was no difference in occupation choice (public service occupations or non-public service occupations in a public organisation) according to PSM levels, which he attributes to more 'basic considerations ... such as job availability and material needs'.

However, while choice of occupation or job may not necessarily be affected by PSM levels, congruence between an individual and their organisation and job is important. Bright (2013), for example, examined relationships between PSM and person-organisation fit and person-job fit. He found that respondents were more likely to be compatible with public sector organisations and jobs where they had high levels of PSM, and that the organisation fit was more important than the job fit. This is an important element of PSM research since 'congruence between employees and their work environments have significant consequences on their work attitudes and behaviours' (Bright, 2013:9) such as organisational commitment and turnover (Kristof-Brown *et al.*, 2005).

The available evidence therefore shows PSM incidence to be a contested area marked by uncertainties. For example, there are suggestions that PSM is both tied to the public sector and also found elsewhere. Similarly, while evidence suggests that employees do not particularly choose a sector based on their PSM levels, there is also evidence to suggest that congruence with the environment is important, and that such congruence is important to public sector based PSM. Meanwhile, theorising which suggests that PSM will influence the type of organisation (within a particular sector) that an individual chooses to work in is challenged by empirical evidence that finds little effect of PSM. In addition, although there is less research into type of work and PSM, there appears to be a case for PSM affecting the type of job that an individual chooses. Some of these questions will be returned to later on in the Findings section of this thesis.

PSM in the Voluntary Sector

Having looked at some of the arguments regarding PSM incidence according to types of organisations, work and sector, it is particularly apparent that a question remains as to the application of PSM to the voluntary sector. There is a clear lack of research in this area, despite significant calls for research into the issue (Perry and Hondeghe, 2008). For example, employees in the voluntary sector have been said to be ‘an understudied but potentially very important cohort for undertaking public service motivation research’ (Brewer, 2011:6). In addition, it has been suggested that ‘there is a substantial knowledge base on non-profit organisations that may provide new insights on public service motivation’ (Brewer, 2011:6). However, despite a lack of research in this area, there is some suggesting, less directly, that PSM is likely to be high in the voluntary sector. In particular, there are studies that have looked more generally at values and motivation in the voluntary sector, particularly in the US.

DiMaggio and Anheier (1990:153) have argued that the non-profit sector is seen ‘as the locus of values – voluntarism, pluralism, altruism, participation’, while Light (2002) has suggested that the public sector should not emulate the private sector, but rather model itself on the non-profit sector due to its highly motivated workforce. Much of the evidence regarding voluntary sector employee values focuses on the differences in behaviour and attitudes between voluntary and public sector employees (issues examined in the previous chapter).

Regarding behaviour, in the US, Light (2002) found that, in their work, more non-profit sector employees than federal employees wanted to help people, while Houston (2006), in examining the inclination to donate money, time

and blood, showed that non-profit employees are more likely to volunteer time more than government employees. Moreover, levels of unpaid overtime have been shown to be higher amongst non-profit workers than public workers (Rutherford, 2011), and while it has been suggested that this is due to norms of behaviour within the non-profit sector (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009), an alternative explanation could be that these employees have different values. Additionally, in research in Australia examining being a good citizen (as a proxy for PSM), the non-profit sector produced the highest scores (Taylor, 2010).

Looking at the evidence regarding attitudes and values, it has been shown that public non-government workers (equivalent to charity employees in the UK) have higher scores on an empathy scale than public government workers (Houston, 2008). Additionally, in research regarding work characteristics, Mirvis and Hackett (1983:3) found that work in the non-profit sector provided more intrinsic rewards, as well as 'more challenge, variety, [and] satisfaction' than that in government. Non-profit employees have also been shown to demonstrate higher levels of organisational commitment (Goulet and Frank, 2002). Indeed, it has been suggested that non-profit employee commitment to organisational mission and beneficiaries is a significant factor, given the poor employment conditions in the sector (Cunningham, 2008; Nickson *et al.*, 2008; Baines, 2011). The fact that voluntary organisations 'are likely to have a strong public service mission and ... have environments that more closely resemble the messy nature of public organizations' has also led to suggestions that PSM is likely to be significant for these employees (Houston, 2006).

In fact, plausible arguments can be presented for each of the individual dimensions of PSM being high for voluntary sector employees; arguments that are later explored empirically. Firstly, since one of the remits of voluntary organisations is to provide a public benefit (Clark *et al.*, 2009; Word and Park, 2009) and such organisations 'creat[e] and [maintain] a strong civil society' (Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004:135), it can be proposed that the dimension, *Attraction to Public Participation*, would be important for voluntary sector employees. Evidence supports this, such as Light's (2002) findings that a desire to make a difference and do something worthwhile was more important in motivating non-profit employees than private or public sector employees. The same is true of evidence which demonstrates that parapublic organisations (voluntary organisations which receive government funding) value work that contributes to society more than public ones (Lyons *et al.*, 2006).

Regarding the *Commitment to Public Values* dimension, voluntary organisations are seen to contain values such as equity, sharing and reciprocity (Lohmann, 1992; Perry *et al.*, 2008) and are also broadly believed to be trustworthy, even more than government (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002; Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004).

Research further suggests that voluntary sector employees would have high levels of the *Compassion* dimension. For example, volunteers were shown to have high levels of compassion in research carried out by Clerkin *et al.* (2009) and there are similarities between volunteers and employees when they work in the same organisation (Boezeman and Ellemers, 2009). Research examining empathy can also support this argument as empathy can be seen to be a comparable concept to compassion as both involve

having caring or concerned feelings for others. Research by Houston (2008) found that employees with the highest empathy out of all three sectors were public non-government workers (another term for voluntary sector employees). Indeed, considering that the purpose of many voluntary organisations is to alleviate suffering or remove disadvantage, this would also suggest compassion to be high amongst voluntary sector employees.

It is similarly suggested that *Self-Sacrifice* is also likely to be high amongst voluntary sector employees. Houston (2008) carried out research into prosocial behaviour, in particular, carrying out prosocial (or selfless) acts such as donating money to charity, helping a stranger or helping a homeless person. His findings showed that non-profit workers performed more of these acts than employees of the public and private sectors (Houston, 2008). Pay and conditions, such as retirement plans, tend to be lower in the non-profit sector than either of the other sectors (see Cunningham, 2008; Lee and Wilkins, 2011; Short, 2011); although flexible working has been more common in it (Parry *et al.*, 2005). High levels of overtime, which can be described as a sacrificial behaviour, have also been shown to be performed by non-profit employees (Feeney and Bozeman, 2009).

Not everyone is in agreement with the arguments described above, regarding the values and behaviours to be found in the voluntary sector. For example, Preston (1989) suggests that the non-profit sector is filled with less productive workers who self-select into it. Meanwhile, the findings of Lee and Wilkins (2011) suggest that non-profit managers value increased responsibility and family-friendly policies compared to public managers who value an ability to serve the public, in addition to advancement and a pension plan. For his part, Le Grand (2003:64)

suggests it is not a logical assumption that higher levels of altruistic behaviour will be found in non-profits and proposes that 'it is the actual structure of motivation that will be the principal factor determining outcomes; and it is this that needs understanding before non-profits are judged to be the answer for public service delivery'. However, Le Grand is not arguing that altruistic behaviour will not be found in non-profit organisations, instead he is questioning the assumption that there will be *more* such behaviour compared to the public sector.

There are also challenges to arguments that the PSM dimensions will be high for voluntary sector employees. Regarding *Attraction to Public Participation*, Lee and Wilkins (2011) found that those who want to be able to serve the public in their work are more likely to work in the public sector than the non-profit one. They could not provide a satisfactory explanation for this, simply suggesting that the ability to serve the public may not relate to motivation for work in the non-profit sector. However, a measurement issue could have caused these results since the survey questions focussed on a respondent's decision to accept their current job and, in particular, the importance to them of the opportunity to serve the public in their work, in making this decision. Further to this, Houston (2006) found that blood donation was less likely for non-profit employees than public employees, yet he suggests that the regression models in his analysis did not perform well, and this therefore calls into question their reliability.

The suggestion that *Attraction to Public Participation* will be high amongst employees in the voluntary sector has also been questioned based on the clients or beneficiaries of a service. Thus, it has been noted that 'the clientele of a non-profit tends to be more narrowly defined' (Lee and

Wilkins, 2011:47) as voluntary organisations focus on particular individuals or groups in society who have specific needs (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002), whereas public organisations serve the society as a whole. Drawing on Andersen and Pedersen's (2010) findings that private sector employees focussed on the *user*, rather than the public, in non-profits this focus on the user (Knapp, 1996) could suggest a reduction in public focus (if 'public' is defined as society at large).

However, this leads on to a question over what is meant by public interest and public participation. Le Grand (2003) suggests that people understand public interest in different ways, and it can be argued that focussing on groups of individuals with specific needs does not mean that voluntary sector employees are not interested in serving the public. Instead, it is through meeting the needs of individuals struggling within society, and ensuring that people are not disadvantaged, that voluntary organisations contribute to the common good and benefit society more broadly.

Regarding *Commitment to Public Values*, some propose that non-profits are less accountable than organisations in the public sector (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002). However, regulation is provided by the Charity Commission in the UK and there are various requirements that have to be adhered to by registered charities. While there are examples of fraud and theft in charities (Smith *et al.*, 2009), such behaviour can also be found in the public sector (Brindle, 1995; Wighton, 1998). Additionally, Lee and Wilkins (2011) have argued that equality is forfeited as non-profits serve small groups of individuals. However, this argument is problematic because (similarly to the point made in the previous paragraph), it is actually through

assisting disadvantaged people with specific needs that voluntary organisations promote equality within society.

A challenge to the idea of *Self-Sacrifice* being high amongst voluntary sector employees comes from the idea that behaviour which is described as sacrificial, for example, working in a job with a lower salary, may not be seen as such by an individual, as it does not *cost* them (Le Grand, 2003). For example, salary may not be particularly important to them whereas family-friendly benefits might be. Interestingly, it has been shown that employees who value family-friendly benefits are more likely to work in the voluntary sector (Lee and Wilkins, 2011).

In addition to the suggestion that PSM and its dimensions may not be particularly found amongst voluntary sector employees, it has been proposed that a different type of motivation or ethos may be appropriate to explain the motivation of voluntary sector employees. In particular, Cunningham (2008) has proposed that there might be a voluntary sector ethos (VSE). Tied very clearly to the voluntary sector, this would incorporate more sector-related attitudes such as 'philosophical or religious commitment to promote social change, and a desire to have autonomy in work and participation in decision making' (Cunningham 2008:55; see also Paton and Cornforth, 1992), as well as a focus on task significance and high affective organisational commitment (Cunningham, 2008; Hurrell *et al.*, 2011a). In line with this, based on research in the US, there have been initial suggestions of the existence of a 'unique non-profit motivation' (Lee and Wilkins, 2011:49), linked to voluntarism, which is different to PSM and particularly focuses on a 'more narrowly defined clientele' (49).

In summary, as with the more general arguments regarding the associations between PSM and types of sector, organisation and work, there are conflicting ideas regarding the relevance of PSM to voluntary sector employees. While there are many points in favour of its application, there are those who disagree. In addition, there are those who have suggested that a model or concept more specifically focussed on the voluntary sector could usefully be developed. There are clearly therefore important themes to be investigated and these will be returned to later in the thesis.

The Development of PSM

Due to the benefits associated with PSM, it is clearly in an employer's interest to identify individuals with high levels of this type of motivation and much research has attempted to uncover the antecedents of PSM. While some research has focussed on things present prior to starting work in a public sector organisation (referred to here as pre-organisational antecedents), more recently studies have started to look at antecedents in the organisational context (referred to here as organisational antecedents). Both of these two areas will be addressed in turn below, before examining the process theory that has been developed in an attempt to explain the development of values found in the research.

As shall be seen, however, there are some clear limitations in both the research and theory, which this thesis aims to address. For example, while there is much consistency among different antecedent studies of PSM, 'the number of studies has not reached a sufficient threshold for a meaningful conclusion' (Perry *et al.*, 2008:446) and generally the origins of PSM are

seen to be under researched (Vandenabeele, 2011). It should also be noted that research in the area is dominated by quantitative research, notwithstanding the fact that key scholars have suggested that quantitative methods are not conducive to studying the way PSM develops (Perry *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, where research has been undertaken on antecedents, it is rare for results to be related to the process theory of PSM; Vandenabeele's 2011 research provides an exception. It should also be noted that it is highly possible that different dimensions of PSM might have different antecedents (Wright, 2008) although this is an issue that has not been investigated in depth.

Pre-Organisational Antecedents

Some PSM antecedents are present prior to entry into an organisation and research has found these to include sociodemographics and institutional membership. Regarding sociodemographics, PSM antecedents include gender, as women generally score higher on overall PSM or its component parts (Bright, 2005; DeHart-Davis *et al.*, 2006), notwithstanding some recent research by Vandenabeele (2011) suggesting the opposite; age (Perry, 1997; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2011); education (Perry 1997; Naff and Crum, 1999; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Leisink and Steijn, 2009); stage of family life (Camilleri, 2006); and affinity with left-wing politics (Vandenabeele, 2011).

Drawing on March and Olsen's (1989, cited by Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008) institutional theory and the logic of appropriateness, it has been suggested that motivation is formed or influenced by institutions as individuals act as they are 'supposed to act' and their behaviour is thus standardised (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008:58) (see an elaboration of

this later in this section). Institutional antecedents of PSM have been shown to include family socialisation (Perry, 1997; Perry *et al.*, 2008), religion (Perry *et al.*, 2008), and political ideology (Perry, 1997), as well as professional and trade union membership (DeHart-Davis *et al.*, 2006; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Koumenta, 2011). However, in research by Perry *et al.* it is interesting to see that antecedents such as family socialisation and religious activity 'were significant but not strong predictors of PSM' (2008:453) overall, clearly suggesting, therefore, that something else is responsible for the development of PSM values.

Organisational Antecedents

Continuing in the area of institutional theory, research has shown that factors related to organisational membership, such as management or job level and tenure, can affect PSM. The finding that high management level is positively associated with PSM (Bright, 2005; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007) suggests that PSM may be fostered within organisations as someone gains increasing responsibility, though it could equally indicate that organisations select, into those responsible positions, individuals who demonstrate PSM. Meanwhile, the fact that tenure has been shown to be correlate with both decreasing and increasing levels of PSM (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Koumenta, 2011) supports the contention that PSM is variable and can both be fostered or reduced within organisations. More generally, recent research examining students before and after commencing their first job, has shown PSM to drop significantly within the first two years of employment (Kjeldsen and Jacobsen, 2013), while Pattakos (2004) found that public servants developed an understanding of the meaning of their work over time, even where they had not been aware

of this when they started working in the public sector. Both studies, therefore, also support organisational effects on PSM levels.

Approximately ten years before the research on management level and tenure was carried out, Perry (1997:193) called for studies into 'the effects of organizational experiences and policies on the public service motivation of members over time'. This clearly displays a view that PSM is not a fixed concept but rather a dynamic one (Pandey and Stazyk, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008). Other research suggesting this to be the case includes a study related to the concept of crowding out which has shown that when individuals receive extrinsic rewards (e.g. financial rewards) for an activity that they find intrinsically motivating, their intrinsic motivation is reduced (Bertelli, 2006). Research specifically focusing on the organisational context and PSM has been developing over recent years, and can be grouped into organisational characteristics, working environment, job characteristics, leadership, and HRM practices. In many ways, however, the research is still in its infancy.

Organisational characteristics such as being customer focused, being biased towards action, entrepreneurship, and productivity through people have all been linked with high PSM (Camilleri, 2007), as have organisations which adopt public values (Vandenabeele, 2011). In contrast, the significant research of Moynihan and Pandey (2007) demonstrated that 'red tape' within organisations is negatively related to PSM, whereas perceptions of organisational reform orientation and position in an organisational hierarchy are positively related to it.

The work environment has similarly been shown to be important. For example, Cerase and Farinella (2009) discovered a relationship between changes in the work environment and PSM, while Hebson *et al.* (2003) more specifically found an association between a decline in values related to the public sector ethos and a decline in working conditions. These last findings therefore echo suggestions that, when public services were privatised in the 1980s, PSM declined, or was 'hollowed out' (Dunleavy and Hood, 1994; Rhodes, 1994; Brereton and Temple, 1999; Carr, 1999; Horton and Farnham, 2005; Horton, 2006).

In a similar vein, job characteristics have been suggested to relate to PSM. For example, Leisink (2004:4) argued that 'it seems unlikely that a nurse for whom compassion is an emotional motivation for caring for patients would continue to work as a nurse if his/her work would not allow him/her to be in frequent and direct contact with patients'. Vandenabeele *et al.* (2006) also highlight the necessity of opportunities to carry out value-driven motivated behaviour. Such opportunities, it would seem, can be provided at the organisational level (Koumenta, 2011) or within a job role. Camilleri (2007) has shown that task significance and dealing with others are significantly related to PSM as well as, to a lesser extent, skill variety, task identity, task autonomy, friendship opportunities and task feedback. Koumenta (2011) additionally found work scheduling autonomy, feedback from others, task identity, as well as scope and depth of contact with beneficiaries, to be significantly and positively related to PSM. Exposure to PSM exhibited by supervisors and co-workers has also been found to significantly affect an individual's PSM (Vandenabeele, 2011).

Research undertaken by Wright *et al.* (2012) further shows that PSM can be fostered by visionary leaders who provide positive role models and encourage pride in the organisation. However, drawing on Paarlberg and Lavigna's (2010) work, they also caution that 'it runs the risk of fostering cynicism, if employees believe that their intrinsic values are being exploited' (Wright *et al.*, 2012:211).

Finally, some attention has been paid to the effect of HRM on PSM. Gould-Williams *et al.* (2010) examined the influence of HR practices, including reward and training, on PSM and found that there is an effect. However, they did not look at the practices in isolation to each other and, as others have argued, the content of an HR practice, such as reward, is likely to be more relevant than the mere presence of a practice (c.f. Marsden and Richardson, 1994). Beyond this broad focus on HRM, there has also been a small amount of research which suggests that clear individual and organisational goals are important for an individual's PSM (Camilleri, 2007; Jung and Rainey, 2011), while more recent research from Giaque *et al.* (2013) has shown a strong association between PSM and being treated fairly, job enrichment, participation, appraisal, and professional development.

While there has been a range of research related to antecedents within the organisational context, the lists of the relationships that have been found, and have been presented in this section, clearly demonstrate the challenges of such findings. In order for these findings to be of any use to organisations, there needs to be depth to the findings, and this depth is clearly lacking in much of the research described. However, this depth is clearly very difficult to achieve through the exclusive use of quantitative

methodology. As will be seen, the research carried out for this thesis seeks to address this issue through the use of qualitative methods.

The Process Theory of PSM

Having described some of the research related to antecedents, it is useful to examine the theory that has been developed to explain how these antecedents influence and contribute to an individual's PSM levels. The process theory (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008) suggests that public content embedded within institutions is transmitted to individuals by way of socialisation, social identification, cultural preferences and social learning. This public identity is then enacted by an individual within a self-regulation framework and according to a logic of appropriateness, thus leading to public service motivated behaviours. The process theory of PSM marks a significant development within the field as it attempts to explain the way in which public service values and motivations actually develop, rather than simply stating what the antecedents are. However, since the development of the theory in 2008 it has received markedly limited attention, and has not been tested as such. The different aspects of this theory, as theorised by Perry and Vandenberg (2008), are described in more detail below.

Institutional Theory

Institutions are 'social structures infused with rules and values' (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008:58) and these institutions define appropriate behaviour for individuals in certain situations as well as model preferences (March and Olsen, 1984). An important aspect of institutions is the institutional logic. This is defined by Friedland and Alford (1991:248) as 'a set of material practices and symbolic constructions which constitutes its

organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate'. In addition, with particular relevance to this study, Scott (2008) specifically highlights that institutional logics are made up of beliefs and assumptions.

One type of institutional logic is that of a 'public' logic (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008), the case for which was presented by Max Weber in *Politics as a Vocation* in the 1940s, as well as by others such as Lindblom in the 1970s and Raadschelders more recently (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Drawing on Benn and Gaus's work in 1983, Perry and Vandenabeele (2008:59) suggest that 'the meanings of public and private play out in most societies along three dimensions: access; interests; and agency' and that these dimensions are underpinned by the commonalities of the 'normative character of public and private' (2008:59), as well as the community ideal. Public values include impartiality, legality, integrity, transparency, efficiency, equality, responsibility and justice, as well as altruism, the common good, and sustainability (OECD, 2000; Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman, 2007). While Perry and Vandenabeele argue that 'it is in the public content of institutions in which public service motivation has its origins' (2008:60), they then go on to convincingly suggest that the public logic is transmitted to individuals via mechanisms including socialisation, social identification, cultural preferences and social learning (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008).

The first mechanism that Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) present as transmitting values is that of socialisation (Cooper-Thomas and Anderson, 2006). This is where newcomers to an organisation learn a number of things in order to become full members and to 'assume an organizational

role' (Filstad, 2004:396). It is during this process that 'shifting of values ... and attitudes may occur' (Feldman, 1981:310). A key aspect of this socialisation process is where newcomers experience dissonance between their own values and those of the organisation. Here, one option open to them is to leave the organisation. Another option is to adapt their own values (Cable and Parsons, 2001). According to Berger and Luckmann (1967:149), socialisation into institutional membership is achieved through 'externalization, objectivation and internalization'. Perry and Vandenberg (2008:60) suggest that 'the most important element of Berger and Luckmann's theory is that socialization takes place by identifying with significant others, and eventually acquiring a new social identity as a member of the institution'. It is also important to note that, according to Ryan and Deci (2000), internalisation of values takes place if individuals have their needs of competence, relatedness and autonomy met.

Social identification is another mechanism through which Perry and Vandenberg (2008) suggest that the institutional logic is transmitted, although it overlaps in many ways with socialisation. Ashforth and Mael (1989) suggest that self-concept is made up of a personal identity and social identities. Social identities can be varied, for example, being a member of an organisation or a religious group (Tajfel and Turner, 1985), and it is through social classification that individuals order their environment, defining others and enabling them to 'locate or define him- or herself in the social environment' (Ashforth and Mael, 1989:21). Indeed, empirical research has shown that 'group membership is a powerful predictor of workplace attitudes' (Tidwell, 2005:452). The values that make up the social identity may then be internalised at a second stage (Ashforth and Mael, 1989).

A third explanation for the transmission of institutional logic is based on cultural theory and its focus on preferences. According to Wildavsky, 'what matters to people is their relationships with other people and other people's relationships with them' (1987:6) and it is therefore through 'social interaction in defending or opposing different ways of life' (1987:5) that preferences, which are endogenous to institutions, emerge. Youniss *et al.*'s (1999:250) argument that youths develop identities through activities linked to 'collective ideologies that have historical validity', aligns with Wildavsky's cultural theory argument.

A final mechanism for the transmission of institutional logic, according to Perry and Vandenberg (2008), links to social learning theory. Modelling behaviour and values are key to this, as Bandura (1977:192) states, 'From observing others, one forms a conception of how new behavior patterns are performed and on later occasions the symbolic construction serves as a guide for action ... the conception of the appropriate behavior is gradually structured from observing the effects of one's actions rather than from the examples provided by others'.

Self-Concept, Identity and Self-Regulation

However, it is not enough for the values to have been transmitted to an individual. The individual then needs to decide whether they are going to enact these values through their behaviour and it is here that Perry and Vandenberg highlight ideas of self-concept, identity and self-regulation. Perry and Vandenberg (2008) draw on the distinction made by March and Olsen (1989) between motivational models based on a logic of appropriateness and a logic of consequence. A logic of appropriateness relates to obligatory action whereas a logic of consequence relates to

anticipatory choice. While the latter encompasses instances where behaviour is driven by the potential consequences associated with it, the former involves answering a series of questions: 'What kind of situation is this?', 'Who am I?', 'How appropriate are different actions for me in this situation?' and subsequently doing what is viewed as most appropriate (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). As Perry and Vandenberg (2008) highlight, self-concept or identity therefore has a central role in their process theory of motivation as it draws on a logic of appropriateness and links institutions (and an institutional logic) with behaviour.

Self-concept is 'the sense people have of themselves or how they look upon themselves' (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008:63). However, the self-concept is 'a complex and fluid concept' (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008:64) and therefore identity – an element of the self – is seen as being a more useful aspect of the PSM process theory (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Although there are various understandings of identity, these mostly relate in some way to the notion of social identity – how an individual defines themselves as a member of a social group (for a brief summary, see Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). As discussed earlier in this chapter, research by Brewer *et al.* (2000), in fact, focuses on four separate identities that individuals with PSM can inhabit – Samaritans, Communitarians, Humanitarians and Patriots. This identity then needs to become salient in order for an individual to align their behaviour with this identity (Stryker and Burke, 2000; Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). It is this latter point that touches on the idea of self-regulation and the belief that individuals do not simply act in accordance with their institutional environments (Koumenta, 2011) but instead make choices as to how and when they enact their identities (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008).

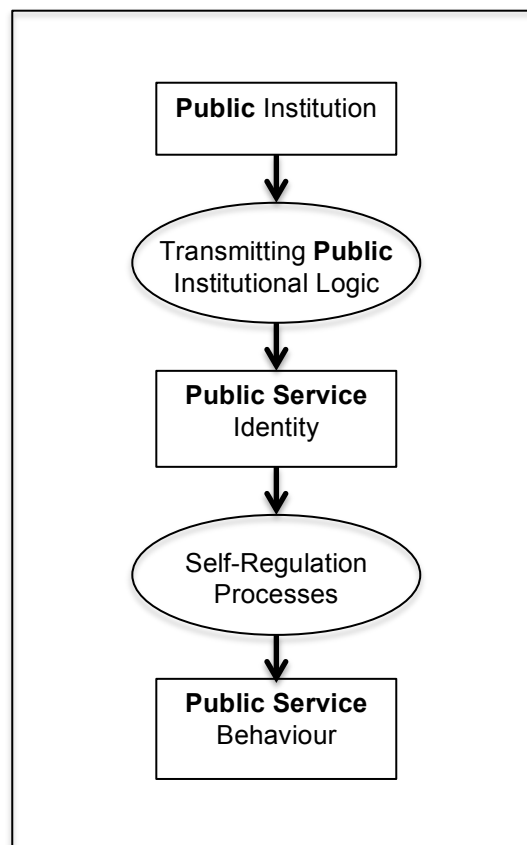
Perry and Vandenberg (2008) draw on four different self-regulation theories to explain how values are enacted by individuals, and thus add psychological elements, a goal-specific focus and issues regarding 'fit' to their model. Bandura's social cognitive theory (1991) proposes that self-monitoring, judgment and self-reaction are all part of self-regulation, while alignment with internal standards is an important factor. A second psychologically infused self-regulation theory is that of self-determinism (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Perry and Vandenberg (2008:68) summarise the relevance of the theory as follows: 'if an environment fosters the basic needs of individuals, the degree of internalization of identities will be higher. More importantly, the effect of this regulation on behaviour will be stronger to the extent that the associated identities are autonomous [i.e. not regulated or controlled]'.

Predisposition-opportunity theory suggests that there needs to be an alignment of an individual's motives and organisational incentives in order for an individual to enact their public identity (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008, drawing on Knoke and Wright-Isak, 1982). However, where there is alignment or 'fit' (Kristof-Brown *et al.*, 2005) then self-regulated behaviour will be experienced. Finally, Locke and Latham's goal-setting theory is drawn upon by Perry and Vandenberg (2008) as it suggests that where goals are seen as important and achievable, commitment to achieving them increases (in this case, an individual with a public identity will see public service goals as more important and therefore be committed to achieving them).

The whole process described above can be represented in the diagram below, adapted from Perry and Vandenberg (2008). This emphasises

that values are transmitted to individuals via institutions (drawing on theories such as socialisation, social identification, cultural and social learning in order to explain the processes). Having incorporated these values into the identity, individuals then decide how and when to enact these values according to self-regulation processes (for which Perry and Vandenabeele, 2010, draw on social cognitive, self-determinism, predisposition-opportunity, and goal-setting theories).

Diagram 1.1: The Process Theory of PSM



While Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) focus on public institutions transmitting a public logic, it is important to develop and clarify this point to include institutions in which public logic and values are found (such as the family or religious groups), rather than specifically public institutions (such as local government). In addition, it should again be noted that while this

theory has been developed, it is rare for research to be related to it (the exception is Vandenberg's 2011 research). Clearly there is a need for this theory to be assessed empirically, particularly considering the research highlighted previously, which suggests that institutional antecedents are not fully able to explain PSM. This is a theme that will therefore be discussed in more detail in both the findings and discussion parts of this thesis.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present an overview of PSM, in order to develop an in-depth understanding of the concept and, thus, be able to use it as a tool to examine the motivation of voluntary sector employees and its development. The chapter introduced PSM by focussing on four areas: the background and importance of PSM, the dimensional manifestation of PSM, the incidence of PSM, and the development of values.

Having broadly set out the definitions and development of the PSM concept, the chapter highlighted the importance of PSM through its ability to explain behaviour that could not be accounted for by other motivational theories (Perry, 2000), and its correlates (e.g. Kim, 2005; Taylor, 2008). The chapter then moved on to focus on PSM's dimensional manifestation. The four PSM dimensions, *Attraction to Public Participation*, *Commitment to Public Values*, *Compassion* and *Self-Sacrifice* were explained, and questions regarding the possibility of different dimensional emphases were highlighted (Le Grand, 2003; Pandey and Stazyk, 2008). In addition, Brewer and Selden's (2000) research regarding different perceptions of PSM was introduced.

The chapter then moved on to consider the incidence of PSM. While there has been some research on the existence of PSM among private sector workers (e.g. Andersen, 2009), the vast majority of it has been focussed on its application to those in the public sector (Koumenta, 2011). In addition, although there has been some research exploring the presence of PSM within the voluntary sector (e.g. Word and Carpenter, 2013), this is limited and focussed on the US. As a result, in many ways it has just been assumed that employee motivation in the voluntary sector is similar to that in the public sector (Mann, 2006). This is despite significant calls for research into PSM's manifestation in the voluntary sector (Perry and Hondeghem, 2008). Indirect evidence was presented, however, which indicates that each of the four PSM dimensions are likely to be present amongst voluntary sector employees (e.g. Clark *et al.*, 2009; Clerkin *et al.*, 2009). Additionally, research and theory was highlighted which suggests that PSM incidence varies, for example, across different types of organisation and jobs (e.g. Lewis and Frank, 2002; Leisink, 2004). However, it is also clearly an area where more research is necessary, since conflicting evidence was presented.

Finally, the development of values, according to PSM theory and research, was considered. The process theory of PSM focuses on the institutional role in value transmission and draws on theories such as socialisation and cultural learning in order to explain this (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Empirical research into the antecedents of PSM supports this theory, to some extent. For example, certain experiences within a family and membership of religious groups have been shown to be linked with PSM (Perry, 1997; Perry *et al.*, 2008). However, Perry's research showing links between such institutions and PSM also showed that the family and religion

were not *strongly* related to PSM (Perry *et al.*, 2008). Therefore, it suggests that something else, other than these institutions, must be involved in the process.

Another institution that has been empirically investigated is the employing organisation (e.g. Vandenabeele, 2011) and various aspects of the organisational context were shown to be related to high PSM, including organisational characteristics (e.g. low red tape (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007)), the work environment (e.g. good working conditions (Hebson *et al.*, 2003)) and job characteristics (e.g. exposure to PSM by co-workers (Vandenabeele, 2011)). However, here the research was shown to be unhelpful in terms of its lack of depth (e.g. Camilleri, 2007), in part due to its quantitative nature. This, in fact, is also true of almost all PSM research to date (Koumenta, 2011). More generally, the development process of PSM is seen as an under-researched area (Vandenabeele, 2011).

This review of the PSM literature in Chapter 3, along with the discussion of the voluntary sector in Chapter 2, identified some key themes which this research seeks to develop. Firstly, there is a clear question regarding the motivation of voluntary sector employees. It was shown that there are contradictory views regarding the similarities and differences of the voluntary and public sectors, as well as assumptions made about the motivation of voluntary sector employees. Yet the espoused special abilities and, in particular, the motivation of voluntary sector employees, are used to justify outsourcing public service delivery to them. There would consequently seem a real need to examine employees' motivation within the sector.

PSM is a fitting framework to aid the exploration of voluntary sector employees' motivation due to its definition including the service of society. An additional rationale is based on the involvement of the voluntary sector in delivering public services since the concept of PSM was developed in order to explain behaviour within the public sector, and is generally seen as a concept tied to the public sector. The use of PSM in this study is all the more relevant due to questions within existing PSM literature regarding the applicability of the concept to other sectors, in particular, the voluntary sector. Furthermore, there are questions regarding whether the four PSM dimensions adequately address values and motivations of relevance to voluntary sector employees.

Secondly, there is clearly scope to explore the development of PSM, both in terms of explaining the development of values amongst voluntary sector employees, and also regarding the existing exclusive institutional focus of the process theory of PSM. This is because, while the antecedents of PSM have been shown to include institutions such as the family, religious groups, and organisations (in line with the process theory of PSM), it is also evident that this does not explain fully the development of such motivation.

Thirdly, the quantitative focus of existing research provides clear opportunities to extend and develop PSM qualitatively, in particular, considering the research into organisational antecedents of PSM which results in lists of organisational elements being presented as important, but which lack depth. This lack of depth, for example, limits the ability for organisations to specifically act on such findings.

The next chapter lays out how this thesis addresses these themes, through articulating the aim and research questions of the study, as well as detailing the methodology employed.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

This chapter describes the nature of the research carried out for the thesis prior to the presentation of the research findings in the following three chapters. Firstly, building on the literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3, the study's aims and research questions are clarified. Secondly, the philosophical position from which the research is undertaken is described. Details of the methodology adopted are then provided. These outline how it involved a qualitative strategy utilising semi-structured interviews, and explains the processes involved in data collection, such as interview preparation and management, as well as the sampling strategy adopted. Finally, the thematic data analysis undertaken is detailed, and attention is paid to a number of ethical considerations relating to the collection and reporting of the data.

Research Aim and Research Questions

The review of the literature in the previous two chapters identified three reasons why it is important to explore motivation in the voluntary sector through the use of PSM. Firstly, the increasing outsourcing of public services to the voluntary sector, as well as the involvement of the voluntary sector in society, more broadly, means it is important to understand more about employees who work in it. However, despite some research focussing on the effects of outsourcing on voluntary sector organisations (e.g. Cunningham and James, 2011a), there is limited research on employee motivation in the sector. This neglect is surprising given the prevailing assumption that this motivation will be distinctive. Secondly, PSM

is seen to be highly relevant in the public sector and numerous benefits flowing from the employment of individuals with high levels of PSM have been identified, for example, enhanced levels of commitment, performance and pro-social behaviour (e.g. Kim, 2005; Koumenta, 2011). Considering the voluntary sector's role in delivering public services, it is therefore highly relevant to examine PSM among its employees, in part to understand the extent to which those providing such public (or other) services have 'knightly' motives (Le Grand, 2003).

However, a further consideration is the question of whether PSM does adequately explain the motivations of such employees or whether there are other elements and factors that need to be taken into account. It is possible, for example, that voluntary sector employees have a motivation similar to but distinct from PSM, such as the voluntary sector ethos suggested by Cunningham (2008) but not yet submitted to empirical research. If PSM is not adequate this may lead to important considerations in the outsourcing and delivery of public services by the voluntary sector. Furthermore, various uncertainties were identified within the PSM literature, for example, regarding the development of values and possible dimensional emphases, amongst others.

In light of these various theoretical and empirical concerns and questions, the following overall aim and associated research questions were therefore developed:

Aim

- To explore the motivation of voluntary sector employees through the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM).

Research Questions

- How far does PSM theory address values and motivations of relevance to those working in the voluntary sector?
- To what degree does PSM theory, as currently constituted, provide an adequate framework for understanding the development of such values and motivations?
- In the light of the above explorations, what are the possible implications of the research for government

This thesis thus explores the motivation of voluntary sector employees by examining how appropriate it is to apply PSM to voluntary sector employees. The PSM concept and theory includes the overarching definition, the dimensional manifestation of four values, as well as the process theory, which particularly focuses on the role of institutional antecedents in the development of such values, both prior to organisational entry and within the organisational context. The first question seeks to establish whether PSM encompasses values and motivations that are important for voluntary sector employees. The second question focuses on the developmental processes at work in the motivation of voluntary sector employees and aims to assess whether the explanations in PSM process theory are relevant and adequate. Both of these questions acknowledge that PSM theory may not fully explain the motivation of voluntary sector employees and its development. The findings will lead on to an assessment of implications (research question 3) for government policy and management practices, particularly in terms of outsourcing public services to the voluntary sector. Additionally other related implications and avenues for further research will be addressed.

In pursuing these questions, the thesis seeks to develop both an understanding of motivation in the voluntary sector and make a contribution to the PSM literature. It does so by addressing a number of key gaps in the literature. Firstly, it addresses the very limited research on employee motivation in the voluntary sector and, particularly, PSM in the voluntary sector, thereby answering numerous calls for research into this (e.g. Perry and Hondeghem, 2008). Secondly, it develops research into antecedents of PSM both before entry into organisations and then within the organisational context. In doing this it explores the process theory of PSM proposed by Perry and Vandenberg (2008) by evaluating it through empirical research. While there has been some research into antecedents and organisational processes, this area of research is still in its infancy, and these issues have not been examined in the voluntary sector.

As mentioned above, by exploring these gaps in the literature it is possible to highlight various implications. These include implications for management practices related to motivation and the development of PSM within voluntary organisations, as well as implications for government policy regarding the appropriateness of outsourcing public services to the voluntary sector. These are both key areas considering the increasing significance of the voluntary sector and its role in public service delivery.

Research Philosophy – Epistemology and Ontology

The aim of this research and the associated research questions emerge from an underlying perspective on epistemology and ontology. Epistemology is the study of what constitutes acceptable knowledge, whereas ontology is the study of the nature of reality (Bryman, 2008). There are various positions and views in each of these areas, with each

representing a different paradigm which, in turn, can direct the type of methodology and interpretation that is adopted in a research project (Bryman, 2008). It should be noted, though, that the links between paradigms and methodology are by no means fixed. For example, Patton (2002:136) suggests that 'in real-world practice, methods can be separated from the epistemology out of which they have emerged'; a point that will be returned to later. Three distinct positions are highlighted below, before a more in-depth examination of the pragmatic position, which is adopted in this research.

Positivism

Positivism entails the belief in an 'observable social reality' (Saunders *et al.*, 2007:104) and adopts the view that research practice should be directed by theory and be value-free (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Knowledge in a positivist paradigm comes from discovering, through objective observation, the 'regular and invariant properties of the phenomena of the world and the relationships between them' (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997:47). In management research this involves a focus on the generation of laws, with human behaviour being seen as the product of outside forces. Anything unobservable cannot be researched with validity but, where hypothesised relationships are not found, the unobservable can be suggested to be a mediating variable (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Positivism naturally aligns itself with an objectivist ontology which suggests that there is a separation between phenomena, meaning and social actors (Bryman, 2008). However, research in this tradition does not account for complex organisational situations and nor does it reflect reality where management is not, in fact, scientific or always objective (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

Conventionalism

An opposite epistemological position to positivism is that of conventionalism or interpretivism. This includes the beliefs that truth is not absolute and knowledge is based on different interpretations of the world (Keegan, 2009), as well as a concern with 'the empathetic understanding of human action, rather than with the forces that are deemed to act on it' (Bryman, 2008:15). Conventionalism is naturally aligned with an ontology of constructionism or constructivism and hence the view that phenomena are created by social actors and are being adapted or revised continually (Bryman, 2008).

While this subjective ontology is dominant, there is also a realist ontology within conventionalism, similar to critical realism. This suggests there is an external reality existing independently of actors. However, this external reality cannot have an impact on 'socially constructed phenomenal realities' (Johnson and Duberley, 2000:85) and it is not possible to assess how accurate these constructed realities are. Both positions (conventionalism/constructionism and conventionalism/realism) are, as a result, relativistic (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

Postmodernist epistemology goes a step further than conventionalism and actively incorporates relativism, rejects all meta-narratives, disputes the idea of a 'single, discoverable true meaning [and instead advocates for] numerous different interpretations' (Johnson and Duberley, 2000:96). Postmodern research emphasises the deconstruction of language (often referred to as the 'linguistic turn'), championed by Derrida, which involves uncovering contradictions in text and encourages disunity (Hughes and

Sharrock, 1997). A focus on power is also particularly important in this type of research (Patton, 2002).

Critical Realism

Critical realism, of which Bhaskar was a major proponent, approaches epistemology and ontology separately (Bryman, 2008). In terms of ontology, critical realism suggests that there is an external reality, although this may not be accessible to, or observable by, individuals. Knowledge of this reality (and thus epistemology) is therefore subjective, can be conceived of differently by different individuals, and can be developed or improved upon.

Bhaskar describes three levels of real structures, actual events and empirical experience or observation; understanding causation is possible by what Bhaskar terms 'retroduction' – exploring the 'generative mechanisms' underlying experiences and phenomena (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Generative mechanisms enable an explanation of the phenomena or effect that is observed but these mechanisms are hypothetical and do not exist (Williams and May, 1996). As Johnson and Duberley (2000:155) summarise, 'for Bhaskar, the objective of a critical realist science is metaphorically to 'dig deeper' so as to identify these real 'intransitive' essences, or 'causal powers', which lie behind conceptually mediated (i.e. transitive) empirical patterns'.

Critical realism challenges the relativism and lack of connection between reality and knowledge found in realist ontology combined with conventionalism (described above). However, within critical realism it can be impossible to prove whether what researchers construct as knowledge

is an accurate representation of reality (or generative mechanisms) due to its rejection of empiricism or experience and the view that reality cannot be known.

Pragmatism

Pragmatism stems from the work of Peirce and Dewey, amongst others (Moore, 1961). It includes a 'kaleidoscope' of epistemological positions (Maxcy, 2003), such as classical pragmatism, with which Dewey and Peirce are associated, and the new pragmatism of Miller and Rorty (Shields, 2004). However, within these differing positions some common elements can be identified.

Within pragmatism truth is not relative, conventional or certain; observation is theory-laden rather than determined by, or independent of, theory; it is possible to make judgements regarding the usefulness of beliefs about reality; and, perhaps most importantly, the practical adequacy of truth and knowledge is of significance (Sayer, 1992) – it must provide a guide to action (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). In addition, real experience puts limits on the possible ways in which phenomena are described or knowledge is constructed and the accuracy of theories can be judged by whether they succeed or fail (Johnson and Duberley, 2000; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Coming from a mixed methods perspective, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) have particularly emphasised the fact that pragmatism reacts against traditional dualisms and thus finds a middle ground between opposing positions; multiple perspectives are seen as useful. So, while similar to critical realism in regards to its views of an external reality and subjective

interpretations of this reality, pragmatism adds new dimensions particularly around the practical usefulness of knowledge (Shields, 2004), as well as a focus on experience informing interpretations, meanings or theories (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2008; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Finally, pragmatism does not see a problem in paradigms or methods communicating or overlapping with each other since they are seen as points on a continuum (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009); pragmatism is also referred to as a paradigm of choices (Molina-Azorin, 2011). Thus pragmatism is invariably seen as the most appropriate paradigm for those conducting mixed methods research, although not exclusively. There have been criticisms of pragmatism and these stem from a belief that paradigms are incompatible (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). However, increasingly there is a questioning of the need to separate paradigms (Schwandt, 2000) and, instead, a developing support for the blending of paradigms (Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Johnson *et al.*, 2007). Moreover, pragmatism does not just fit with mixed methods, as Patton (2002:72) suggests:

Being pragmatic allows one to eschew methodological orthodoxy in favor of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality, recognizing that different methods are appropriate for different situations.

In line with the generalities outlined above, there are some features of classical pragmatism on which it is important to expand. These include the issues of theory, experience, and truth. Theory is viewed as a mediator rather than as foundational which it is in 'the traditional classical Greek

hierarchy (Theory, Practice, Product)' (Shields, 2004:255). As a mediator it 'is viewed as an instrument that links practice and product' (Shields, 1998:209), and it is in this way that progress, in terms of 'the actual productive activities of *modern science*' (Shields, 1998:199) is achieved. Theory (or a hypothesis or conceptual framework) is developed from a 'problematic situation' that is faced, and the testing of this theory and its consequences lead to solutions (Shields, 1998). There are five phases to inquiry for Dewey: an experience of a problem; a description and understanding of the problem; suggestion of a possible solution to the problem (a hypothesis); reasoning regarding the problem and possible solutions; investigations leading to the acceptance or rejection of a proposed solution (Hildebrand, 2005). Both in the first stage, where a problem is 'felt', and the final stage of observation and experimentation, the importance of experience to classical pragmatists is seen. Indeed, solutions are all assessed in terms of their 'practical consequences' (Shields, 1998:197).

Within classical pragmatism, there are no certainties or fixed beliefs (Shields, 2004); 'truth' can always be tested (Webb, 2004) and any solution is only 'provisional' (Shields, 2008:206). Indeed, Dewey believed that one should not try to attain certainty, stating 'one question is disposed of; another offers itself and thought is kept alive' (Dewey, 1929:228 cited in Shields, 2003:518). Rather, 'truth is in the experience, the problem, and the context' (Shields, 2008:212). A key distinction with neo- or new pragmatism is that neo-pragmatism emphasises meaning through language and excludes experience (Shields, 2004) and, in fact, experience has no relevance for new pragmatists (Hildebrand, 2005). While truth is contextual, classical pragmatists still believe in an external reality (Shields, 2008). As

James (1978:211 cited in Schwartz, 2012:127) explains 'if our own particular thought were annihilated the reality would still be there in some shape ... That reality is "independent" means that there is something in every experience that escapes arbitrary control'.

Interestingly, classical pragmatism has been linked with public administration theory and practice (e.g. Shields, 1998; Hildebrand, 2008; Shields, 2008). This is firstly due to the relevance of a problematic situation to public administrators, as Hildebrand (2008:226) says, 'Public administration exists to solve public problems'. Secondly, 'pragmatism speaks to the world of practice [and] resonates with practitioners' (Shields, 1998:196). Shields (2004:358) expands on this in a later paper, arguing that, 'The beauty of classical pragmatism is that it focuses on inquiry. Inquiry is the landscape where experience is given meaning. It is also the landscape where theory and practice meet'. It is this last point that leads on to an explanation of why I have adopted a pragmatic philosophy in undertaking the research for this thesis.

Firstly, I see the experience of people as important and believe that research has to be linked with practice. In fact, in terms of my research questions, the experience of employees and the practical implications of the research are both highly relevant. Secondly, a pragmatic philosophy seems to fit well with the field of public administration – my research examines the motivation of voluntary sector employees within a context of public sector outsourcing increasing, and examines the relevance of a motivation theory that is highly prevalent in the public sector. Thirdly, I see an external reality as important but acknowledge the possibility of different interpretations of this reality; and while critical realism and pragmatism both

enable this position, pragmatism has a more practical focus, which is more aligned with my own perspective.

Research Methodology

Strategy

The research undertaken for this thesis can be classed as exploratory research where 'The essential purpose is to explore and describe participants' understanding and interpretations of social phenomena in a way that captures their inherent nature' (Ritchie, 2003:28). The research strategy followed used qualitative methodology composed of semi-structured interviews. There were four reasons for this.

Firstly, as exploratory research where the research questions were focussed on gaining an understanding of the motivation of voluntary sector employees through an examination of the relevance and adequacy of PSM theory, the most appropriate way to investigate this was through in-depth questioning of individuals. While qualitative research would not enable generalisability (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003) it was deemed more appropriate for drawing out key themes and developing an in-depth understanding of the values, attitudes, motivations and experiences of the participants; this could then be followed at a later stage by the use of a quantitative survey to test and generalise possible findings. Indeed, as Ritchie (2003:27) explains:

A major feature of qualitative methods is their facility to describe and display phenomena as experienced by the study population, in fine-tuned detail and in the study participants' own terms. It therefore offers the opportunity to 'unpack' issues, to see what they are about or what lies

inside, and to explore how they are understood by those connected with them.

Secondly, the particular questions being asked most naturally led to the use of qualitative methods. Of particular note within this research was the focus on motivation, values, and past experiences, such as in childhood or involving ill health. Such deep-seated and sensitive topics are best suited to being explored through the use of qualitative methods as they allow the researcher to adapt lines of inquiry to those which are most relevant to the participant and to delve deeper, where appropriate. As Ritchie (2003:32) further argues:

There are other factors ... that will necessitate a single research approach which is qualitative in form. These [include] ... subject areas in which the phenomena that need to be studied will be deeply set within the participants' personal knowledge or understanding of themselves. These may be related to the origins of long-standing values or beliefs [and] ... to the formative influences on particular attitudes or behaviours.

Thirdly, there is a clear link between qualitative methods and pragmatism, particularly its emphasis on problem solving. The rich data produced from qualitative methodology provides detailed and relevant information that can more readily enable useful and practical results. As Patton (2002:136) suggests, 'there is a very practical side to qualitative methods that simply involves asking open-ended questions of people ... in order to solve problems, improve programs or develop policies'. Since this research was being carried out from a pragmatic perspective, and with a view to making recommendations regarding employee motivation and the policy of

outsourcing public services, the use of qualitative methodology therefore, again, appeared to be highly relevant.

Fourthly, PSM is currently dominated by quantitative methodology (Koumenta, 2011) and the use of qualitative methods was deemed to have the potential to bring new insights to this area of research.

Data Collection – Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:97) describe interviewing as a 'mystical craft'. However, by detailing the steps taken within the data collection process, this mystique can be dismantled. Thus, in discussing the objectivity of pragmatism, Hildebrand (2008:226) highlights the importance of the clear description of methodological processes:

Objectivity is not the assurance that an inquiry or judgment has been completed from a completely ahistorical or apersonal point of view; rather, it is the assurance that the inquiry or judgment has been done in a way that allows open access, testability, and public verifiability of the *process*.

Having decided that a qualitative research strategy was most appropriate in order to address the research questions, I decided that semi-structured interviews would be the most suitable type of methodology to adopt. This was because of their ability to enable 'detailed investigation of each person's personal perspective [and] for in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomena is located' (Lewis, 2003:58). Interviewing also provides the opportunity to probe (Bryman, 2008), which seemed particularly important when looking at the relevance of PSM processes to interviewees. Other qualitative methods such as

observation, in contrast, would not have been appropriate as there are many things that cannot be observed, such as intentions, previous experiences, meanings and values (Patton, 2002), all of which were imperative to explore in order to address the research questions. In fact, Lewis (2003:58) suggests that interviews 'are the only way to collect data where it is important to set the perspectives heard within the context of personal history or experience; where delicate or complex issues need to be explored at a detailed level, or where it is important to relate different issues to individual personal circumstances'.

Of course, there are limitations to interviews and challenges in operationalising them. For example, interviews are interactional in nature but this is often absent from research description (Potter and Hepburn, 2005) and the skill of the interviewer is instrumental in the success of an interview (Patton, 2002). One of the main criticisms of interviews has been that they are not a 'naturally-occurring setting' (Silverman, 1985:156). Rather, the interviewee is aware of the purpose of the interview, has consented to being interviewed, and knows that they are being recorded which 'may consequently modify their actions in a range of ways' (Potter, 2002:540). Interviewees can respond to questions according to what they deem socially desirable and can be influenced by interviewer characteristics, such as gender or social status (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992). An added complexity is that it is not always easy to identify whether the interviewee is responding to questions personally or as the representative of a category (e.g. in this case, a voluntary sector employee) and the interviewee may additionally have particular interests that they want to promote through their responses (Potter and Hepburn, 2005).

However, the effects of potential biases can be minimised by identifying themes from across a group of interviewees (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992). At the same time, there is a fundamental challenge to these critiques of interviewing, since in trying to obtain data that is unbiased, similarities with positivistic stances can be seen. It has thus been suggested that, instead of trying to obtain unbiased data, the focus should be on obtaining data that is 'real' (Silverman, 1985). As Silverman (1985:157) argues, 'interview data display cultural realities which are neither biased nor accurate, but simply 'real'...[they] are not one side of the picture to be balanced by observation of what respondents actually do, or to be compared with what their role partners say'. Indeed, 'almost all research is contrived and in this sense artificial' (Keegan, 2009:84).

Interview Preparation and Organisation

An interview guide (Appendix A) was prepared in advance of the interviews. The use of an interview guide is important as it can help to organise the limited interview time and enables consistency amongst the different interviews that are carried out (Patton, 2002). The questions enabled the relevance of PSM theory and processes to voluntary sector employees to be explored. The guide was divided into five main sections covering job history and four key themes. The themes were drawn from PSM research and were in line with the study's aim and the associated research questions: motivation, PSM dimensions/values, the origin of motivation and values, and changes to motivation over time.

Within each of these areas, various questions were listed, along with sub questions and possible probes. The order of questions was arranged in such a way as to start with general questions about job history that enabled

interviewees to feel comfortable talking in the interview, as this was a familiar subject for them (Legard *et al.*, 2003). Then questions about motivation and values were asked, including where they came from and how they had changed over time.

Prior to carrying out the main interviews, two informal ones were carried out with a local charity director and a local charity HR manager. The purpose of these informal interviews was to test out ideas and questions in order to help develop the interview guide, and develop interview technique prior to carrying out the formal interviews that made up the data collection stage of the research (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003).

Interviews were organised via email or telephone with HR staff or individual interviewees. In all cases information regarding the interview purpose, the time required (one hour) and ethical considerations was provided in the form of a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix B) before interviews were arranged. Where possible, interviews took place in a private meeting room at the workplace of the interviewee. However, four interviews took place in an interviewee's home, three in cafés and one in an open plan area of an office. Where interviews took place in cafés or open plan areas, this was always at the initiative of the interviewee and I checked on a number of occasions during the interviews that the interviewees were happy to proceed. In all these situations there was a lot of noise and therefore it would have been difficult to be overheard. None of these situations appeared to limit the quality of the interview content as the interviewees described their experiences at a similar level to other interviewees who were interviewed in private.

Managing the Interviews

Interview management involves three clear stages: the opening part of the interview, the main content, and the closing stage. Within these stages 'the researcher's task is to ease the interviewee down from the everyday, social level to a deeper level at which they can focus on a specific topic or set of topics' (Legard *et al.*, 2003:144) and then return to the everyday.

The first part of an interview is vitally important (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Initially it is imperative to develop a rapport (Patton, 2002; Fontana and Frey, 2005), as 'The interviewees will want to have a grasp of the interviewer before they allow themselves to talk freely and expose their experiences and feelings to a stranger' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:128). Indeed, the interview covered some sensitive topics regarding motivation and past experiences and therefore it was imperative that the interviewee felt comfortable. Consequently, I attempted to put interviewees at their ease with some initial conversation before more formally starting the interview by explaining the purpose of it (Legard *et al.*, 2003; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). I also informed them of the type of questions I would be asking so that they gained a sense of how the interview would proceed.

A key feature of the initial stage of an interview is ensuring that informed consent is obtained from the interviewee to participate in the interview (Patton, 2002:407). In this case, interviewees had all been sent the Participant Information Sheet prior to the interview but I checked that they had read it and, if not, gave them time to read it. I also checked that the interviewee was happy for the interview to be recorded, while reassuring them of confidentiality. Having given them the opportunity to ask any

questions, I finally ensured they signed a consent form (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) (see Appendix C).

The main body of an interview focuses on key areas of questioning, 'both those anticipated by the researcher and those which emerge from the interview' (Legard *et al.*, 2003:146). It is necessary here to use probing questions, where appropriate, as these 'deepen the response to a question, increase the richness and depth of responses, and give cues to the interviewee about the level of response that is desired' (Patton, 2002:372). As well as following the interview guide and using probing questions, I engaged in active listening, and gave interviewees time to think and respond to questions. I also gave feedback regarding the progress of the interview and conveyed a non-judgemental attitude (Patton, 2002; Legard *et al.*, 2003). When the subject matter became particularly sensitive, I reassured the interviewees that they did not have to answer questions that they did not want to and checked that they were happy to continue.

The closing stage of an interview involves ensuring that it ends on time and ends well. It was important to end on time as the interviewees had freely given me their time and it was incumbent on me to respect that. In the interviews I therefore signalled the final stage of the interview with an indication that it was drawing to a close a few minutes before the end. This was important as it enabled 'the interviewee to gradually return to the level of everyday social interaction' (Legard *et al.*, 2003:146). Within this final stage it was also important to include a debriefing (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) to ensure that the interviewee was not troubled following the questions. This was necessary as Patton (2002:405) asserts:

Interviews are interventions. They affect people. A good interview lays open thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experience, not only to the interviewer but also to the interviewee. The process of being taken through a directed, reflective process affects the persons being interviewed and leaves them knowing things about themselves that they didn't know – or least were not fully aware of – before the interview.

Interviews were brought to a close by providing an interviewee with the opportunity to ask questions or add anything to what they had already said, which 'gives the subject an additional opportunity to deal with issues he or she has been thinking or worrying about during the interview' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:129).

Sampling

In qualitative research, as in quantitative research, it is necessary to select people out of a population to be participants within a research project (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). However, in qualitative research it is rare for the sample to allow generalisability due to it not being statistically representative (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). Of course, it is still necessary that 'units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of, or groups within, the sampled population' (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003:78). In this research purposeful (also described as purposive) sampling was adopted. Purposive sampling is where 'The sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study' (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003:78). The features or characteristics that constitute the selection criteria are chosen due to their being 'expected or known to have salience to the subject matter under study' (Ritchie *et al.*,

2003:82-3). Ritchie *et al.* (2003:82-3) describe this as "symbolic representation' because a unit is chosen to both 'represent' and 'symbolise' features of relevance to the investigation'.

The intended sample included individuals working in different types of charity: environment, health, international development, social welfare and youth, to ensure coverage across different organisational purposes since the charity sector encompasses a huge variety of organisation types. Both men and women were included in the sample due to the differences that have been suggested in terms of motivation in PSM research (Bright, 2005; DeHart-Davis *et al.*, 2006; Vandenabeele, 2011). Additionally the intended sample included people working at different levels in their organisations, in consideration of research that shows that people working at higher managerial levels are more likely to demonstrate PSM within public organisations (e.g. Bright, 2005; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Pandey and Stazyk, 2008).

Since motivation has been argued to change during job tenure (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Koumenta, 2011) and according to age (Perry, 1997; Leisink and Steijn, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2011), a difference in career length would be illuminating and add depth, particularly with individuals towards the end of their career who had perspectives on working in different organisations. Therefore variety was also sought regarding the point at which people were at in terms of their career, with those who were early in their career included as well as those who were towards the end of it. Finally individuals in both client-facing and more back-office roles were included due to research that has found differences in work values for

these two groups (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Steijn and Smulders, 2004; Lyons *et al.*, 2006).

In qualitative research samples are often small (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). However, there is much diversity in what is deemed to actually be an appropriate sample size, and there is much difference in practice. Views regarding appropriate sample sizes include at least six participants or up to ten, amongst others, for a phenomenological study whereas recommendations for ethnography include 30 to 50 participants, and for grounded theory suggestions range from 20 to 50 (c.f. Morse, 1994; Creswell, 1998). Ritchie *et al.* (2003:84) are less definite, suggesting 'As a very general rule of thumb, qualitative samples for a single study involving individuals only often lie under 50'. However, as Guest *et al.* (2006) noted, many who suggest appropriate numbers for sample sizes do so without providing evidence for their proposals. Practice regarding sample size is also fairly diverse, as demonstrated by Mason (2010) who investigated sample sizes amongst 560 PhD studies. While sample sizes in his investigation ranged from 1 to 95, there was a bi-modal distribution (20 and 30) with a mean of 31. However, there was some level of consistency, with 34% of the studies using samples of between 20 and 30.

When deciding on sample size, the element of data saturation is important. This is where new data does not result in new ideas or themes (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003; Guest *et al.*, 2006;). Based on data saturation, Guest *et al.* (2006:79) proposed that twelve interviews are adequate for qualitative studies, but they also cautioned against automatically adopting this ideal sample size as 'purposive samples still need to be carefully selected, and twelve interviews will likely not be enough if a selected group is relatively

heterogeneous ... and the domain of inquiry is diffuse'. Practicality is also a concern since a large data set can be difficult to manage and while 'new data ... will always add something new ... there are diminishing returns, and the cut off between adding to emerging findings and not adding, might be considered inevitably arbitrary' (Mason, 2010:16).

Considering the various recommendations, differing practices and the fact that the sample for this research was fairly heterogeneous (e.g. included people in different types of charities, at different levels, and in different types of jobs), for this research an initial sample size of 40 was planned. However, it became apparent by the time 35 interviews had been carried out and analysed that there were no new themes emerging and therefore the intended final five interviews were not conducted.

Interviewees

Access to interviewees was gained through contacting various charities via HR staff who circulated requests, as well as personal contacts who also circulated requests to people they knew. These individuals worked across nineteen charities of varied sub-sector and size. The different sub-sectors represented were international development, youth, health, social welfare, and environment. The organisations that interviewees worked for varied in size, with workforces ranging from four to a few thousand. Organisational income ranged from small (£10,000-£100,000) to major (more than £10 million) according to the NCVO classification of charity size (Clark *et al.*, 2012). While over half of the interviewees were working at a mid-organisational level, a third were either at a senior level or more junior level. Twelve of those interviewed were male, while 23 were female, reflecting the gender distribution in the sector of just under 66 percent women (Kane *et*

al., 2014). Seven of the 35 were in predominantly client-facing roles with an additional six who had significant elements of this in their roles; 22 interviewees were in predominantly back-office roles. Career length ranged from individuals who were within ten years of starting their careers to those who were within approximately 5-10 years of retiring.

A table detailing some information about the interviewees is provided on the following page. The content of this has been deliberately limited in order to protect the identities of those who took part.

Table 2.1: Characteristics of Research Participants and their Jobs

Pseudo-nym	Sector	Organisation Size (Workforce)	Gender	Beneficiary Facing?	Career Stage	Previous Employment in the Following Sector?		
						Private	Public	Vol
Amy	Environment	100-500	Female	No	Late	Yes	-	-
Ben	Environment	100-500	Male	No	Mid	Yes	-	-
Maria	Environment	100-500	Female	No	Early	Yes	-	Yes
Samuel	Environment	100-500	Male	Yes	Mid	-	-	Yes
Andrew	Health	100-500	Male	No	Mid	Yes	Yes	Yes
Barbara	Health	50-100	Female	No	Late	-	Yes	-
Emma	Health	50-100	Female	No	Mid	Yes	-	-
Eve	Health	0-50	Female	Yes	Mid	-	Yes	-
Isabel	Health	50-100	Female	Some	Mid	-	Yes	Yes
Lucy	Health	50-100	Female	No	Mid	Yes	Yes	-
Olivia	Health	50-100	Female	No	Mid	Yes	-	-
Robert	Health	100-500	Male	No	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Anna	International	0-50	Female	No	Mid	-	-	-
Chloe	International	500-1000	Female	Some	Early	-	-	-
Elisabeth	International	0-50	Female	No	Mid	-	-	Yes
Helen	International	1000-5000	Female	No	Early	Yes	Yes	-
Kathryn	International	1000-5000	Female	Some	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Kim	International	500-1000	Female	Some	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Laura	International	1000-5000	Female	No	Mid	Yes	Yes	-
Margaret	International	500-1000	Female	No	Late	Yes	-	-
Mark	International	500-1000	Male	No	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Sophie	International	1000-5000	Female	No	Mid	Yes	-	-
William	International	1000-5000	Male	No	Mid	Yes	Yes	Yes
Doug	Social Welfare	1000-5000	Male	No	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Jennifer	Social Welfare	0-50	Female	Yes	Early	-	-	-
Joseph	Social Welfare	0-50	Male	Yes	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Patricia	Social Welfare	0-50	Female	Yes	Mid	Yes	Yes	-
Susanna	Social Welfare	0-50	Female	Yes	Mid	Yes	-	Yes
Ellen	Youth	500-1000	Female	Some	Early	-	Yes	Yes
James	Youth	0-50	Male	No	Late	-	Yes	Yes
Jill	Youth	100-500	Female	No	Late	Yes	-	Yes
Joanne	Youth	0-50	Female	Yes	Early	-	-	-
John	Youth	0-50	Male	No	Mid	Yes	-	-
Oliver	Youth	500-1000	Male	Some	Early	Yes	-	Yes
Paul	Youth	500-1000	Male	No	Late	Yes	-	Yes

Data Limitations

When considering the sample achieved for this study and the way in which access to interviewees was gained, there are some limitations that it is important to highlight. Firstly, there is a predominance of back-office staff (22) compared to 13 employees whose main role, or elements of it, included significant contact with clients or beneficiaries of the service being provided. While this predominance of back-office staff makes the sample particularly interesting, considering the questions highlighted previously regarding the importance of client contact to motivation (e.g. Leisink, 2004), the relative lack of front-line staff does lead to caution regarding the wider generalisability of the study.

Secondly, in three of the 19 organisations, HR staff were gatekeepers in the recruitment process. It is therefore possible that in these cases I was more likely to have heard from people who were likely to have been enthusiastic about their work. This could have been the result of HR staff allowing, or even choosing, individuals who were likely to represent a positive view of work and their own motivation. Alternatively it is possible that those who were less motivated might have been less likely to volunteer due to fears that HR staff or senior leaders would be able to have access to their views regarding work (Bryman, 2008). While this is clearly a concern, it is a challenge faced regularly in carrying out research; in many situations, researchers are required to gain access to interviewees through gatekeepers. It should also be noted, however, that HR gatekeepers can also have a positive effect in terms of providing endorsement and support for the researcher within the organisation (Bryman, 2008).

In the case of this study, as mentioned above, there were only three organisations in which HR staff had a role as a gatekeeper and this accounted for eight of the 35 interviewees. This was not the case in 16 of the organisations represented, covering 27 interviewees. Therefore, the potential role of HR gatekeepers can be argued to be relatively minor in terms of the whole sample. Of course, caution does still need to be expressed in terms of the general applicability of the results and the recommendations of the study.

Data Analysis

Data analysis of the interviews ideally starts with interview transcription. This is because it enables the researcher to gain a comprehensive understanding of the interviews (Braun and Clark, 2006) and 'provides an opportunity to get immersed in the data, an experience that usually generates emergent insights' (Patton, 2002:441). I therefore carried out all the interview transcription and, in the process of transcribing and checking the transcriptions, gained a good overview of the data and knowledge of the different interviewees. This stood me in good stead at a later stage in the process by enabling me to more easily remember relevant interviewees' comments within a broader context.

Thematic analysis was adopted to analyse the data since it is not restricted to a particular philosophy and it 'works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:81). It can therefore be used in a variety of research designs and is a process by which the researcher systematically goes through the data identifying and analysing patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006), where a theme 'captures

something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:82). Sub-themes can also be identified within broader themes (Braun and Clark, 2006). Phases of thematic analysis include familiarisation with the data; the generation of initial codes, data coding, and collation of the coded data; searching for and reviewing themes; the definition of themes; and the writing of a report (Braun and Clark, 2006). Indeed, this process 'involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data ... and the analysis of the data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:86).

As I undertook the process of thematic analysis, I broadly coded the data in relation to four key areas:

- General motivations for choosing work in a charity
- Values and attitudes drawn broadly, but not exclusively, from PSM
- Antecedents of these values and attitudes, particularly before organisational entry
- The way that the organisational context had affected (increased/decreased) these values

Within these broad codes I coded the data in a more detailed way. I then collated codes and explored these for overarching themes. Once the preliminary overarching themes were established, I collated all the relevant coded interview sections and was then able to identify sub-themes. The identified themes and sub-themes can be seen in the table below (p.119) and are examined in the findings chapters. On occasion, I realised that identified themes were actually sub-themes within a broader theme. For

example, in examining motivation, a 'Practicalities' theme became a 'Convenience' sub-theme within the theme 'Non-Altruistic Motivation'.

This process involved numerous readings of the data. Analysis and theme identification were further aided by the process of writing up the findings as, on occasion, it helped clarify whether a sub-theme was supported by adequate data or whether sub-themes should be merged. For example, within *Compassion*, 'a concern for individuals' and 'a concern for the challenges people faced' were merged into one sub-theme. Meanwhile, within the 'Colleague Interaction and Support' theme, the sub-themes of 'support from others' and 'working together with shared values' were merged as the essence of what was being said was similar.

Table 2.2: Themes and Sub-Themes to Emerge During Data Analysis

Motivations	Values	Antecedents	Organisational Context
Desire to make difference <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General desire to do something worthwhile • Helping people • Save world & societal impact 	Attraction to Public Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active citizens • Practical response to problems • Sense of responsibility • Volunteering • Not considered 	Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upbringing • Parents' work • Expectations • Friends/other people • No link 	Knowledge and Awareness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning about the issues & the organisation's work • Knowing about the impact of the work • Seeing a link between their work & the organisation's • Methods of this
Mix of Motivations	Commitment to Public Values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability and transparency • Equality & fairness • Long-term service delivery • Concern re wastage • Not considered 	Faith <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture and values of the religion • Following biblical commands • Not or despite faith 	Colleague Interaction and Support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspired by others • Support from others/working together • Underperforming colleagues negative • Methods of this
Non-Altruistic Motivation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iconic, respected organisations • Feels good • Need to be liked • Convenience • Career development 	Compassion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concern for individuals & the issues people face • Compassion has to be empowering and linked to action • Not compassionate 	Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of issues • Not education 	Being Treated as a Significant Individual <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valued in work • Recognised & thanked • Taken for granted • Listened to & involved
Sector Focus <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voluntary sector focus • Voluntary sector commitment • Fell into it • No loyalty to voluntary sector 	Self Sacrifice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salary and benefits • Volunteering • Career • Reputation • Health • Good salary & benefits • Perspective re sacrifice 	Volunteering <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childhood/young adult volunteering • Adult volunteering • Exposure to issues and development of values • Leading to opportunities and experience 	Public Values in the Organisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability & transparency • Equality & fairness • Belief/trust in leadership & management
	Oppositional Identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difference to peers and family • Rebellion/nonconformity • Against private sector • Against money 	Transformative Experiences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General exposure to difference or challenge (e.g. childhood difficulties) • Travel (e.g. seeing poverty and suffering) • Health (e.g. illness or disability) 	Organisational Role <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in motivation due to organisation • Changes in motivation due to non-organisational factors • Organisation is a vehicle
	Belief in a Cause <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific cause • Passion • Resilience 	Innate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'It's who I am' • Wake-up moment/awareness 	
	Individual and Community Focus <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on individual value • Others' development & growth important • Connected to world/civilisation • Community at work 		

Ethics

All research encounters ethical challenges and it has been suggested that 'interview research is saturated with moral and ethical concerns' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), some of which have already been touched upon in this chapter. These concerns relate to '*informed consent* (receiving consent from the respondent after having carefully and truthfully informed him or her about the research), *right to privacy* (protecting the identity of the respondent), and *protection from harm* (physical, emotional, or any other kind)' (Fontana and Frey, 2005:715). As mentioned above, in this research, informed consent (Lewis, 2003) was ensured through a detailed Participant Information Sheet (Appendix B) being provided to potential interviewees prior to their agreement to participate. This information sheet included details regarding the purpose of the study and what would happen to the findings (e.g. publication), why they were being invited to participate, the choice that they had regarding their involvement, what the interview would consist of, the benefits of the research, information regarding confidentiality, and the names and contact details of the researchers involved in the project. As explained previously, I checked that all interviewees were willing to proceed, and ensured that they signed a consent form (Appendix C).

The right to privacy can involve both anonymity and confidentiality. Anonymity is where participants' identities are only known to the researcher, whereas confidentiality avoids attributing quotations to particular participants (Lewis, 2003). It was not possible to guarantee complete anonymity to all participants since some interviews were arranged by HR staff. However, all identities were changed and only limited characteristics of those interviewed have been reported in order to limit the

possibility of indirect attribution, whereby contextual factors are reported that enable the identification of an individual to take place (Lewis, 2003).

Regarding protection from harm, there were no significant physical risks to participants in this study. However, there was a limited risk of being affected emotionally due to some of the questions covering aspects of upbringing and motivation or demotivation in work. In fact some participants did become emotional during the interviews and in each of these situations I paused, reminded them that they did not have to answer questions if they did not want to and that they were able to stop the interview, should they wish it. All interviewees were, however, happy to continue despite emotional responses. As the interview drew to a close, I again checked that they were not deeply affected by the interview. The fact that some interviewees were emotional during the interview clearly highlighted to me the responsibility that researchers have towards participants and made me more aware of the potential for the unexpected to happen in interviews. It also made me concerned when leaving the participant following the interview, and therefore I always ensured I followed the interview with an email.

Finally, interview participants were given the opportunity to receive a copy of their interview transcript within thirty days of the interview. They also had the opportunity to request a copy of the research summary report – over half requested the report whereas none of the participants requested the transcript of the interview.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodology utilised in order to address the aim and research questions of this study within a pragmatic philosophy. Having justified the adoption of a survey research strategy using qualitative methodology composed of semi-structured interviews, the chapter moved on to present the data collection processes undertaken, while referring to methodological theory that informed this. Of particular note were elements of interview preparation and management, as well as the purposive sampling strategy adopted. The thematic analysis undertaken was also presented and ethical considerations explained. Having detailed these different elements of the methodological processes carried out, the following three chapters focus on presenting the findings from the research.

Chapter 5

The Relevance of PSM and its Dimensions for Voluntary Sector Employees

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the research question, 'How far does PSM theory address values and motivations of relevance to those working in the voluntary sector?'. It does this by, firstly, exploring whether the voluntary sector interviewees are driven by a desire to serve the interests of others in society. Following this, the four dimensions of PSM – *Attraction to Public Participation*, *Commitment to Public Values*, *Compassion*, and *Self-Sacrifice* – are explored. In the following chapter the investigation of the relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees is then developed by examining the antecedents and developmental processes relating to the values held by them.

A Desire to Make a Difference and Serve Others

As discussed previously, PSM is defined variously as 'a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind' (Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999:23), and 'the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service (i.e. public, community, and social service)' (Brewer and Selden, 1998:417). Drawing on these definitions, this section presents evidence to show that PSM is indeed broadly relevant to voluntary sector employees. In particular, it demonstrates how most interviewees overwhelmingly expressed a desire to serve the interests of others in society by making a difference and contributing to society in some way. Interviewees discussed the importance of doing something worthwhile in their jobs, with attitudes

ranging from a broad desire to effect significant changes in the world to a more narrow focus on helping people.

Firstly, a number of the interviewees talked about the importance of doing something worthwhile in quite general terms:

I want to work for an organisation that does good in society and the communities and so on. (Jill)

My goal was, and still is, to find [a job] that's purposeful and meaningful. (John)

I can't imagine being paid to do something that doesn't feel ultimately worthwhile. (Elisabeth)

Some, meanwhile, demonstrated the importance of doing something with meaning in their job through a comparison with a previous role. For example, Robert had moved from the private sector into a health-related charity because:

I just felt it would be a good thing to do. I felt ... quite positive really. I felt as if I wanted to make a difference and do something that was a bit more worthwhile than what I was doing before. (Robert)

Patricia, who worked in social welfare, similarly focussed on a previous role selling insurance:

It was just awful, awful ... it was just so meaningless and random. I did it for about a year. (Patricia)

Similarly again, Ben, who had worked for a long time in the entertainment business, talked about his previous work in events management and how he himself decided to move into 'something that made a difference', as well as encouraging his peers to do the same. He articulated his thought process as follows:

Ok, we do this for a while but then we get a bit more serious and we actually create something else which is different to a hedonistic product, and that was one of my main motivations really, just the fact that for a long time we create and develop and build these beautiful things and it's perfect. Then all the guests arrive and for most of the time we wish they didn't; everyone has a giant party and then everything gets thrown in the bin at the end and it was really wasteful. [I thought] I'm putting all this work in and there's nothing to show for it at the end. So that was my motivation.

(Ben)

Interviewees therefore equated work in the voluntary sector with doing something positive or good, something with a purpose or meaning, although what they understood by *meaning* was not always articulated. The importance of being involved in something that was constructive was also apparent, although, again, in quite general terms.

A number of those interviewed were, however, more specific in their focus: they talked about their motivation, or that of colleagues, having a broad aim of saving the world and changing society. For example, Samuel took a job in an international development charity immediately after university and described how he was 'fired up for bringing change to the world', while Chloe explained how she wanted to 'save the world'. Margaret highlighted

the desire that many of her colleagues demonstrated to make the world fairer:

Most people come into this organisation because they have got a real passion about making the world a fairer place, so they are coming quite young, angry, [thinking] it's not fair that there are all these people suffering. They usually come in with quite strong, almost socialist, political views, [blaming] the rich corrupt people and [thinking] we've got to stamp that out. So I think people come in because they have a real conviction that the world isn't fair and they generally want to do something about it. (Margaret)

These sentiments were echoed by others as the following two quotations highlight:

I'd had a real yearning and ... desire to do something to change the reality for people in other parts of the world and even in my own community. (Anna)

[I want to be enabling] people who somehow aren't able to access everything that I feel they should be able to access. So there's some kind of institutional or societal thing which is holding them back. (Ellen)

While some of the interviewees talked about impacting society on a large scale, others were more narrowly focussed on helping people. Some talked about people in general:

I want to help others as best I can. (Chloe)

I want to be working for an organisation that's helping people. (Sophie)

Others talked about specific types of people, for example, the vulnerable or individuals who were facing difficult circumstances:

I just thought it would be nice to work somewhere where, however small, I was doing my bit to help somebody when they're having a really bad time.

(Olivia)

I think in general I like to help people who are struggling or that kind of thing. (Jennifer)

[Work] had to be about vulnerable children ... I would want it to be linked with helping the vulnerable in the local community. (James)

In summary, most of the interviewees wanted to be serving the interests of others in society through their work. Sometimes they were quite general in their discussion of this, for example wanting to be doing something worthwhile; at other times, they were more focussed on effecting change in society or helping individuals in need. Considering that PSM involves serving others and their interests within society (Brewer and Selden, 1998; Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999), the fact that interviewees expressed attitudes and desire consistent with PSM definitions suggests that it is, indeed, highly relevant to be examining PSM amongst voluntary sector employees. This relevance is reinforced in the next section where attention turns to the specific PSM dimensions and an examination of their manifestation amongst voluntary sector employees.

The Relevance of PSM Dimensions

This section explores the evidence for the specific PSM dimensions amongst the interviewees. As we saw in Chapter 3, according to Kim and Vandenabeele (2010), the four dimensions that make up PSM are an *Attraction to Public Participation*, a *Commitment to Public Values*, *Compassion*, and *Self-Sacrifice*. Although Perry and Wise (1990) initially proposed four slightly different dimensions, these were adapted by Kim and Vandenabeele (2010). This adaptation is more relevant to the voluntary sector as the focus of the first dimension is about participation in service rather than an attraction to policy-making.

Attraction to Public Participation

The *Attraction to Public Participation* dimension covers 'a disposition to work in the public sector and to participate in the public policy process and in activities for community and social development' (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010:704). It includes a desire to tackle social problems and contribute to the common good (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). In the interviews the element of working in the public sector and developing public policy was not supported, which is to be expected given the voluntary sector context. Most of those interviewed, however, were extremely positive about the other values contained within this dimension; for example, Barbara described being 'a hundred percent' in favour of public participation.

Of particular importance to interviewees was being an active citizen, getting involved and engaging with wider society. For example, Oliver suggested values regarding engagement and participation in society were the reason he had volunteered to be interviewed for this research:

I'd say I try and have a social conscience and find opportunities to engage in things and participate in things. Maybe even things like responding to you wanting to do this, on a slightly different level, [and thinking] well that sounds like it would be valuable and useful. (Oliver)

The importance of participating was also reflected by a sense of confusion at why other people don't get involved in society:

I find it really hard to understand when people don't show any interest in engaging. I don't know how much is a misimpression but it seems like, particularly [for the] middle class in Britain, if you've managed to build yourself a fairly content, self-contained life, that people are very able to put up those sort of screens, and I can totally see why it happens, but I'm not sure why you don't get a little nagging at your conscience after a while. (Ellen)

There was also a high value attached to being an active, rather than passive, citizen, and, for some, this was linked to their faith:

So I think our team's vision is about mobilising a young generation to engage with their faith properly, know how to speak up against injustice and that's what I feel like I'm called to do. Empower young people in the UK ... and helping them to engage with a more holistic gospel and engage practically with their own communities and participate as global citizens. (Helen)

At the same time, while interviewees talked about the importance of being involved and participating, there was also an emphasis on practically addressing problems, as well as dealing with injustices:

Practical responses, doing something, is a driver for me. (Samuel)

I think it's important that people are aware of the level of deprivation and difficulties young people have ... I think it's important that people know and tackle it early on. (Joanne)

There was obviously a big part of me that was very aware that green issues are the challenge that's facing our generation ... I am not and was not a huge environmentalist ... but if you're socially aware you know that there are some real issues that we need to deal with. (Ben)

In a small number of cases it was clear that interviewees had not considered the importance of participating in society prior to their employment in a charity, and this is something that will be touched upon in the following findings chapters:

I'd never really considered [it]. Not before I worked here ... You go about your own daily business, you have your own routines and I didn't ever have time to really stop and worry about it. (Emma)

More widely, the value of being involved and active citizens was clearly linked to a sense of responsibility. This was articulated in terms of being a global citizen:

I think we're all a member of the global family ... and I think we've all got a responsibility to what's going on in the world, whether it's Syria or the lack of help here in the UK for people who are struggling financially. Whether it's food banks, whatever, I think we've all got a part to play. (Mark)

It was also articulated in terms of supporting the vulnerable or those who were unable to help themselves:

It is important because otherwise, who else is going to do that? If we're not, as a society, if we're not taking note of what people need in terms of their suffering or the care they may need, then who else is going to do that? ... I mean some people might say, 'Why is it up to society? It should be up to individuals, family members, to provide the care. Why should the whole of society be responsible?' But then if there are vulnerable people who are unable to get that support from their immediate family then there is a responsibility in society to do something. (Isabel)

Young people are in a position where they're not in charge of all of the factors in their life and we have a responsibility to do everything we can to try and support that. (Oliver)

Indeed, values around actively participating in society were further reflected in the voluntary activities in which interviewees were involved. For example, interviewees discussed their *voluntary* (as opposed to their employment) involvement with their charity employer through such means as attending fundraising events or events put on for beneficiaries of the charity, while some interviewees also mentioned being involved in other charities as volunteers:

I think it's partly about being loyal to that charity as well and going to events if we can possibly do it, picnics or whatever. They [the charity] do some things on Sunday afternoons [and] we wouldn't get paid for doing that. (Eve)

Typically people might volunteer elsewhere. They'll be very, very committed to other smaller charities, so they won't just do what they do here, there'll be an involvement elsewhere in the community. (Jill)

In summary, it can be seen that the *Attraction to Public Participation* dimension was very relevant for interviewees, given the value they placed on being involved in and engaging with society, the importance they attached to contributing practical responses to problems and the sense of responsibility they felt towards society, as well as the way in which they engaged in voluntary activities.

Commitment to Public Values

The second PSM dimension, a *Commitment to Public Values*, relates to a 'personal disposition to pursue public values' (Kim and Vandenaabeele, 2010:704) and includes ethical values, a belief in equal opportunities, and a consideration of long-term public needs (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). As with public participation, a majority of interviewees spoke positively about their commitment to such values and, indeed, often used very emotive language when discussing them.

A focus on ethical behaviour, and particularly on transparency and accountability, was clearly evident amongst interviewees:

That's a necessity, if you don't have that I'm not interested ... I think in any situation ... transparency is always for me ... a necessity. So [financial] accounts, things like that, you need to be open and honest with. (John)

Transparency, honesty, the horror of corruption, is definitely very, very strong here. (Margaret)

Views regarding equality were equally strong:

It's that thing of nobody's better than anyone else, and that's quite important to me, that it doesn't matter who you are in society, everyone is equal. People have different levels of lifestyle and so on, but it doesn't make anyone a lesser person. (Jill)

I like the ideals of a communist structure so I like equality and sharing. Not that I'm a 'red' or anything, but, you know, the ethics behind communism. (Maria)

Similarly, interviewees demonstrated an awareness of inequalities and injustices in the world and a desire to challenge them:

A corruption in equality is very driven into society and how we work, and challenging it is really important [to me]. (Samuel)

I would feel very strongly that I haven't earned my nationality but that has opened up massive privileges for me, and that's a general attitude that, if I found a way to try and work on, I'd want to, because I think people feel like because I'm British therefore I should have all of these things, rather than it being where your parents happened to be when they conceived you. (Ellen)

I became involved [with] and aware of environmental issues because of my interest in nature and because I've always been pretty plugged into current affairs and thinking bloody hell this isn't right. (Amy)

Challenging the status quo was, moreover, not limited to what they saw in society. Attention was similarly drawn to practices or behaviours in the charity in which they worked that were neither fair nor accountable:

Even though we do have all these policies in place, enforcing them isn't really done by senior management and so that demoralises some of the values ... So if it's just one set of rules for one person then another for the other then that gets me angry, really angry. (Chloe)

Some of our leaders, who are very good at some things, will do things that you might think are quite small but they create shock waves through the organisation. You know, if the message is coming out that we've got to cut down on our travel and then we hear that [the leadership has gone on an overseas work trip] it has huge and very long lasting repercussions in the organisation. (Margaret)

Commitment to public values also emerged when interviewees discussed the future and the long-term effects of the work they were involved in. Even if they were able to make a difference in someone's life in the short term, they were concerned about the longer-term consequences for these individuals. In line with this, some questioned whether isolated or short-term interaction with beneficiaries would ever make a difference, for example, in youth work or social welfare:

I was really keen to find something which just had a bit more substance and longevity to it, because I wasn't convinced that a one-off session ever makes any difference to anybody. It can be a nice experience [but] it doesn't endure. (Ellen)

This perspective was not only relevant for those involved in client work; interviewees working in environmental organisations also reflected a concern for longer-term thinking, as can be seen in the following quote:

And then there are all the other things wrapped into it like intergenerational equity. In other words you can't use everything up so that the generations to come are buggered, and also that sense that we, as the developed world, have had it pretty good or at least we've sorted out a lot of the crap, and yet it's impacting on the other side of the world. I think it's that basic sense of justice and fairness that made me an environmentalist to start with. (Amy)

Finally, regarding a *Commitment to Public Values*, interviewees attributed great importance to a good use of resources, with a real concern about wastage, as well as a focus on finding ways to save money:

For me it's about serving and I'm angry when I know that we waste money, I'm angry when I know that Granny Smith, whoever, has collected loads and loads of money and there is abuse by some people ... It angers me when I can see wastage and it's blatant wastage in some areas. To some extent you can't get away from it, but the majority of people that I come across that work here, work hard to ensure that there isn't that wastage. (Kim)

So I'm much more aware and I try to be really careful about what I cost the [charity] so I'm careful with stationary ordering, just silly little things like that ... A lot of [money] comes from people out there fundraising, so I don't want to waste their money. (Lucy)

However, as with the first dimension (*Attraction to Public Participation*), there were some who did not fully engage with public values themselves, or suggested that their colleagues did not. For example, Kathryn did not think that the values were particularly important for her, in the way that she perceived others did, while Elisabeth highlighted the fact that she had colleagues who only focussed on public values out of necessity (and therefore did not have a personal commitment to them):

I do believe it but I feel like I'm not driven by it in the same way that somebody who works in advocacy would be or campaigning. I think it's one of those things that's slightly intangible and I find it hard to connect with.
(Kathryn)

I think that certain people in the organisation think it's a necessary evil that they can't get away with avoiding any more, as opposed to striving from the beginning for the best. (Elisabeth)

Nevertheless, from the evidence presented it can be seen that the *Commitment to Public Values* dimension was applicable to many interviewees. Important elements of this dimension included accountability and equality, a long-term perspective regarding service delivery, and non-wasteful resource use.

Compassion

The *Compassion* dimension is based on Frederickson and Hart's (1985) concept of a 'patriotism of benevolence', which is about loving others and wanting to safeguard their rights (Perry, 1996), in addition to an ability to identify with others (Kim and Vandenabeele, 2010). In particular, it includes

sympathy for the underprivileged and those who are unfairly treated (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). This theme has, to some extent, already been touched on, earlier in the chapter, regarding the relevance of PSM generally to voluntary sector employees and the focus that many of them had on helping people.

Generally the interviewees saw themselves as compassionate towards both those in difficulty and their colleagues, while some, particularly those working in health organisations, simply thought that it was obvious that they would have compassion for others. Indeed, while compassion is normally linked with a concern for other people, even those working in a non-client focussed organisation, such as an environmental charity, talked about having compassion for the environment.

At a more specific level, there was an acute awareness amongst interviewees of the challenges faced by others and a deep concern for individuals:

I've got a young person who I've been working with in higher education, [and I] got a phone call from the police saying he ... had been sectioned because he'd just gone crazy and so I've been phoning him. So that's not really my remit but he has no one else who's going to phone him.
(Susanna)

I'm quite a compassionate person I think, though I'm not renowned [for being] in floods of tears when I see things. I do feel certain things when I see certain things going on, not just here but I'm also [involved in a church] ... and we're doing a lot of work now with some homeless, marginalised

[people] who've all had crap lives, most of them, and that's why they're there and I find that quite moving. (Robert)

So my biggest value is probably compassion ... I'm more stirred by an individual than I am by a more general public participation. (Jennifer)

In discussing the challenges facing others, there were elements of comparison, for example, a clear focus on others being less fortunate than they were themselves:

I think compassion's a hard one to put your finger on because, certainly for me, I can go for days thinking quite selfishly in my own little life and other times I can be brought to tears. I lie in bed and think my bed's really comfortable and it's quiet and [I think about] how many people don't have a comfy bed and they're lying there lonely and don't have any hope and you suddenly feel a connection and a responsibility to respond which comes from that. (Elisabeth)

I definitely feel compassion for, a recognition of, the people who we're helping. So whether they're people who are suffering at the end of a hurricane, or a natural disaster, or a local [problem], I definitely want to help and I recognise that I'm in a much better position than they are. I probably wouldn't describe myself as compassionate but that's probably just me being a bloke. (Doug)

Some interviewees, however, were clearly uncomfortable with the idea of compassion. For example, Joseph felt that compassion was patronising, challenging the ideals of equality. Others, who were concerned that

compassion could be seen as a derogatory term, highlighted the importance of compassion being empowering:

The one that stands out for me straight away is compassion ... when I think of our staff, certainly the front-line staff ... Compassion, but not in a, derogatory's not the right word, very much around empowerment to compassion and what they can do to make it better for that individual.
(Andrew)

Others, meanwhile, emphasised the need for compassion to be linked to action and to be focussed on actually addressing problems:

Whenever I've travelled to places where we're working and met the children and also met the workers working with them ... then you know some of the family backgrounds that the children have come from and meeting people who've really suffered some terrible things. So that kind of thing generates a motivating compassion for those individuals and then also to see things changed. (Anna)

I think it almost feels a little bit surface and a little a bit wishy-washy, because I think compassion can move people and you hear a sad story and you can cry for it but I think, sure they don't need your [tears]. I mean, they need your tears if it's going to move you to do something ... So compassion just feels like, ok, so I had an emotional reaction, but emotional reactions without anything else are slightly meaningless to me.
(Helen)

However, many of those who challenged the idea of compassion clearly still demonstrated concern for others and a desire to improve situations. Even Joseph with his strong view that compassion was patronising, had a

concern for the equal treatment of others and did not want to see other people being taken advantage of. In a similar vein, those who emphasised a need for action and empowerment were doing so in order to improve the situations of others. In essence, therefore, they were also demonstrating compassion. Consequently, where interviewees challenged compassion, it was more a case of concerns with the label rather than the substance of what compassion entailed. Other interviewees, as has been seen, had no such problem with the concept and wholeheartedly ascribed to the *Compassion* dimension.

Self-Sacrifice

This final PSM dimension is where an individual is willing to substitute their own 'tangible personal rewards' with serving others (Perry, 1996:7). It involves making sacrifices for the benefit of the poor or wider society (Kim *et al.*, 2013:92). In the interviews the *Self-Sacrifice* dimension was the only dimension in which there was a significant divergence of opinion.

Amongst those who agreed that they were making sacrifices in their work, the areas of sacrifice that were acknowledged included remuneration, career and reputation, health, and the time they spent volunteering outside of work. Regarding remuneration, a number of individuals talked about the low salary they received in working for their employer, and about the drop they had taken when moving from previous (private sector) employers:

Thinking about it, [it] was a hell of a drop because it was about seven grand then, and that was a lot of money. (Amy)

Others had started working in their charity voluntarily, in some cases funding their own salaries to start with, or even continuing to do so now:

So I just thought I'll start helping out a bit, and then helping out a bit a few days a week led to starting full time. You know, I just didn't want to be doing anything else ... but at that time ... it was just a vision, we didn't have any funding so the first year I lived off an insurance payout I'd had. (Anna)

Additionally, there were those who described how they were giving their time to their employers by participating in organisational activities in a voluntary capacity, such as helping to run sponsored events or events that were put on for the beneficiaries of the charity.

Some interviewees did, however, highlight differences between types of employees, in making sacrifices in terms of salaries, particularly focussing on the fact that those in more managerial or leadership positions were making greater sacrifices than those lower down the organisational hierarchy:

I'm earning significantly less than I would in a similar sized private sector organisation ... so are most of my people in HR, most of the people in marketing, most of the people in finance, except when you come to the more junior positions – they are as well paid, if not better paid in some cases, so it varies. (Paul)

The lack of benefits were also highlighted by some interviewees, though with the awareness (as in the case of Elisabeth below) that this was comparable to other similar sized charities:

You know we don't have any perks or pension or benefits attached to work. Certainly you could get more in other charities doing the same thing.
(Elisabeth)

As well as remuneration, another element of the discussion regarding sacrifices was that of career and reputation. Some of those interviewed were clearly at a point where they were realising the personal significance of what they had sacrificed in choosing to work in voluntary sector organisations. Much of this was focussed on the issue of long-term financial security, although, as can be seen in the quotation below, there was also an emphasis on how hard and draining the actual work was:

I've just realised how little money I earn ... I think partly that's just getting older and feeling maybe more conscious of security and stuff like that ... I think also people constantly saying 'oh that must be so rewarding' and then feeling well, actually, there's no financial reward and there are days when it's really hard ... Surely if I'm not getting any money I should be rewarded by this warm fuzzy feeling [but] what about the days when I don't have that and it's just hard work and ... sometimes I just feel deceived or lied to or tired. (Susanna)

Other interviewees talked quite openly about *Self-Sacrifice* in terms of how they had moved from safe, secure jobs (or had never entered the expected job path), sacrificing their career and, to some extent, a reputation in making these choices:

I'd been promoted [in the public sector] and then six months later left to join [the charity] which, for my family, was the height of folly. You know I was

[previously] in a safe job, could have been there for forty years, [and] retired at sixty. (James)

It came with a lot of feelings of insecurity, because ... all my university colleagues were getting jobs in banks and I'd be telling people what I was doing and they'd be looking at me really strangely, like, you've got a university degree, what the heck are you doing volunteering. (Anna)

Interviewees further talked about how their work had led to physical or health-related self-sacrifice. A number of interviewees described being exhausted, while Jennifer described how she had been 'masochistic' with her health in the way she had worked in a previous charity. Some of the negative impact on health was related to the intensity of the work and the issues that were being dealt with, whereas for others it was mainly around long work hours:

Some people are working all hours and to the detriment of themselves and their health ... I've kind of willingly self-sacrificed generally, in terms of hours, but also sacrificed my health a number of times, so perhaps not wise sacrificial giving. (Elisabeth)

However, as mentioned above, a number of those interviewed did not think that they were making sacrifices in working for their voluntary sector employers. For example, some felt that they were being paid well with competitive salaries:

I've never really felt like it's been a major sacrifice to work for a charity. I think charity workers tend to get paid pretty well. I've never not worked for a charity so it's difficult to tell. Maybe I'm missing out on a huge amount of

salary and benefits, than if I was working in the business sector. But I doubt it, because in a lot of the charities I've worked for it's all very competitive as much as it is anywhere else in terms of benefits and stuff. (Samuel)

Other interviewees placed an emphasis on what they were receiving and gaining from their voluntary sector employment, such as flexible working opportunities and a job that they enjoyed with pleasant colleagues:

I had to take a pay cut but also I think there was the fact that they would allow flexible working to enable me to do childcare; that was quite important. (Mark)

I'm so lucky, so privileged to have this job. (Emma)

You learn very quickly that money isn't happiness and actually I'd rather do a job that I enjoy even most of the time, if not all the time, in a place that I'm comfortable and have friends, rather than earn more money but hate every minute of the day. (Kathryn)

Many of those interviewed also noted that the decision to work in the voluntary sector was something they had personally chosen to do:

I don't feel like I'm sacrificing, I feel like that's just a choice ... and I've weighed up the options and for me I'd rather be happy with a more simple life than rich, but dissatisfied life. (Kathryn)

You know your accountants etc. could probably go off and get a much higher salary for their qualification but have chosen not to because they want to work in this sector. (Jill)

As can be seen in some of the quotations already highlighted, the perspective of individuals was key when talking about sacrificial behaviour. Even though many interviewees talked about the material things they had forfeited in choosing to work in the voluntary sector, they simply did not see this as a sacrifice:

I don't feel that I've sacrificed anything to work here. Because I haven't, apart from a few hundred pounds on a salary when I first came here.
(Olivia)

The salary drop described by Olivia was, in fact, 'about £500', a significant percentage of salary for someone in the role that she was in.

Others, such as Joseph, described himself as content, but could recognise that others with a different world view may see that he had given up things, such as a big salary and a certain way of life. However, this was just simply not important in his world view. As Ellen similarly highlighted, someone cannot sacrifice something that they do not want:

I don't identify with [self-sacrifice]. I kind of recognise that I probably could have taken a career path that might have been more lucrative by now, but I've never wanted to so it doesn't feel like I've sacrificed anything by not going down that route. I think you can only say that you are being self-sacrificial if you have given up something you actually wanted in the first place. (Ellen)

Others described the irrelevance for them of the idea of making sacrifices, so in the following quotation, although Robert argued he could be earning

more elsewhere, he was financially comfortable, and so the idea of sacrifice was not important:

It's nice to be both doing good stuff but I think with both [my wife] and I working, and with other things financially, our position is that we're not really making any sacrifice really. We could earn more I suppose, I could earn more elsewhere ... but I wouldn't want you to think I'm making a huge sacrifice. (Robert)

Perspective was also informed by whom the interviewee was making comparisons with:

My motivation for working for a charity in the first place was from an experience of living with people who were living in poverty really, and living alongside them and coming back [from overseas] and thinking, 'Right what am I going to spend my life doing?' and so in comparison to those people I'm not being self-sacrificial at all. (Samuel)

Overall, the key thing for many of these individuals was doing something that they believed in and that, because of this belief, gave them satisfaction:

I never think about it as self-sacrifice. I think about the importance of doing something that you're committed to and that you're happy in doing. (Barbara)

As the evidence shows, the *Self-Sacrifice* dimension is applicable for interviewees, however some very complex views were expressed. Sacrifices included remuneration, career and reputation, health, and

volunteering time outside of work. Those who did not see themselves as making sacrifices argued that they received good benefits and a job that they enjoyed, while highlighting elements of choice in their decision to follow their career paths. The different perspectives of interviewees was particularly apparent in the discussion of this value; while interviewees may have acknowledged that they were forgoing salary levels or another benefit, many also highlighted the subjective interpretation of 'sacrifice', clearly stating that they did not see such behaviour and choices as sacrificial.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore the relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees. It pursued this by examining, firstly, whether interviewees were driven by a desire to contribute to society and, secondly, through exploring the four PSM dimensions amongst interviewees. As has been shown, the voluntary sector employees interviewed were indeed driven by a desire to serve others in society. Furthermore, the exploration of the possible manifestation of the four PSM dimensions amongst the interviewees showed support for all four dimensions.

Interviewees overwhelmingly exhibited an *Attraction to Public Participation*, including values about getting involved and engaging with society, the importance of contributing practical responses to problems, and the sense of responsibility they felt towards society. *Commitment to Public Values* was also a dimension that interviewees generally endorsed, demonstrating values around accountability, equality, and use of resources. The *Compassion* and *Self-Sacrifice* dimensions similarly received support but in a more qualified way. While some employees described themselves as

having *Compassion*, others were wary of this terminology, explaining that compassion had to be empowering and involve action for it to be valuable. Despite these divergent opinions, it was argued that the disagreements were due more to issues with the label rather than the substance of compassion. The discussion of *Self-Sacrifice* produced contradictory reactions; while some saw that they were making sacrifices such as in the areas of salary, career, and reputation, others viewed their work as a choice and argued that they could not sacrifice something that they did not want, indicating the subjective nature of sacrifice.

Therefore, based on the general motivation of voluntary sector employees interviewed and the specific dimensions of PSM exhibited by them, it is possible to say that PSM theory is generally relevant for voluntary sector employees. Interviewees wanted to make a difference through their work, helping others and contributing to society, all important elements in PSM. The support for the four dimensions, despite some cautionary notes, particularly regarding *Self-Sacrifice*, reinforces the relevance of PSM for these employees. In the next chapter the focus turns to the development of these values, and particularly, an examination of whether explanations in PSM theory provide an adequate framework.

Chapter 6

The Development of Values and PSM Theory

In the previous chapter the relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees was examined, firstly, by exploring broadly whether the interviewees were driven by a desire to serve the interests of others in society and, secondly, by examining the four dimensions of PSM. It was shown that in consideration of these aspects, PSM theory is able to explain the attitudes and motivations of voluntary sector employees. In this chapter this view is developed through an exploration of the antecedents and development processes of these motivations amongst voluntary sector employees (research question 2).

To recap from the literature review, previous research has shown the antecedents of PSM to include sociodemographics, such as gender, age, and family life cycle (e.g. Bright, 2005; Camilleri, 2006; Vandenabeele, 2011). The process theory of PSM, in fact, also highlights the importance of institutions, as Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) argue that public values are transmitted by institutions. The theories that they draw on to explain this value transmission include socialisation, social identification, cultural (with its emphasis on social relationships), and social learning theories. These values are then incorporated into one's identity and enacted. Institutional influences that have been shown to be important in transmitting values to individuals include pre-organisational entry antecedents such as family and religion (Perry, 1997; Perry *et al.*, 2008). Pre-organisational antecedents are those that are present prior to an individual deciding to work in the voluntary sector.

PSM research also suggests that the employing organisation has a role in developing PSM, for example, through colleagues (Vandenabeele, 2011), or reducing it, for example, through red tape and bureaucracy (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). Although research in this key area is fairly limited, particularly in linking the process theory with organisations, it would seem reasonable to argue that such organisations have a role as 'institutions' in transmitting values and attitudes. According to the process theory there are also self-regulation processes at work in enacting identities, though there has been limited investigation of this aspect of the theory, even in the public sector. The chapter firstly looks at pre-organisational antecedents and then secondly, at organisational antecedents.

Pre-Organisational Antecedents

This section focuses on the antecedents that are present prior to an individual deciding to work in the voluntary sector, and attention is particularly paid to a variety of sources of institutional influences, including the family, religion, education, and voluntary experience within charities.

The Family

The family was the main institution that interviewees described as being important in terms of their own work motivations and related values. The first element of the family that was discussed by interviewees was their upbringing. Here they highlighted things that they experienced or witnessed as children.

Amy, who held strong environmental values, talked about how her interest in the environment began while a child – the countryside was important to her family and she spent lots of time during school holidays outside:

My childhood was very important ... because of the whole nature connection and ... being encouraged to never sit around the house and be able to go out and be in the moors, and connect with nature, and work with farm people and things. (Amy)

In the case of Oliver, attention was drawn to the way in which political issues were regularly discussed:

Both of [my parents] are old school Labour and both are pretty intellectual in the sense that we would always discuss those things around the dinner table all the time. (Oliver)

Interviewees also referenced parental behaviours that were formative for them. Some parents, such as Anna's father who worked in the private sector, were described as being generous to charities. Other interviewees described witnessing their parents demonstrating a caring and welcoming attitude:

I think it was modelled to me as a child to care for people and to be compassionate and part of your community. (Kathryn)

My parents were quite good at people on the margins, like being with people on the margins [and] including them ... and so I think that probably influenced me and so I'm good with people on the margins. They don't

intimidate me or scare me, sometimes baffle me ... so that probably influenced my ability to relate. (Helen)

In Samuel's case, he saw his parents having a very equal relationship and he then developed some very strong attitudes around equality himself:

My parents were pretty equal in terms of their relationship and they both worked and all of that ... I wasn't brought up in a place where it felt particularly unequal, everyone kind of mucked in, did stuff. (Samuel)

Secondly, parents' work, both paid and unpaid, was an important way in which the family demonstrated and transmitted values. Joseph talked about his father being a vicar, and his mother, a librarian, and explained how working in the community was very important to them, and subsequently to him personally. This was echoed by others, including Maria:

My mum is a nurse and ... so I've grown up with a sense of serving people and feeding back to society in that way. (Maria)

Various others reported how their parents had been involved in charities as volunteers:

Around their work they would do extra, so my dad would volunteer to go and be a doctor at Glastonbury or go abroad and support doctors in other countries ... and Mum volunteered to teach kids and, as well as being a teacher, mum did loads of volunteering, was a youth worker, and worked with kids with disabilities when she was younger. (Oliver)

Following on from this, some interviewees explained that their parents had an expectation that they themselves (the interviewees) would do something worthwhile in their work. Those who discussed these expectations were very conscious of their parents' views and some described feeling a sense of pressure from their parents in their decision-making:

I think it probably came from my mum who was very strong and she really thought that you should do something to help people ... So there was always that sort of feeling, spoken or unspoken, that actually you need to do something worthwhile, something to help people. (Patricia)

They both have a real value in doing things that have thinking behind them and ... I never hear my mum saying, I'm doing these [voluntary] things because I want to make good use of my time, it's just what they do, it's what people do. You make sure you fill your time with something good. I think probably, if I had chosen to go down a different route, I might have found it quite hard to account to them for doing things which were more just to make money from. (Ellen)

In addition to family, some interviewees talked about the importance of friends or other people in the development of their values and motivations. Becoming more aware of opportunities in charities through friends was important for some, as was a developing awareness of issues that the charities worked to address. Seeing other people committing their lives to work in the voluntary sector could also be an inspiration. For example, Jill talked about developing a 'growing understanding' of the fact that there were committed people with a religious faith who were volunteering and how this had inspired her. In Jennifer's case, she highlighted her experience overseas:

Living with Pastor Stephen who'd started this school and he was just literally giving his life to meet the needs of these kids, and he lived with such a sense of purpose and vision and then working beside him and getting to know those children. I thought I could do this for the rest of my life, absolutely, so I came back pretty fired up. (Jennifer)

While Jennifer was clearly already doing something voluntary, this experience of seeing someone else giving in this way was clearly significant for her.

Finally, however, there were some among those interviewed who were very clear that there was no link between their desire to work in the voluntary sector and their parents or family. Robert described his own childhood as 'narrow' while Sophie highlighted how she had taken a completely different path to her family:

My mum and dad are, my whole family are, entrepreneurs. They are self-employed or they're designers, arty designers, but again self-employed. So I didn't get any notion of working for the charity sector from my parents or from my childhood. Didn't know anyone in my childhood that worked for a charity ... That didn't come from any one of the significant adults in my life when I was a child. (Sophie)

In summary, it is clear that the family was, for many interviewees, an important *institution* where values and attitudes were transmitted. This included elements of their upbringing, the work and volunteering that they saw their parents' doing, and parental expectations. Friends and acquaintances were also significant for some interviewees in the decisions that they made about their work. However, it is important to note that there

were some interviewees for whom the family was not relevant in their development of PSM related motivations and values.

Religion

Religion or faith was important to a number of the voluntary sector employees interviewed, an antecedent that has been acknowledged within the PSM literature. Some interviewees described how their faith generally underpinned their values and preferences in terms of work:

The value stuff comes from a faith perspective. (Helen)

My faith is really important, I guess it's where everything's stemmed from and why I maybe wanted to give back to society, and from that point things like ethics and equality have developed and have become stronger beliefs.

(Maria)

Key values were highlighted as coming from their religion, such as relating to others and the world, or participating in society:

You immediately have some views there on how you should behave towards other people, on how you should relate to the resources that you have at your disposal or have some sort of control over, whether those are ones you own yourself or the natural environment around you or whatever it might be. (Joseph)

It's definitely a value to participate because I see it in the way Jesus lived and I think that's what God means when he says 'come and join in with what I'm doing'. I think he actually wants me to join in rather than say 'I'm going to join in' and then not do anything about it. (Helen)

Community values and caring for others were similarly seen to stem from interviewees' religions:

Our religion probably had a lot to do with [caring] as well, so our cultural background is about community and about looking after the community and looking after your family, so the caring side of that is kind of central to our religion or our religious beliefs. (Isabel)

I grew up in a Christian home and it's second nature to open up your home and have people in, and to be part of community and build community in your home, and be generous with possessions and money and so on, and if that's modelled to you, you don't really question it, you just assume that's how you live. (Kathryn)

Helping other people is a key part of what the Christian faith is about and reaching out to people is vital. (James)

Other beliefs within religions were also important, for example, in the quote below, Ellen explains how the view of equality in the Christian religion has impacted her:

It feels like the bedrock of having faith, [it] just means that you have a view of how the world works and I suppose I believe that fundamentally there is absolutely no difference between me and somebody else. So there should be no reason that someone else doesn't have the opportunities that I do and it puts a burden on me to look at how to address that. (Ellen)

Some Christian interviewees more specifically quoted Bible passages that had particular significance for them:

I'd been very convicted or exhorted or motivated by what the Bible says about [helping people less fortunate]. So, in the Psalms, it talks about God is the father putting the needy in families or the fatherless in families ... and then Jesus' exhortations to sell your possessions and give to the poor, and that was very important to me at the time. (Anna)

In another example, Helen described how she was questioning the injustice that she had seen having worked in an orphanage, and explained how she felt that a specific Bible verse was given to her by God. The verse, from the book of Proverbs 31:8-9, says, 'speak out for those who cannot speak for themselves, defend the rights of the needy and the poor', and this then prompted her to find a job in a voluntary organisation.

However, while some interviewees clearly linked their faith to their motivation to do something worthwhile, others believed that they would have had these values and motivations regardless of their faith. This suggests that for some of those interviewees who had a faith, their motivations were more innate or were the result of other factors.

I would say religion maybe ... gives me some of those values but I think I would have them even if I wasn't a Christian. (Jennifer)

So even if the faith hadn't been there, I think I would have gone into some kind of profession like this, maybe charity work or voluntary sector type stuff anyway. (Anna)

Notwithstanding such views, overall, many of those interviewed explained how there was a clear link between their values and motivations and their religion. As with the findings related to the family, this endorses the

relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees. Elements of importance in the religion antecedent included values of the religion, such as community values and equality, and specific Bible verses that held particular significance.

Education

While previous research regarding antecedents has shown education *level* to be linked to the development of PSM (Perry 1997; Naff and Crum, 1999; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Leisink and Steijn, 2009), the role of education as an *institution* in the development of PSM has not been examined. Those interviewed did, however, at times point to its relevance in this regard.

For some interviewees, a range of issues were highlighted through their time in education. For Anna, throughout her time at secondary school, global issues were being raised:

In terms of teachers, I just had really amazing geography teachers and at school we had, running up to GCSE, Social Education ... [which] included all sorts of things like sex education and government and that sort of thing, but there was quite a strong emphasis on issues of justice and that kind of thing, and then for 6th form my geography teacher was very much about that and was about climate change and some quite big issues, and I think I was really caught up in all of that. (Anna)

University courses were clearly important; Elisabeth's international interest started while doing her geography degree:

I don't really think my international interest developed until I was at university doing my geography degree. I think that's probably where it started. (Elisabeth)

Olivia learnt about health care during university studies which impacted her and helped her to see the importance of the work she would later be involved in. For Ben, it was a media degree that helped him to develop a broad awareness of the world:

As time went on I became concerned with the world to some extent and what was happening with it. Doing a media degree as well you need to be plugged into stuff and just talking to people I suppose, and just that whole trying to work things out to some extent – trying to work things out was the seed of all of that. (Ben)

The emphasis by educational institutions on developing a wider awareness can also be seen in the quote below from Barbara:

The school I went to was very focussed on you, as an individual, developing, and about the community. (Barbara)

While clearly not as significant as the family or religion, education was still an important institution for some in the development of their PSM values; both secondary school and university education helped raise and develop awareness of issues in society, an important aspect of PSM values described in the previous chapter.

Volunteering

Following on from the institutions of family, religion and education, a fourth element which was important for some interviewees in the development of PSM values was that of volunteering within charities. Although this has not been examined in PSM research, the fact that volunteering takes place within an organisation means that it can also be considered an institutional antecedent. In particular, interviewees argued that volunteering was an antecedent to paid employment in the sector, and so clearly had significance for these individuals.

Some interviewees volunteered while still children, or in education:

When I was 12 I was in the Red Cross as a volunteer, the cadets, and I went swimming through the Red Cross with disabled children ... and I just really loved doing that and ever since then I've thought I really want to work with disabled children. (Eve)

I was welfare officer of my uni so that's where a lot of my experience [comes from], I suppose, and where I realised I wanted to do this kind of thing. So that was being there for sexual health needs, mental health needs, finance, and just a bit of a calling point for young students. (Joanne)

In the cases quoted above, both Eve and Joanne subsequently worked in areas directly related to their voluntary work, Eve with disabled children and Joanne with young people.

One of the key elements of volunteering as an antecedent, was the way it helped interviewees develop an awareness of issues in society as well as developing values such as compassion:

As part of the girl guides [I] volunteered in a [home for disabled people] ... Sometimes it was just chatting to people, sometimes it was taking them cups of tea, sometimes it was emptying a bed pan. It was hard because at that age I think I was quite afraid of people who looked different to me, so a lot of them had disabilities or were actually quite ill and I found it really difficult ... So I could easily have shied away from it, but it felt important to do it and maybe instilled some kind of compassion and the importance of relating to people who are very different or struggling. (Anna)

In a similar way, James, as an adult, volunteered to visit young men in a Youth Custody Centre and this led to him fostering children in the care system, and, longer term, to working in a charity for young people.

Volunteering was also reported to have led to a realisation of the opportunities for a career in the voluntary sector (since this appeared to be an option that was unclear for some), as well as leading to particular opportunities through gaining relevant experience:

I started volunteering in my final year [at university] and I think one of the big problems is ... careers advice in this country. I like to think I'm pretty switched on and I was interested in what options [there] were and I knew I wanted to work with people in some way, but I got half way through university and I was looking at doing a social work masters because I just didn't really know what was out there. I only really knew about the capital letter careers, so in terms of the people based stuff, [jobs] like teachers

and social workers, and I knew there were charities but no one had really connected those dots for me. (Oliver)

So I had five years doing all sorts of different things in my own community, doing a lot of work with [an international charity] as a, what I now call a, voluntourist, raising money for particular programmes and then going out there to work for a couple of weeks to work on the programmes, which I think was certainly an element in me getting this job, having done quite a lot of work there as a volunteer, so I kind of knew what I was talking about when I came here. (Margaret)

In short, it can be seen that volunteering in charities was an important antecedent for some, as interviewees who had volunteered, either as children or adults, developed an awareness of issues in society, as well as an awareness of the potential that there was for a career in the voluntary sector.

Organisational Antecedents

Having discussed motivational antecedents present prior to an individual deciding to work in the voluntary sector, and in order to continue examining the relevance of PSM theory to voluntary sector employees, this section examines what occurs within a voluntary sector organisation (as an institution itself) that might initiate and develop PSM values. It is important to note that while the organisation has been seen as a place where PSM values can develop and be enacted, the research into detailed elements within this has been limited. Two key themes related to antecedents *within* the organisation are discussed: firstly, knowledge and awareness, and secondly, colleague interaction and support. Following this, other

organisational experiences that are related to interviewees' behaviour are explored.

Knowledge and Awareness

Learning about their employer's work and the issues that the charity attempts to address, developing an awareness of the impact of its work, and being able to see a connection between their own work and that of the organisation, were all elements that were mentioned by interviewees as influencing the development of their motivation. Interestingly, for some, this learning certainly developed new understandings and motivation not previously present, whereas for others it reshaped or reinforced attitudes that they held already.

Learning About the Organisation's Work

The first aspect of knowledge and awareness that was important was learning about the organisation's work. This included learning about the issues and challenges that people face, and this clearly affected a number of interviewees:

I was oblivious about what goes on until I started, and I think it's important that people are aware of the level of deprivation and difficulties young people have. (Joanne)

As I got into it, seeing how messed up the kids are just around this area [it] made me realise that more work needs to be done. So that's given me more of a boost and some energy to carry on. (John)

You hear horrible stuff, like you really hear and you just see really bad things happening ... I know people who are destitute and I know people

whose lives are so precarious and that kind of motivates me more than it ever used to, to want to see change. (Susanna)

Learning about the particular organisation's work and vision was another source of influence:

Since I've been here I've learnt more about charitable work and I've learnt more about how things happen and what's involved, and how important it is to raise the money, and it's not just confined to our fundraising department, everybody helps. (Emma)

I understand and continue to learn more about what the organisation's doing and how beneficial it is, that even though perhaps we can't move as quickly as I would want or I would expect, it is moving in the right direction, we're doing very worthwhile work. (Doug)

Interviewees explicitly stated how learning about the work of the organisation directly led to an increased desire to continue to provide help and support.

[A belief in the importance of addressing others' needs is] more so now, it's crept in because you don't realise you haven't, if you're not exposed to it in your job and your life you don't think about it, but here you do hear about things and you do have more exposure to things and you do naturally learn and understand more and have more concerns than you would had you not been here and not heard about the things that are happening and going on. (Emma)

I would say it's deepened probably. I think the more you understand and the more you connect ... the more what you're doing makes sense. (Amy)

A particularly important way in which learning took place regarding the challenges faced by others and the work of the organisation was through seeing the front-line work for themselves and actually interacting with clients:

Since I've been working in [this charity] then you do learn more, you get to know the faces of the actual situations, there's more of a personal touch to it, so it strengthens the actual desire and need and want to actually stay working in the development sector. (Chloe)

Whenever I've travelled to places where we're working and met the children and also met the workers working with them you feel very motivated in those sort of situations. You know that's been incredibly motivating to spend time and realise the sacrifices that people have made to work with the children and the difference that they're making. Then you know some of the family backgrounds that the children have come from, and meeting people who've really suffered some terrible things, so that kind of thing generates a motivating compassion for those individuals and then also to see things changed. (Anna)

Part of the reason why this was so important was that meeting individual clients and beneficiaries reminded people why they were doing what they were doing. In some cases the interaction appeared to have ensured individuals stayed motivated, rather than increasing their motivation:

I mean people say it time and time again, if you're getting stressed or disillusioned then just go and visit a project and go and see the work that we're doing with young people and it's true, it's all you need ... It's massively important because things become abstract so quickly. (Oliver)

I'll just chat to a young person and suddenly go, my gosh I just have the most amazing job I can't believe ... they pay me anything to [do it]. At one level I need to remember why I'm doing it. (Susanna)

In addition to client interaction as a method of learning about issues and the organisation's work, there were a number of formal learning opportunities available in many cases (though not all organisations were so intentional in providing these). These included talks for employees (from experts in the area of work or from people working on the front line), stories and videos on email or the organisational intranet, and formal induction processes.

The lunchtime talks are particularly good because we have external experts coming in and sharing amazing insights with us. (Ben)

What really inspires people is either people visiting or we're now making a lot more use of ... videos. We're using our intranet to say watch this five minute film about our ... work. All of those things really re-motivate people all of the time. (Margaret)

We have a six month induction process and within that period of time staff are expected to be sent to at least three other projects just to spend a day but you know they'll go off and it'll be worked out what's best for that person. They might go off up to [another city] to see a similar project there, and how that operates and so on. So it helps people see the wider organisation rather than, oh this is my project and everyone else isn't important. (Jill)

Engaging with the learning opportunities personally was also necessary, although as can be seen in the second quote below, this did not always happen due to a lack of perceived relevance:

I think you can learn as much or as little as you want. I notice that some people just don't bother to engage. They just quietly do their job and get on with it and that's fine ... Others will be interested and want to sit down, they'll want to take time at lunchtime, they will want to chew over things, they will want to be really involved. (Amy)

Yes, there are lots of communications around. We have letters from the international director where she's trying to inform us what is happening and where she travelled ... and there are lots of bulletins, leaflets, there is lots of stuff but I must admit that I don't read those because they are not directly related to my job and I don't read them because that's a waste of my time. (Laura)

The Impact of the Organisation's Work

It was not enough to know about the work that the organisation does to address issues in society, hearing about the actual impact and change brought about by its work was also necessary:

What's ... difficult is to keep people motivated whose jobs are kind of three or four layers back ... so what we find is that we have to keep bringing messages in so whenever we've got visitors from our programme offices we tend to have a lunch hour presentation so we can all come and see and hear first hand from somebody what we're doing [overseas] and that tends to give people an extra surge of, oh it is worthwhile. I think people do need those constant, real examples of how a human being or a particular community has been significantly, positively impacted by what we're doing. (Margaret)

It's motivating hearing stories back as well about what your particular charity is achieving. (Elisabeth)

The reports back from people who do [travel are important]. So [my boss] basically in tears because of the amazing things that he sees happening [in our work] and the children's lives that have been changed and him writing just amazing treatises ... That kind of thing, that's really motivating.
(Anna)

Clearly, for some, personally seeing the impact of the work first-hand and hearing from people who had been helped was also very important in boosting motivation:

So recently [in] my work we did a retreat day ... and that ... was one of the most satisfying days because I saw people, lights go on and things happen for people who just came away really fired up and excited about it, and they were excited about it for different reasons and different experiences had happened for them. (Samuel)

I've been to a couple of [youth events] and I can read about it and see the pictures but to actually be there ... to actually see it in practice is quite different and I think that's a luxury front-line staff have. They may not see it as a luxury but I think back-office functions don't really get that. (Andrew)

As soon as people know you work here they want to tell you their tale, they want to tell you their story, what happened and I remember once [seeing a lady whose husband we'd cared for and I] listened to her tell me what had happened to him and ... she wanted me to know how important the [charity] had been to her and her family in that time and not just the nursing staff you know, from the housekeeping staff, the caterers, everybody, how important it was to her. (Olivia)

As was seen above, regarding methods of learning about the issues and the work of the organisation, individuals heard about the impact of the work through internal communications, the sharing of stories, and contact with clients/beneficiaries, as well as participating in front-line work through induction processes.

Connection to the Vision

A third aspect of how knowledge and awareness of the organisation's work affected motivation was by individuals seeing a clear link between their own work and the work of the organisation, feeling connected to the vision, even if they were not front-line workers (as in the case of Lucy and Doug below):

I do quite a lot of admin work [for the nurses] and ... I do feel that I'm making their life easier so in effect I feel that that does have a knock on effect to patients, because if I wasn't doing the things, they [the nurses] would have to be doing them ... So I do actually feel like I'm making quite a big contribution to the end product, which is to look after the patients in the best way that we can, by making sure that the ward have got all of the forms that they need, stocks and supplies of forms, and little things. If they can go and reach into a drawer and get a form that they need and then go and then deal with that patient, it's all part of it, so I feel that I do play quite a part, I have got a role that contributes. (Lucy)

I can see the connection between what I'm doing, setting up a database system, helping someone directly record their work with beneficiaries, or helping someone in another team with their fundraising effort. I can see the connection of how that money coming into the organisation will fund other work going on. So I'm not directly out there ... but I can see how what I'm doing is working towards that. (Doug)

Although for some interviewees, personal involvement in making a difference for the beneficiary was clearly still important:

If I lost the opportunity to do things that I felt made a difference, that would demotivate me. (Ben)

An important way in which individuals felt connected to the organisation's work was through opportunities to volunteer or help another team with a campaign or a fundraising event. These experiences were considered highly important and were appreciated by employees:

Certainly there is a common active encouragement ... for any member of staff ... to take part in an action or an event and their line manager would need to support them in doing that because it was seen as part of the business of the organisation, though it wasn't necessarily the function of the individual. (Amy)

I volunteer at quite a lot of the events ... going on at the weekends and things ... You know I don't give a huge amount of time but I try to get involved in several events throughout the year and that's really good because you get to talk to the public and get to hear their views and so that helps keep you focussed and focus on the fact that we're fundraising to keep things going and that's important. (Lucy)

In every event that we have ... and by event I mean every campaign, every venture, every staff meeting, every training course, every story telling event, everybody in the organisation based here is encouraged to join in and participate. So nobody that works for [this charity] would be able to say to you, well I don't know what's going on, I'm not a part of that, they've

never invited me, because that wouldn't be true, we are invited to participate, to volunteer, to join in. (Kim)

The reasons why the connection between one's own work and the work of the organisation was important for some were helpfully articulated by both Paul and James:

I think what helps to foster that [motivation] is people feel connected to what the organisation is trying to do so ... there needs to be that kind of connection across the organisation. (Paul)

It's absolutely vital [to see the link between what I do and the purpose of the charity]. It gives me relevance I believe, because the trouble with [working in operations] is you can do the finance, you can do the HR, you can get so bogged down with day to day detail ... [but] that's actually nothing to do with the kids at the end of the day, so I've got to always remind myself that and [why] I do what I'm doing, is about enabling [others] ... to do that. (James)

Additionally there were clearly problems when this connection was not experienced:

I think I felt I was disconnected from the real work that [the charity] is doing and that's not motivating at all. (Laura)

[The mission, the purpose of the organisation] gets talked about a lot more at the senior levels rather than the more middle management to junior levels – I think that's one of my frustrations as well. We are coming to the end of a five year strategy programme now and apparently about to launch

a new five year strategy programme, but what exactly the relevance of that [is] to my work is less clear. (Doug)

If you're never connected to the heart of the organisation, if you never feel like you're making a difference then there's no point working for a charity ... I want to experience what it's like to be part of a campaign or to work in a homeless shelter or to know the lives of these young people and how you're making a difference, and you have to be plugged in to the blood stream, almost, of the organisation to be able to continue to feel like you are making a difference. (Maria)

The elements of knowledge and awareness described above appear, then, to show support for the socialisation processes that, according to the process theory of PSM, are argued to transmit values (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Again, this demonstrates the relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees in this regard.

Colleague Interaction and Support

Having looked at the importance of knowledge and awareness in value transmission, a second theme regarding organisational antecedents is that of colleague interaction and support. Discussion regarding this theme included being inspired by, and also working with, others.

Being Inspired by Others

Interviewees were inspired in a variety of ways by others in their employing organisations. This included their colleagues' motivation and the sacrifices they had made, as well as their performance.

Interviewees talked about the motivation and passion of their peers impacting them personally:

The motivation of my colleagues motivates me. (Kim)

I've mixed with people that are really passionate about the place. It does rub off on you, and you do start to care about the [charity] and it starts to become important to you, so I think that motivates me as well. (Lucy)

Additionally, leaders inspired various interviewees in a number of ways. This included giving talks to staff, taking part in amusing fundraising events, and getting to know staff:

The chief executive is very good, very charismatic, very keen to stand up in front of staff and lead and motivate, and will do whatever it takes to keep people motivated and moving forward. (Doug)

We've got an amazing chief executive who's quite new and is incredibly inspiring. He can stand up in front of a group of employees for an hour with no notes and he's like Obama in the way he speaks ... We have a monthly induction for new starters and [he] will come and do an hour session which didn't use to happen with the old chief executive and he'll just ad lib it and at the end you're like where do I sign, I'm in ... this is what we need to do and it's all hands to the pump, and there's that on a large scale. [But] also I sit next to his assistant and his office is behind me and so I see him every day and he's very humble and we'll talk about what he's been doing. (Oliver)

The sacrifices of colleagues clearly had a motivating effect on interviewees, while interacting with volunteers was inspiring, particularly due to the

sacrifices that they were making and the continued enthusiasm they displayed:

Whenever I've ... met the workers working with [the beneficiaries] I feel very motivated in those sort of situations, that's been incredibly motivating to spend time and realise the sacrifices that people have made to work with the children. (Anna)

[I had a] growing understanding that there is this wide group of people who all have quite a strong faith and are all so committed. It's the non-selfish way of working, of wanting to help somebody just for doing that act which I think is quite an empowering thing ... It was just that realisation that, wow, there is so much good work and goodness just flowing that was quite inspiring. (Jill)

The thing which invariably would give me a kick up the backside if I was feeling a bit discouraged would be talking to the volunteers ... I would hear from them what difference they were observing in the young people they were working with but also it's just incredibly humbling to hear people talking about it when I'm getting a salary and I'm getting the sort of career development of being in a good organisation, and they're doing it out of ... a giving of themselves. But time after time they'd be so glad to be doing it and so grateful to have the opportunity, and so that was really sustaining. (Ellen)

Similarly, the high level of job performance witnessed amongst peers inspired interviewees, driving them to do more:

I think in a big organisation the standard is high, it's full of really smart people at the top of their game ... [and] generally speaking everyone's

worked really hard to get those jobs and to keep them and it's like fifth gear and it kind of inspires you ... and you want to be good and it's like playing sport against people who are really good and it inspires you to do more.
(Oliver)

Working With Others

As well as being inspired by their peers in a variety of ways, interviewees explained how supporting each other and working together motivated them to keep doing the work that they were doing, despite challenges:

I think outside of any community, I think for any individual, whatever the motivation, in anything is hard, whether that's training to be an athlete, you don't do that on your own, you have people with you that help you and motivate you, and it's the same with this kind of stuff. In isolation it's difficult for anybody ... and so actually having a community of people that say yeah we're for you, we're in this together, when it gets tough we keep going, this is why we do what we do, I think [this organisation] does that really well. (Helen)

A particularly important element of working together was working with others who shared the same values:

The deal is we can't pay you very much, we haven't got very much to offer you [but] if you are passionate about what we're passionate about you will enjoy working here because you will be with like minded people ... We set out to find people who share our values and our beliefs about how to make the world a better place, and there are such a number of them that that does motivate, [it's] a kind of shared belief that we make a change.
(Margaret)

I think relationships are a big deal and they're based on some quite deep values because they're based on a common sense of call and vision and a common faith, even if personality wise we're quite different in a lot of ways and we've all had to work through that, you know the foundations of your relationship are quite strong because they're quite core to who all of us are. (Anna)

When you're with a community of people that believe in the same thing and you're encouraging one another I think it does help you to keep doing the giving of yourself thing. (Helen)

However, while interviewees were inspired by their colleagues and were motivated by working together with others, particularly those who shared their values, there was a very negative impact on their motivation from underperforming colleagues. This negative impact was caused both by simply working with others who didn't care, and by a lack of managing the underperformance on the part of management:

I went quite rosy-eyed thinking everyone's going to really want to feed back into society, everyone's going to be amazing and actually they weren't, that was not a place I'd want to work at again ... if your team don't care then it rubs off. (Maria)

There's nothing more demotivating than sitting beside somebody who's not doing any work and who isn't being held to account and when some people are so passionate about what they're trying to do [the fact that there were passengers] was actually really frustrating. (Margaret)

Opportunities for Interaction

Interviewees experienced interaction with, and support from, their colleagues in a variety of ways, both formal and informal. The formal opportunities for interaction that interviewees described included a wide variety of methods including induction visits to projects, email networks, peer-to-peer networks, and staff conferences. As Margaret highlighted in the quote below, enabling interaction between employees across the organisation between different levels and roles was really important for motivation:

[We have a programme] helping people make connections with other people in the organisation who are doing completely different things ... [and] that kind of thing is just incredibly motivating for [people] ... I think getting people involved and engaged and talking to each other is what motivates people here. It's that contact. (Margaret)

Informal networking opportunities were also important. These included social activities organised by employees themselves, as well as having lunch together or just talking to each other during the work day:

We're organising a big all staff barbecue so we can all get together and we can all catch up and we can all have a good laugh and things like that. (Emma)

I just learned a lot from just sitting at lunch with people in the dining room and getting to know people here and hearing their stories about how they came here and what they do ... so I've picked it up as I've gone along. (Lucy)

It has already been suggested that socialisation processes were reflected in the theme of knowledge and awareness explored above. In this section it appears that colleague interaction and support reflect the relevance of cultural learning processes (a theory that emphasises relationships) in the transmission of values (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). This therefore again supports the relevance of the PSM process theory in explaining the development of the motivations of voluntary sector employees.

Other Organisational Experiences

While the organisation was an institution that transmitted values to interviewees through knowledge and awareness as well as colleague interaction and support, there were also organisational experiences which, although clearly important in relation to interviewees' behaviour, were not specifically about the transmission of values. These experiences particularly concerned being treated significantly and experiencing public values within the organisation.

Being Treated as a Significant Individual

Being treated as a significant individual by their employer was incredibly important for many interviewees. Interviewees firstly discussed the importance of being valued:

The feedback that I get from my manager in terms of meetings with her, meetings with the senior nurses, so I feel when I hear things [like], oh well actually you did that really well or yeah you're doing a really good job, I feel ... I didn't realise I was, but I'm really glad you've said it because it does make me feel valued and actually [it] being said [that] you're a valuable

part of the team ... we couldn't do this without you, you then begin to feel, ok, what I do does matter. (Isabel)

Definitely being affirmed and validated often is amazing, and that happens so much here. We're so well cared for as staff. (Jennifer)

Elements of being valued that were particularly emphasised by interviewees were being both recognised and thanked for their work:

I think everybody needs encouragement from managers and to be thanked. (Mark)

Also just on a very human level, getting good feedback, knowing that what I'm doing is helping colleagues and meeting my manager's expectations. I think I recognise that I need that and would flounder quite quickly if it seemed like that wasn't there. You can only analyse your own work so far before you get into murky waters. (Ellen)

After I'd been here the first year, I remember, the end of our business year is the end of March and it ended and nobody from a senior position said anything. I was really surprised at that, that the year had ended and no one had acknowledged that something like three and a half million pounds had been brought in that year so I don't think the senior management are particularly brilliant at praising that way really. (Robert)

Indeed, where recognition did not happen, employees were demotivated and hurt, feeling taken for granted:

The organisational culture particularly assumed that you'd live and die for [the organisation] and I think that can hurt people, that can really

demotivate people if people are not valued for who they are and what they bring, their gifts and skills, and they're not nurtured to grow. (Anna)

In the theatre environment it's just assumed that you want to be there because it's a very particular thing, so you don't need feedback unless something's gone wrong which can be quite demotivational. (Ellen)

There was an assumption that you worked there for not very much money (because they didn't pay very well) and you would do everything and you would stay late and you would pick up the pieces and that you would do four different jobs at once and you would be happy about it, so that definitely knocked my idealism. (Maria)

This desire to be recognised and thanked was linked by some interviewees to the challenges that came with their jobs or the sacrifices that they were making in choosing to work in the voluntary sector:

It's a tough job [so] I think recognition [is important] as well. I don't want to be told I'm a hero everyday but recognising that we work long hours, a lot of overtime that isn't even thought of being paid. (Joanna)

Cultures in the charity sector can get a bit dysfunctional because there's angst around people not feeling that they're getting what they need because people aren't grateful. [They think] why am I doing this, I don't earn any money and nobody's thanking me. (Anna)

The relevance of being valued, recognised and appreciated becomes apparent when seeing the effect on interviewees of not experiencing these things in work. As can be seen in the quotes below, this could lead to people leaving the organisation. It can be seen particularly in what Maria

says in the second quote, namely that while this doesn't affect her belief in the cause or the work that the organisation does, it does affect her desire to work within the specific organisation:

About leaving ... [I'm] just tired of the worst of the client stuff, crisis managing, getting the flak for everything with very little positive. (Patricia)

I think it's important to value people in your organisation, having been somewhere that didn't value people. So I think if I am valued I would feel that it's important to feed back into society. I would never want to stay somewhere [where], although I passionately believe in the cause, I didn't feel that I was treated as if I was worth anything so that's what would make me want to stay, if I felt like my work was appreciated I think. (Maria)

In terms of being treated as a significant individual, as well as being valued and recognised, interviewees highlighted the importance of being listened to and involved in organisational decisions. Their focus was particularly on the frustrations that a lack of this brought, and as Margaret highlights, this also led to people leaving the organisation:

I feel I've got virtually no way of influencing decisions and, if I flag up problems, I often feel as if I'm just being a trouble maker which I find very frustrating. That's not the kind of person I am. You know, I want to find solutions, I want to identify problems, find solutions, get them fixed, move on to the next thing. (Doug)

I'm aware of a number of people who've left in absolute frustration at not being able to do what they think is the right thing because they haven't had strong support from their line manager or from the top leadership. So they can see what needs to be done and they just get knocked down ... That's

why people leave. They think why do I bother? I've put all this effort in, I know it's the right thing and nobody's listening, I might as well go ... There's huge motivation where people are actually respected for the knowledge and experience they've got and, contrary to that, great demotivation where people feel they're not being listened to. (Margaret)

In the case of Oliver, his experiences caused an indignant reaction and he subsequently left the organisation. For him, the issue was being taken for granted, as his boss challenged his desire to be involved in something he cared about:

One of the final straws in my last job was, [and] you rest on your laurels as an employer in this regard, I'd developed this role massively and it was unrecognisable from what it was when I took it on. I'd done some research into different payscales and I said my job should be at this level although I appreciate that we haven't got loads of money at the moment ... and my chief executive came back with the whole 'it's really tough out there and it's tough for us, and we're trying, and how about if you had an extra days holiday every year?' and 'well we're all lucky to have jobs and isn't it more important to do like something you care about?' And [I felt] how dare you come back at me like that, do you not think I'd have done something different if that was all I cared about? (Oliver)

Experiencing Public Values

Experiencing public values in their work was an important organisational experience for interviewees. The elements of public values that were particularly highlighted were those regarding accountability and transparency, equality and fairness, and trustworthy leadership.

A lack of accountability and transparency led individuals to become demotivated, and to leave the organisation for which they worked. For example, when Elisabeth found out that information she had been given about a project (which she then passed on to donors) was not completely true, she felt very demotivated by the lack of transparency. A perceived lack of integrity in a trustee body also led to Patricia avoiding promotion and subsequently leaving the organisation she worked for.

Similarly, interviewees described the negative effect of organisational practices that demonstrated a lack of equality and fairness:

Even though we do have all these policies in place, enforcing them isn't really done by senior management, and so that demoralises some of the values, not only of the organisation, but also of the purpose and the work that we are trying to do, because if we are fighting injustice then we need to be showing that we are doing it internally as well, and when that's not happening that gets me angry. So it's just one set of rules for one person then another for the other, then that gets me angry, really angry. (Chloe)

Little things like leaders not saying hello in the corridor has a deep significance which is actually quite hard to recover from. (Margaret)

Belief and trust in the organisational leadership was an important aspect of experiencing public values at work. This included a belief in the integrity of the leaders as well as the leadership being visible in the organisation:

Leaders have made bad choices, but overall they made some hard but really important choices based on a lot of integrity, and I think that really

definitely motivates me to keep [going] because I believe in my leaders.
(Helen)

I think, particularly in comparison to when I was at [a different charity] where the more senior staff there were very much more remote and [we] hardly ever saw them or never really heard them speak or anything, I think [here the senior leadership] do a lot to try and keep people motivated.
(Doug)

In fact, a lack of trust in the leadership of the charities in which they worked had led to a number of interviewees leaving previous jobs or considering leaving their current employers:

So one of the main reasons I left was because I lost faith in the leadership and thought that they were very manipulative and very controlling and became incredibly petty about things that just didn't matter and ... some things that I did were undermined, and I think once you've lost faith in the leadership you just can't really stay. (Maria)

Organisational Experiences and Self-Regulation

The fact that organisational experiences appeared to affect the behaviour of the interviewees, suggests some support for the self-regulation theories described in the PSM process theory (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Self-regulation argues that employees make choices about how and when to enact their identities; the process theory of PSM draws on four theories to explain self regulated behaviour: social cognitive theory, self-determination theory, predisposition-opportunity theory and goal setting theory. It should be noted that whilst much of this has been theorised in

PSM literature, up until now these processes have not been specifically examined through the experiences of employees in any sector.

In particular, self-determination theory addresses the importance of relatedness (a sense of belonging and attachment to others) as well as autonomy (the importance of not being taken for granted) in choosing to enact one's identity, and in relation to PSM theory, in choosing to enact public service motivated behaviour (Ryan and Deci, 2000; Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Self-determination therefore appears to be most relevant to explain why being treated as a significant individual affects the choice to enact one's motivation within an organisation. The social cognitive theory includes an emphasis on an alignment of the environment with internal standards in order for the identity to be enacted (Bandura, 1991; Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). It thus appears to be the most relevant theory to explain the importance for interviewees of the existence of public values within an organisation. The findings described above therefore suggest that this element of the PSM theory can be seen to be relevant to voluntary sector employees' motivation.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to continue to explore the relevance of PSM theory for voluntary sector employees. Having previously explored it through a consideration of their broad desire to serve others in society and an examination of the PSM dimensions, this chapter has gone on to examine the relevance of suggested motivational antecedents and organisational processes. According to PSM theory, it is developed through institutions, such as family and religion, transmitting values. It also suggests that individuals self-regulate how they enact their identities. What this

chapter has clearly shown is that institutions (including the employing organisation) were important antecedents of PSM for interviewees working in the voluntary sector and that self-regulation was at work amongst them.

The institutional antecedents discussed by interviewees included the family and religion, as well as newer elements such as education and volunteering. In the family, PSM type values developed through experiences and behaviour witnessed during their upbringing, the modelling of values through parents' work and volunteering, and parental expectations. Elements of religion that fostered the development of PSM included values that were seen to be important within the religion, and Bible verses that were quoted and described by various interviewees. The third institution covered was education where secondary school and university education helped raise and develop awareness of issues, as well as emphasising becoming a rounded individual. The fourth type of institution was charities where interviewees had volunteered, either as a child or an adult, and this again developed an awareness of issues amongst interviewees.

The employing organisation was also clearly an important institution in the development of PSM values as interviewees gained knowledge and awareness (socialisation), as well as experiencing colleague interaction and support (cultural theory). Three key elements contributed to knowledge and awareness development; these were learning about issues and the organisation's work including seeing the work for themselves, being aware of the impact of the organisation's work, for example, through hearing stories about organisational successes, and being able to link one's own work clearly with the work of the organisation. Additionally, aspects of

colleague interaction and support, including being inspired by colleagues' motivation and the sacrifices that they had made, as well as their performance, constituted other important sources of influence. It should also be noted that for many of the interviewees there was not just one antecedent; rather a combination of different antecedents were relevant.

Finally, experiences in the organisation appeared to affect how and where interviewees chose to perform their public service motivated actions. Being treated as a significant individual (self-determination theory) and experiencing public values within the organisation (social cognitive theory) were both important elements in this decision. Being treated as a significant individual involved being valued, recognised and thanked, as well as being listened to and not taken for granted, whilst an experience of public values in the organisation included accountability and transparency, equality and fairness, and trustworthy leadership. This, it can be argued, lends some support to the self-regulation element of the process theory (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008).

Following the explorations described in this chapter and the previous chapter, it is clear that PSM resonates with the experiences of voluntary sector employees. It is relevant, firstly, in the manifestation of PSM. Secondly, it is relevant in relation to the antecedents and process theory of PSM, which includes the organisation as an institution and the role of organisational experiences in self-regulation. In addition, it can be noted that existing PSM research is extended by the inclusion of elements of education and volunteering as antecedents, as well as the specific experiences described within the organisation (knowledge and awareness, colleague interaction and support, being treated as a significant individual,

and experiencing public values). However, PSM does not fully explain the motivations of voluntary sector employees and the following chapter therefore focuses on exploring this issue in more detail.

Chapter 7

The Limits of PSM Theory

Thus far PSM has been shown to be relevant to understanding the motivations of voluntary sector employees. The purpose of this chapter is to show that the motivation of voluntary sector employees and its development is broader in scope and more complex than PSM theory allows for. As such the adequacy of PSM as a theory that explains motivation in the voluntary sector is challenged. This is demonstrated initially by looking at the role played by *other* motivations and then by examining the antecedents and development of values.

Motivations and Values

The findings indicate two limitations when applying PSM and its dimensions to voluntary sector employees. Firstly, interviewees had other motivations (in addition to PSM) that are not accounted for in PSM and, indeed, some were not particularly concerned about working in the voluntary sector. Secondly, there were values and attitudes that were important as interviewees carried out public service motivated behaviour, but which are not covered in the current definition and dimensional explanation of PSM.

Non-Altruistic and Coexisting Motivations

In Chapter 5 it was demonstrated that interviewees' motivation was in line with PSM, which has been variously defined as 'a general altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind' (Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999), and 'the motivational force that induces individuals to perform meaningful public service (i.e.

public, community, and social service)' (Brewer and Selden, 1998:417). However, respondents often reflected upon attitudes and values that were not altruistic. For example, there were elements of self-interest that were clearly linked to their job in the voluntary sector, such as pride and reputation, as well as elements of personal need.

The first example of non-altruistic motivations that emerged in discussions with interviewees was that of feeling good and being recognised by others for their work in the voluntary sector. Individuals interviewed talked frankly about how working for organisations in the voluntary sector felt good and gave them a sense of pride:

People love to ask you what do you do don't [they] and it's nice to tell them that I work here. I never really liked to tell them what I did before [when I was in financial services]. Now I feel happier because you feel as if you're doing something that they're very impressed with. It feels as if you're showing off a bit but it feels good to tell them now because it's doing something good, it is doing something positive. (Robert)

I feel proud to say that I work for [this charity] ... so I think there's perhaps a slightly selfish part to it as well. (Doug)

For some interviewees this was clearly linked to their personal reputation; they had an attraction to work in a well-known and respected charity (local or national) and described how they liked the organisation to be recognised:

One of the important things for me has always been [that] I like working in organisations that are iconic or are recognised, have got big names to

them, so people know who you're working for, rather than I just work for a little charity that nobody knows what it is or it's difficult to explain. (Doug)

Obviously [this organisation] is quite a respected local charity where quite a lot of people would want to work, so it feels good to be working here. (Robert)

Not only was it important for some to be working in well-known charities, interviewees recognised that it could be seen to be cool and fashionable to be working for a voluntary organisation; although this might depend on the type of charity, as alluded to in the second quotation below:

The development sector's become fashionable, it has become fashionable to work in, and I think a lot of [people] are going into it because of that. (Chloe)

Having a lot of street cred among my friends ... going to work for a council wasn't going to do me any good, but working for a green NGO that's actually quite cool ... it's actually recognised as being a good thing to do. (Ben)

Some interviewees recognised the contradiction in gaining satisfaction from being employed in a sector where people are seen to be altruistic. This can be seen in the quotation above from Doug who felt proud working for the charity which employed him but which he saw as selfish. This awareness was echoed by many others:

I think part of that is selfish motivation. There's an issue there about how one feels about oneself and one's own happiness. (Joseph)

I do like the feeling that I'm giving something, but that in itself is quite a selfish thing because you're motivated by feeling good. (Kathryn)

I mean we all want to feel good about ourselves, don't we, and different things make different people feel good about themselves ... For me it was relationships and helping people. So it's not like I'm this amazingly altruistic person, it's that was what was important to me, it was important to feel like I was helping. (Anna)

The second element of non-altruistic motivations that emerged in discussions with interviewees was that of personal needs. Three specific 'needs' emerged; the 'need to be needed', a convenient job (this was a necessity for some), and career development.

For some interviewees there was a sense in which they wanted to be needed or liked, and working in a charity helped to satisfy this need within themselves:

I certainly know from personality analysis [that I have] a need to be liked or just seek approval. How that links in with needing to work for something that is seen as worthwhile – I'm sure that is an element. (Elisabeth)

I guess also I'm motivated by meeting needs which is a really interesting topic isn't it. I've recently really thought about that, like ... do I need to meet need? ... I think, honestly, that is something that for good and bad reasons motivates me, meeting needs. (Jennifer)

At a very basic level some interviewees talked about being motivated by the need for a job and a salary, while elements of convenience were also consistently important for those both with and without families:

I needed a job, I applied for it and got it. (Kim)

Well I have to earn a living. That motivates me. (Lucy)

I could walk back into this role after two maternity leaves ... and I'm not sure that I could apply for any job in any other organisation where I could just do one day a week [and] it works for me practically – it's within walking distance of where I live. (Anna)

I think there was the fact that they would allow flexible working to enable me to do childcare that was quite important. (Mark)

A final need that was discussed by interviewees as motivating them was the desire for development, particularly amongst those who had a focus on their career:

At the moment a large part of [my motivation] is that challenge I was looking for [and am now] getting – I'm hugely challenged, I'm just learning at such an exponential level. (Oliver)

It's probably being really selfish, but it's about the experience I get, the exposure I get and that kind of stuff for me in my career. (Andrew)

In addition to the non-altruistic motivations reflected by some interviewees, there were a number who discussed the *mixture* of motivations that drove

them in their work. Some explained that the combination of working for a charity and very practical family-related aspects of their roles were both important. Others, such as Joseph, explained how, when he moved to his current job, he wanted to remain in the broad social welfare field, but in a job with opportunities for development. He was also very conscious of the need to simply have a job that brings in a salary:

I was interested in broadening my experience but continuing to work in a similar area ... clearly there's an element of just bringing in money to pay the bills and to live and being able to support my family but once that basic objective has been achieved, and if I have choice beyond that, then I've always felt I would prefer to do a job which fitted in with my own values.
(Joseph)

Similarly, Doug knew he wanted to work for a charity, but salary and convenience were also important to him:

I was looking for somewhere that was a charity, or at least public sector, where I could use my skills. I think I did want to maintain the level of pay, the level of reward. I didn't just want to go and volunteer somewhere or do a low paid job. I've got a family and mortgage and things to pay, so that was certainly part of it ... [and] I liked the idea of it because it was relatively near where I live. (Doug)

Amongst those who described having a mixture of motivations there were also those who were primarily motivated by factors unrelated to the voluntary sector, although the charity element was still a factor. For example, Paul was firstly motivated by the job content, over and above the

fact that the role was in a charity, while Robert's primary motivation was a sense of personal achievement in his job:

So my primary motivation was that this sounds like a really good job and my secondary motivation was it has to be in an organisation ... that actually does have a front-line impact on people less fortunate than me, or animals even. (Paul)

Initially it's the targets that I've set myself and have been set. I do still think that drives me more than the fact that it's going to look after a little sick baby, although it will do and that is part of it, but the target's aren't small here so it's important that we get them, and that still drives me along quite a lot, and the satisfaction of doing it, of achieving it as well. (Robert)

Others highlighted elements unconnected to working in a charity that had attracted them to their current jobs. For example, Emma described how she was attracted to a job that was very similar to work she had done before in the public sector and then later elaborated:

I'm not going to lie, I'm not here just because it's a [health focussed organisation] and because it's a charity. I'm an HR person at the end of the day. (Emma)

The complexity of motivation was summed up by Anna, saying:

It's quite an interesting question for me in terms of what motivates me now and realising that's much more complex and in some ways pragmatic than what motivated me at the beginning which was entirely idealistic. (Anna)

In fact Anna, in the quote above, highlights the dynamic and changeable nature of motivation with time, something that will be developed later in the chapter looking at the importance of the organisation role in fostering PSM.

A final example of the way in which mixed motivations were important is highlighted in the way that interviewees found it challenging to separate discussion of the motivation to make a difference, or do something with meaning, from other motives. As has been shown, interviewees often had a number of reasons and motivations for working in the voluntary sector and it was, at times, difficult for the interviewees to simply focus on organisational factors that increased or reduced their desire to make a difference due to the interconnected nature of various factors:

Your level of motivation depends on how much you're enjoying your specific role at any one time, I think, so I think motivation can go up and down. [This charity's] a big fan of changing things and that can be quite demotivating. I think there's quite a culture of constantly switching things around and going through big change processes, and I know I find that quite difficult and I think other people do as well, so that can be quite demotivating if you've just got used to something and then it's going to change again. I think for me quite a lot of my motivation is about my whole life so it's not just about my job [and], so it depends how other aspects of my life are going in a sense. (Kathryn)

They've been going through massive change recently and the way in which it's been filtered down to a local level has been pretty unhelpful, so there's quite a lot of disaffection charity-wide at the moment I think. So ... on the one hand I do appreciate the benefits that they give us, on the other hand I

think it would just be easier if we didn't have to engage with the constantly changing landscape of what's expected. (Ellen)

While discussing the existence of alternative motivations, as well as the presence of mixed ones, it is pertinent to highlight the challenges that the findings present to the sectoral focus of much PSM research. Theory suggests that sector is a relevant factor for employees in their work, particularly through the way in which PSM research is carried out within a sector or between sectors. This thesis would support this, for example, in the strong views regarding the private sector that interviewees expressed (see later part of this chapter). This sectoral emphasis could also be supported by the additional values that were important for interviewees, such as an oppositional identity and a belief in a cause (again, see the later part of this chapter) – it is possible that public sector employees may not exhibit these values and that they are in fact a distinguishing feature between the sectors. However, despite these suggestions of sectoral importance, interviewees actually expressed a wide variety of responses regarding their intentionality to work in the voluntary sector and to remain within it.

While there were interviewees whose motivation to make a difference in society was clearly linked to a desire to work in the voluntary sector, there were others who had not been so intentional about their job choices within the voluntary sector. Some interviewees described falling into their jobs in charities, for example, Lucy, who had never worked for a charity before, said:

To be honest it was more that it came at the time when I was looking as I was being put at notice of redundancy ... I kind of fell into it. (Lucy)

A minority of interviewees clearly had values around doing something that they believed in, yet still claimed to have unintentionally come to be working in a charity:

My own journey is I fell into it. (William)

I've been quite random in my life choices and I think I've probably bumped into it rather than thinking that's what I want to do. (Patricia)

I really don't recall there being a point where I sat down and was like, things are going to be charity based from now on. (Ellen)

There were also a few interviewees who did not have a sense of loyalty to the voluntary sector:

I don't think I'll always work in this sector but I think there's a season for it ... I don't necessarily think I have to work in this sector for the rest of my life. (Sophie)

I think I'd look anywhere. Where an opportunity came up that's where I would go. I don't think I would necessarily limit myself to anything. (Lucy)

This does, however, have to be placed against a backdrop of many interviewees who were overwhelmingly committed to the sector as can be seen in the following quotations:

I can't see myself doing anything else. (Jennifer)

I think I'd always want something that was not for profit so, yes, I think I'll always want to be in the voluntary sector. (Oliver)

Occasionally I have looked at other opportunities and been mildly tempted to show interest in other jobs, but I really haven't had the heart for it. (Doug)

As can be seen, the research undertaken for this thesis leads to questions regarding the importance of the sector when related to the PSM of voluntary sector employees. Considering the variety of attitudes presented in this section regarding the importance of sector in job choices, it is important to remember that while research may focus on sector differences regarding PSM, the attitudes of employees are not always so distinct. While some interviewees were very clear about their desire to be working in the voluntary sector, others had a distinct lack of intentionality, both in the past and in regards to the future.

In summary it can be seen that there are a variety of additional motivations that are not accounted for in PSM. These include non-altruistic motivations such as gaining a sense of pride and meeting personal needs. Additionally, there were many interviewees who described having a mix of motivations, and the way in which PSM research focuses heavily on *sector* can clearly be challenged.

Additional Dimensions Relevant to Voluntary Sector Employees

Having drawn attention to non-altruistic motivations, there are also other specific values that interviewees held strongly and yet are not covered in the current definition and dimensional presentation of PSM. These include

(1) a strong element of an oppositional identity where individuals position themselves as 'different', (2) a clear belief in a cause, and (3) an ability to hold both an individual and community/global focus in tension. These three areas are discussed in turn below.

An Oppositional Identity

Many interviewees had a strong oppositional identity and so appeared motivated by a desire to position themselves as different in a variety of ways. The first aspect of positioning that interviewees discussed was that of seeing themselves as different to their families and to a more general 'other'. Interviewees described how what they were doing, in working for charities, was unfamiliar to their families:

In fact it is a very alien thing to the rest of my family. None of my brothers do that, none of them work for a charity ... I am the black sheep. (Samuel)

[My sister has] been motivated almost to recreate the life that we grew up with and maybe take the traditional path, whereas maybe my pathway was less traditional. (Anna)

Others highlighted the different needs they had in relation to a general 'other' as well as the different path that they had taken compared to friends or previous colleagues. In the first quotation below James explains how, unlike others, he needed to believe in what his employer was doing, while in the following two quotations different decisions taken before embarking on a career and mid-career are highlighted:

There was a passion about it as well, it wasn't that you were simply being paid to do something. I'm not being derogatory in any way about others,

but I needed something more than [just being] paid to do something.
(James)

[The majority] of my friends are now in London having a very nice grad scheme job ... and they may be getting paid a lot more, but I couldn't do it because they're able to do something they really don't enjoy for the money and to live there. I'd rather do something that I enjoy doing. (Joanne)

I think a lot of people thought I was mad, who I previously worked with, but now I feel as if I have the last laugh really. One or two of them are still there in the part of the organisation I worked in, and they're tearing their hair out and I'm just saying this has just been a great thing to do. (Robert)

Within this oppositional positioning, an element of rebellion was highlighted, for example by Chloe, who assessed her colleagues' motivations thus:

I think the people based here, the majority of them ... are slightly rebelling in the sense that they do come from middle class backgrounds, middle England, and all of that. So they are rebelling, instead of going into the banking sector, becoming a lawyer, or a doctor. (Chloe)

The idea of rebellion, in turn, sat alongside a desire, on the part of some, to challenge the status quo and those in authority:

[People in the voluntary sector are] a bit more free thinking and therefore are prepared to stand up for things ... their values tend to be different ... maybe it's about uniqueness. (Patricia)

It's more about also fighting for recognition and the element of justice and ... drawing attention to things that are being ... not noticed by society.
(Susanna)

Additionally, many interviewees, not only saw themselves as different to others, they also believed that friends and family saw them differently. The 'other' in this case can be defined as those who were not working in the voluntary sector; as will be seen later, the sense of a community identity amongst those working in charities was extremely strong, which was undoubtedly linked to a sense of being different to those outside.

The third aspect of positioning discussed by interviewees were attitudes towards the private sector. Interviewees had strong views about the private sector, typically describing it in negative terms and, on occasion, using caricature to emphasise and justify their views.

I'm never in favour of working for the private sector for that reason, that it is a dog eat dog world, I'm going to get to the top, no matter what. (Kim)

My husband always jokes [saying] you should go over to the dark side, they pay more money, the private sector. (Chloe)

So some of the commercial thinking and attitudes baffle me, and some of them being so cut throat in the way in which they deal with things.
(Barbara)

I'm coming from this big corporate organisation where you are just a number effectively. Nobody really knows who you are and I'm hot-desking

and I could have been anywhere. Nobody knew where I was, it was quite impersonal. (Emma)

Amongst a number of interviewees, there was also an element of personal fear regarding the private sector. For example, they feared that they would not fit into it, they questioned whether they had been deskilled during their time in the voluntary sector, and wondered whether they would have the levels or type of competence required, should they want to move into the private sector:

I've always thought that the test of my working environment was being able to walk into my boss's office with a stapler on my head and for people to still accept me ... I also don't know whether it felt safer [in the voluntary sector], I don't know if there's an issue of ... me wanting to shy away from the overly corporate professional nature of some organisations and feeling that something which involved volunteers and a community feel would be informal and I wouldn't have to toe the line in quite the same way. (Elisabeth)

I feel like maybe I've got to the stage where I couldn't earn more elsewhere because I don't know how employable I would be in in the [private] sector. (Susanna)

I don't think the commercial sector would touch me with a barge pole anyway, because I haven't got the history. (Andrew)

Others talked about their decision to move from roles in the private sector, having become disillusioned with their experience in that sector. As can be seen below, these decisions were very much tied up with life purpose.

I'm just looking to do something constructive with my life. The companies that I've started and sold were fine but they don't achieve anything. So my goal was, and still is, to find something that's purposeful and meaningful.
(John)

I had got to the stage where [I decided] I really do not want to work in what I'm working in at the moment, because although I'm doing a professional job and it's interesting ... I'm not a hundred percent happy with it. I mean some of our clients were [an oil company] ... and you saw the nice side of the people you work with but there was an unease there thinking, is this really what I want to spend my life promoting? (Amy)

Not only did the interviewees see themselves as different to others and have negative attitudes towards the private sector, many of them were also strongly opposed to money. For some this was tied up with their negative attitudes towards the private sector, as articulated below:

I have no reason not to like the commercial sector, I just don't like it. I just feel that they are driven by money. We're driven by money but for a really different reason – our money's about the end user [but] I think their money is about them. (Andrew)

When you're working in a big corporate organisation they don't care and ... they're just big business, they're just money making and that's all they're interested in. (Emma)

Generally I think the reason I see [the voluntary sector] as a good fit for me is partly I'm just not that interested in money. It's never been a massive motivator for me, so the whole private sector has just never really interested me. (Susanna)

A particular aspect of money that interviewees were opposed to was that of shareholder profits and being part of an organisation that existed to make money:

This is where my efforts will help the community rather than just help increase the share price for shareholders. (Doug)

It doesn't do anything for me to go and work for some organisation that is there to sell stuff and make money. They might have some quite good work ethics and everything else but that doesn't really do it for me. (Jill)

I worked for [an employment agency] for six months and I liked it, but always at the back of my mind was this thought that I'm lining someone else's pocket and I didn't want to do that and I thought ... I want to work for a charity that gives something back to society rather than feed some millionaire. (Maria)

However, others talked more generally about simply not being interested in money or in making a lot of money for themselves:

The driver isn't money so as long as my bills are paid. (Andrew)

Working in [a car firm] for twenty years because you make a lot of money – what is that about? It doesn't inspire me to anything and ... it doesn't interest me at all to make enough money to live a very comfortable life.

That's not a value or an interest or anything for me. (Patricia)

A Belief in a Cause

The second attitude that was important to a number of interviewees was having a belief in a cause. This is distinct to the general desire to do

something worthwhile in their jobs, as described in Chapter 5, which explained the broad desire to effect significant changes in the world or help people. The belief in a cause involved a much more specific focus on an area of work rather than a general focus. Causes included helping the poor overseas, working with disadvantaged young people, helping adults suffering from cancer, and so on. The belief in a cause is also distinct from the *Commitment to Public Values* dimension which is more general in its inclusion of a broad awareness of injustice in the world (rather than specific examples of injustice), as well as methods of work, such as transparency.

Many of those interviewed had a strong belief in a cause and they articulated very clearly the cause for which they were concerned. In the first quotation below, Helen explained why she is involved in youth work, having previously described having a 'heart' for this type of work. In the second quotation, Patricia highlights the injustice of poverty which is a key element of the social welfare work in which she is involved:

A lot of the motivation would be that I don't want other young people to not have a significant adult inputting into their life. (Helen)

It's important for me that I need to believe in the ethos of what I'm doing. So, for instance, I work with the poorest of the poor essentially and I think it's immoral and therefore I believe in the cause. I think I would find it quite hard to do if I didn't. (Patricia)

The belief in a cause was further apparent in the way that some interviewees would only consider working for certain types of charity:

I didn't necessarily want to work for a Christian charity. I didn't necessarily want to work for an animal charity. I wanted to work for either a children's health charity or a social, homeless charity. (Robert)

My number one thing that I wanted above anything else, my holy grail, would have been a job for an environmental charity. If one of those came up I would be just so over the moon. (Ben)

This passionate belief in a cause meant that, within organisations, employees could be seen as vocal and militant, not just challenging authority as seen in the section above regarding identity, but their own employers as well. However, passion for the cause was also linked to enthusiasm to get involved in things within the organisation and a flexibility regarding approaches to problems or challenges:

I think people in charities tend to be very enthusiastic ... you know to the point where they will go and do crazy fundraising efforts and dress up as furry animals ... and do all kinds of crazy things. (Doug)

You've got the 'can do' attitude of trying to be very flexible in everything that you do ... any time, any place, you try and do what you can in the time that you've got. (Robert)

While the cause was, for many, the reason why they worked in specific charities, interviewees' belief in the cause existed beyond the organisation that employed them:

Most people come for the cause, I certainly did. (Amy)

I don't want it to be completely negative [about the organisation]. I love working for what it is, but my motivation is completely for the cause. (Joanne)

I think the cause is far more important than the organisation. (Jill)

Additionally, interviewees' belief in a cause existed beyond the ability to achieve change, indicating a certain amount of resilience. This is an important point because interviewees frequently described working in very challenging and often demoralising contexts:

This work can be challenging because I'm doing softer support and there isn't always something really concrete you can do for someone especially with benefits, and all that can be quite frustrating because at the end of the day we're at the mercy of this massive system and there isn't masses I can do a lot of the time. (Jennifer)

You've got to be able to be knocked back, because everything you do is only a little step towards the next and sometimes it feels like a finger in the dyke. (Amy)

There's a real strong belief that anything you can do is worth it because, say a young person goes to court and the great likelihood is that their appeal is going to be turned down, ... if their experience of going to court was just a little bit more understood by them, because one of our workers went with them, then it was worth doing even though it quite often takes a real toll on the person who's experienced it. (Ellen)

Clearly, the passion for the cause and a sense of future hope related to it was an important element in a continued motivation to work towards achieving change:

Without passion you can very easily become cynical ... you can get burnt out because nothing changes, the need is growing all the time, and I think with passion what you do is you keep saying to yourself ... I'm still passionate for young people and I can't save the world but I can ... save some and I think that, for me, is what keeps you going. So compassion maybe draws you in but it's passion that keeps you going. (James)

There's always that kind of feeling, well this is sort of, kind of, working towards work in progress rather than finished. (Joseph)

It's always win some, lose some but it's the need to be able to have faith that there is a future, that a future would be better if you can do stuff now. (Amy)

A Belief in the Importance of the Individual and the World

In addition to identity and positioning, and a belief in a cause, the third value important for interviewees, and not accounted for in PSM, was a belief in the importance of the individual being held in tension with a global/community identity. While PSM does account for the individual and community to some extent in the *Commitment to Public Values*, *Compassion*, and *Attraction to Public Participation* dimensions, this goes much deeper than is currently recognised within PSM.

There was an emphasis upon individual value amongst interviewees; this attitude was not simply about equality but also about individual significance,

its expression, and, related to this, enabling development. Interviewees spoke about the value and significance of every individual person. This was discussed in terms of clients or beneficiaries, as well as colleagues and employees. For example, one interviewee talked about starting a new job in an organisation and taking the time to meet each member of staff personally. The value attributed to individuals was linked quite clearly with how they were treated:

Every person is important, has the right to be treated with respect and dignity. (Jill)

It's always been a notion in my background to say it's about treating people as you would wish to be treated yourself, and I have that view about the [clients] and I have that view about the staff. (Barbara)

I'm interested in people on the edge ... My church ... occasionally got ... people wandering in ... and no one was really picking them up and I [realised] no one's noticing these people, and I don't know if that's personality but I then set up a group for people like that. (Susanna)

I think the worst-case scenario, for me, is to be lost in some huge organisation where you don't have any say in anything. (Patricia)

An aspect of treating people well was that of expressing appreciation and value. For example, Mark discussed the importance of valuing volunteers for the work they did and actually saying 'thank you'. Relatedly, Susanna described articulating her clients' value to them personally:

When I do get to chat to someone or spend time with them, even if I can't fix it, I think there's real value in saying actually we're on your side and we want to see you do well. Even if [things you're facing] can't get sorted out, you're still worth something and ... we know you exist and you're here and you're important. (Susanna)

This belief about individual significance additionally manifested itself in views regarding personal growth and development. While interviewees talked about their own development being important, there was a clear sense that others' development was also important, as was being part of that journey or growth:

I love seeing people just being really satisfied with what they're doing and ... developing bits of themselves. (Patricia)

There's an element where you're taking people on a journey, whether it's a physical journey [where] you're going overseas to volunteer for a couple of weeks or [as a youth worker] with young people ... [It's] that privilege of walking alongside anybody. (Mark)

At the same time, this individual focus is held in tension with a global and community focus. Many interviewees saw themselves as part of a wider world, with, broadly speaking, significant connections to humanity. Not only did they see themselves in relationship with others, they were also conscious of their effects on the future of civilisation:

In a western culture we have a very strong sense of personhood, being an individual [for example] 'man is an island' and 'I am as much as I consume' [but] ... the gospel is more about saying 'I am a person in as much as I am

in relationship with other people'. So what does my relationship look like with my family, what does my relationship [look like] with my neighbour?
(Helen)

There's that idea of ... trying to understand, actually, who am I linked to and what impacts are my actions, inactions, going to have on those people. (Joseph)

I suppose it's that burning sense of we have not got the right as a species to just do what we like, when we like, and the people I deeply dislike are the people who think they can and should. (Amy)

The comparison of their circumstances to others was also a common theme:

It's kind of ridiculous looking back but I was finding life quite stressful, my mum was quite sick, I'd got upset about that to a friend and I said ... it could be worse, I could be stuck in a container in a Libyan desert trying to get away from Eritrea, I could be on a dingy going from Greece to Italy and being one of the people who gets knocked overboard and the boat doesn't stop for, and my friend said, 'Do you realise that you're measuring your life against this ridiculous, it could be worse?' (Susanna)

As well as seeing themselves as part of a global world, being part of a community of people in their work was also important to interviewees. The relational aspect of work, with supportive caring attitudes of colleagues, was emphasised consistently, and many interviewees even referred to their organisation as a family, although recognising that this included the negative aspects of being a family as well:

The community of the organisation has always been important, the sense of family, the sense of connectedness, the sense of being a community, sense of relational ... [people] say that it's a different kind of place to work, it's more like a family ... and that is important to people. (Anna)

There's a bit of a sense of being part of a family as well I'd say. There's being part of a club or part of a family, certainly the way that we work here ... you could call it being part of a cult [laughter], no, but it's being part of something. (Ben)

There is this really caring side, so if someone's sick or has got family issues, you know, they will bend over backwards to support that individual. (Andrew)

Everybody's very kind hearted and willing to help each other, and there's a very strong sense of community here, and we are like a little family really. We all have our ups and downs like you would in any family, where one day so and so might have fallen out with so and so, or something's happened ... [but] everybody moves on, no grudges are held. (Emma)

This relational element of being part of a community was not just relevant to the interviewees' work; they were friends with their colleagues, knew them well, and socialised, even, in some cases, going on holiday with each other:

We socialise as well so there's more of a social element to our relationships ... it's more about the fact that we know each other more. (Isabel)

You become really good mates with them really, so I've enjoyed that bit really. It's been great, even though I'm older than quite a lot of them it

doesn't seem to make any difference, really, when you've got a particular cause that you're all working together on. (Robert)

In addition to valuing simply being part of a relational community at work, interviewees valued actually working with others and emphasised helping colleagues:

Seeing the value of people working together to bring about change and having that cross sort of fertilization of working together has always been important to me. (Samuel)

It feels there's a great team spirit and although you do your own job ... I'm also called upon to join in other things as well ... and I think ... that makes a big difference [to] the team. (Robert)

[We have to be quite flexible in our] approach so for instance I might be stuffing envelopes one day and the next day I'm sitting in a board meeting. (Andrew)

The underlying element to the importance of being part of a community working together was the shared values that individuals and their colleagues had. This related both to the vision and cause but also to how they actually worked in the organisation:

I think it's commitment to the philosophy, the commitment to the work that we actually do. I think that's a commonality we've all got regardless of where we work within the organisation, whether it be admin or nursing or doctors or fundraising that is a common thing between us. (Isabel)

I've never worked ... in a place [before here] where the values seem to be the very values that I would share about how we treat each other. (Robert)

In summary, it can be seen that interviewees demonstrated a strong oppositional identity where they positioned themselves as different to others, were nonconformist and were staunchly against the private sector and money. Secondly, interviewees passionately believed in a variety of different causes which, in many cases, limited the charities for which they would consider working. Interestingly, the belief in a cause existed beyond the organisation and it can be suggested that it is not enough to say that an individual has PSM values which motivate them in their work as in many cases, the more specific cause actually focuses this motivation.

Finally, an ability to value and hold in tension an emphasis upon individual significance with a global/community focus was a further important feature of interviewees' work motivation. The individual focus was not simply about equality but also about individual value and the importance of expressing this as well as enabling its development. This was combined with seeing themselves as part of a global world; their relationship with others was important and they were equally conscious of their effects on the future of civilisation, as well as being very aware of how their circumstances compared to others. Additionally, being part of a group of people in their work was important to interviewees. This included attributing an importance to the community of people with which they worked, even referring to them as 'family', as well as an importance of working with others who shared their values.

Antecedents and Development of Values and Motivation

The research for this thesis has shown that PSM antecedents and the process theory are relevant for voluntary sector employees. However, these antecedents (both prior to organisational entry and during time working within an organisation), and the process theory which focuses on institutions, do not fully explain the development of motivations amongst interviewees. There were two themes that emerged in discussion with interviewees: (1) the way that motivational factors (including many of those related to PSM) were seen as innate by some, and (2) an exposure to difference or challenge as an antecedent. Additionally, the central role of the organisation in value development was challenged.

Innate Values

While a variety of experiences have been described as being antecedents of PSM, such as family, education, religion and volunteering, for some interviewees, the immediate response to questioning regarding the antecedents of their motivation to do something worthwhile, was that it was innate:

I'd like to think I'm quite caring and I always have been. (Joanne)

I think it's just part of who I was. (Samuel)

Some interviewees particularly focussed on how an aspect of their character, such as their caring nature, was innate:

I've always been quite a caring person for people around me, and just caring about stuff. It was something that's always been a part of my personality I think. (Ben)

People tell me I, this is really embarrassing to say, but people tell me I have a real gift of mercy and compassion. I don't really see it in myself but that may be because it's so natural to me to care. (Jennifer)

Others highlighted how a limited awareness of the opportunities in the charity sector led them to make relatively late decisions regarding voluntary sector employment. However they believed that they had always had PSM type values, as can be seen in the quote below from Robert, which also focuses on his caring nature:

I think it's probably always been there and I'm always thinking now, wishing I'd done this sort of thing twenty years ago really. I think I've always been compassionate. In my previous place I think I became institutionalised where I think I just didn't think there's any other opportunity ... I think my compassion's always been there but I think I've never thought I could do anything else apart from what I was doing really. I think I had become very stuck in the same old thing really. (Robert)

Some of those who talked about their values and motivations as being innate were also, under further questioning, able to identify possible antecedents (echoing the point made at the end of the previous chapter regarding combinations of antecedents). For example, Samuel explained that the desire to do something worthwhile was part of who he was, but he also talked about the impact that travel had on him personally and his subsequent decision-making regarding his job. It can be suggested that, as

well as a combination of antecedents, it is possible for these antecedents to be combined with innate values or characteristics. This is well summarised by Anna:

[It] also dovetails with my personality and maybe how I was brought up and even things I was involved in, and maybe the teachers I had the chance to have for geography and things like that through school, who were very much keen on informing us of different issues, and I really picked up on those. So even if the faith hadn't been there I think I would have gone into some kind of profession like this, maybe charity work or voluntary sector type stuff, anyway just because of who I am and how my background and education had formed me. (Anna)

Non-Institutional Antecedents

An exposure to difference or challenge was the most important factor in an individual developing a desire to do something worthwhile, and values related to this including the importance of participation, compassion and a belief in a cause. This is an area that has not been covered in any previous PSM research where the focus has been on institutional antecedents. Many of the interviewees described transformative experiences, either where they had been exposed to people and situations that were different to themselves, or where they had experienced significant challenges in their lives. There was a wide range of such experiences that led to interviewees developing values and attitudes relevant to this research. These included encountering poverty or suffering at a young age, living in diverse communities in the UK, experiencing family difficulties, as well as two particularly important themes around travel and health. These experiences led to the development of values by increasing their awareness of the world

in which they lived, and causing them to reflect, thereby affecting their attitudes.

Some of the interviewees talked about how they had encountered poverty at a very young age and that what they had seen felt unfair to them. In both the cases below, Margaret and John initially worked in the private sector, later moving into the charity sector.

When I was ten or eleven ... I remember seeing pictures [for a famine appeal] and being absolutely appalled by ... seeing children shrinking to nothing with pot bellies and it just kind of fixed it into my head for ever ... that any charities I ever supported or things that I've ever done have always been for developing countries ... so it's just been a kind of life-long belief, a life-long feeling that we don't know how lucky we are ... We don't grow out of that rather early conviction that the world is not fair and so I think that's where the motivation comes from. (Margaret)

On Christmas Eve our church used to go to [the city centre] and take litres and litres of soup and hand them out to the kids and the people on the streets, and what really hurt me was they would be given the food and they were very grateful ... but then we drove off to go and have a six course meal with everything and a house and presents, and I just [felt it was] unfair. These poor kids had to live under a bridge, smelling glue and getting raped and all that kind of stuff. (John)

Living in diverse communities and becoming friends with people from different backgrounds and with different life experiences were also significant ways in which interviewees' values and motivations were shaped. In the quotes below Susanna talks about her childhood

experiences living in a multi-cultural area, and then an experience she had as an adult (which also help to demonstrate how multiple experiences can be at work developing PSM). Meanwhile, in the third quote Maria talks about a sense of injustice that developed as a result of living in a deprived area. In all these descriptions, the experiences opened their eyes to the challenges faced by other people:

There's a family of Iranian refugees who [had] two boys. One was in my class and one was in my brother's class and their parents ran a market stall selling books, and I just remember thinking oh that's quite cool they sell books, but mum always used to be like actually life's quite hard for them, and I now look back and I see that actually I was in a very mixed school in west London, I went to birthday parties in blocks of flats and desperately wanted to live in a council flat that had a rubbish chute ... I grew up in a very diverse area ... one of my good friends was from the travelling community for a couple of years before they moved on, and so I just think I do look back and think probably that shaped me more than I've realised. (Susanna)

There was a boy in [my church] group who was Kosovan and at the time I was quite naïve, like politically and stuff, ... [but] getting to know him and seeing his life, and then just realising there were all these people who existed who no one else seemed to notice existed but were just there and wanting to be included in community and had really interesting stuff to say. (Susanna)

We moved into [a part of the city] and we were the white minority in that area, and then I think you realise what people are living with and situations and you know the inner city grit and grime and things ... [and] it's just you think why are these children walking themselves to school at age 6 and

getting up and their dinner is chicken and chips, and you know it shouldn't be like that, it should be better than that. (Maria)

Difficulties faced within families, during childhood, caused interviewees to both be reflective about life as well as desire something different for others. In the case of Ben, in the quote below, he began to think more broadly about life, whereas Helen's experience led directly to her involvement with young people:

There was a time in my life when I became quite philosophical quite young. There was a whole load of stuff happening in my family which was tumultuous you could say ... and I was kind of the solid one in that, at quite a young age as well, and I became very reflective during that time and I became more interested in life and why we're here and those kind of bigger questions. But that definitely, I think, gave me more of a wider outlook on things. (Ben)

There was a lot about my childhood that wasn't very fun and I guess I was a teenager who didn't really have any other significant adults in my life apart from my parents who weren't great for me at that time. I got into a bad crowd, had no other input and so a lot of the motivation would be that I don't want other young people to not have the significant adult inputting into their life. (Helen)

A particularly important theme that emerged for a large number of interviewees was the relevance of travel to the development of values and motivation. In similarity with the encounter of poverty described above, some interviewees discussed how they witnessed poverty and suffering first hand while living overseas. Helen and Samuel were young adults doing

voluntary work in an orphanage and a school respectively. In the quotes below they describe the effects that this had on them:

I wrote out every story of every child in the orphanage, and story after story after story of neglect, brokenness, abuse, or just had lost their parents for whatever reason, parents unable to support their kids ... So as you write these stories and then you put names to faces it wrecked me really, and in the evenings I was [working] with the older boys ... and I'd ask them 'What do you want to do when you're older?' and they'd have the same aspirations as the young people that I was working with in the UK and it hit me, because I knew their stories and I knew their circumstances, that that was probably never going to happen and ... it just broke my heart ... They are the same as the young people I work with in the UK and by the lottery of postcode they don't get anything like these young people get. That's not fair. (Helen)

It was a life changing experience in terms of suddenly living ... in the middle of nowhere, no electricity, all the basics gone but, importantly, living in a village that was remote and living alongside people that are a different culture and seeing a country that was, at that point, ruled by a pretty corrupt leader and seeing poverty, sort of the reality of poverty face on and living with it over a period of time was kind of a life changing experience ... I think I then came back from that experience thinking there's nothing more important than spending my life working in this area. (Samuel)

The experience of receiving hospitality while travelling was also important. Interviewees particularly mentioned the ways that they had received from and been included by others.

I spent quite a bit of time visiting friends in Asia, well about four months, and then stayed with people in Australia who didn't really know me very well but invited me to stay for the whole time I was there and treated me like family. So I think I received a lot of hospitality and that became really important to me, how people had included me. (Susanna)

I love the hospitality that I've received overseas. I've seen the need for basic development and feel like I've received quite a lot during those trips, so opportunities to give back, even if it's hosting a completely different African person to the one that hosted me, feels somehow like reconnecting with those experiences. (Elisabeth)

Travelling also highlighted for some what it was like to be an outsider, which, in the case of Ellen, led to a belief in the importance of community and inclusion:

You quite often play the role of outsider, like it could be in a really positive way, like being a British student in an American university was [a] novelty and was interesting to people, but living a year with that kind of outsider's viewpoint ... was interesting. I think you keep that memory of what it's like to not belong in the system. (Ellen)

As has already been seen in the quote above from Samuel, this affected people's worldview and decisions quite significantly:

I went with a mindset, I guess probably quite [a] humanitarian philanthropic idea that I came from a background with a lot of privilege and had a lot to give, and therefore if I gave of what I had the people who didn't have would have a bit more and it would somehow balance out. But actually what I realised very quickly working with street kids was they needed something

that nobody could really give them, the vacuum was so big. So that began a lot of questioning and obviously I also received a lot in that time so it was really amazing, so it basically rocked my world view and I came back questioning lots of things. (Anna)

Travelling, volunteering, those sorts of things, I think when you are exposed to understand the privilege of your own circumstance, [that] it's not through my achievement that I was born in a middle class family in a country that's developed, that does definitely affect how you view the world and the compassion that you have. (Kathryn)

Health-related experiences were additionally relevant for a number of interviewees in developing PSM values. Personal illness and health issues faced by friends and family increased understanding and awareness of the challenges this brought (even at a young age) as can be seen in the following two quotes:

Probably because I spent a lot of time in hospital as a child and I think it was mainly the empathy that I felt that I could understand a little bit. (Eve)

My brother has a disability which switches you on to some different struggles. (Oliver)

As with other experiences, these challenges caused reflection on deeper issues; in the case of Susanna, below, she reflected on what it means to be human and this can be linked very closely with the values that have been highlighted regarding the significance of each individual:

My aunt was quite ill. She had a recurring brain tumour for years and ... every time the tumour came back and she had more treatment it changed

who she was and I think I thought quite a lot ... about what makes people valued. She spent the last couple years of her life in a centre for people with brain injuries, and just seeing so many people who'd either had illness or accidents, and just thinking well where does the value of someone's life come from, and what makes someone human when they've lost their ability to interact in the way they could. (Susanna)

The sense of injustice described above regarding encountering difference can similarly be seen regarding health. Paul described a number of experiences such as his mother having a brain haemorrhage, the effect on the family both emotionally and financially, and her subsequent death twenty years later (note that this emphasis is different to the family as an institution described previously where elements of the family affect values). This was combined with his father suffering from Alzheimer's and Paul caring for him before he moved into sheltered accommodation. He says about the time:

I never felt there was much support around and my career was on hold for ten years ... I turned to family members, brought people in, paid people to help me do things ... So even though I wasn't short of money, I had a reasonable career and everything, there were some things there that just didn't feel right. (Paul)

Interviewees thus identified a variety of experiences that had been instrumental in developing their motivation to contribute to society. These experiences included elements of exposures to difference and challenge, such as difficulties that they faced in childhood, encountering poverty, and being impacted by friends and the communities in which they lived. More specific themes of travel and health also emerged. The significance of this

is that, in contrast to PSM theory's suggestion that values are transmitted by institutions, interviewees emphasised the role of transformative experiences, while at times also suggesting that values were innate. This introduces a completely new element to PSM theory, particularly in relation to voluntary sector employees, and therefore leads to the argument that, as it currently stands, PSM is not adequate for voluntary sector employees.

The Organisational Role in Value Development Challenged

In line with this, interviewees indicated that employing organisations do not necessarily exert an exclusive influence over PSM development. Thus, while interviewees explained that their motivation changed due to organisational influences, it also changed due to other factors and, on occasion, did not change at all.

Some interviewees clearly talked about being *more* motivated now than they had been previously and explained ways in which this was due to the organisation. The organisational factors responsible for this, such as an increasing knowledge and awareness, have already been seen in the previous chapter. For example, Lucy, who described how she had not been particularly driven to do something worthwhile in her job, did talk about a growing awareness and a change in her motivation:

Since I've been [here] and I've learnt about how it came to be in existence and I've mixed with people that are really passionate about the place it does rub off on you and you do start to care about [it] and it starts to become important to you. So I think that motivates me as well because I see what it does, you know what wonderful work it does for people and it's good to be part of something like that. So that does motivate me (Lucy).

The challenges of the work and experiences in organisations could also lead to a *reduced* motivation or less excitement about the work. Both Patricia and Susanna described how they, or others, were worn down by the challenges of the work:

I'm very tired of it ... I've had enough, don't want to do it. (Patricia)

A lot of people are really hardened and they start off with all of this [motivation] and they just become angry [and this is a result of] sometimes just how intractable social problems are, or just going, actually we work really hard or we push for something and then there's another shift in policy. (Susanna)

Disillusionment was also due to organisational factors:

It's probably changed, partly through frustrations of things not happening or irritations of the organisation or whatever. It kind of changes so there's a certain sense of [I'm] probably not quite as excited. (Samuel)

When you feel drawn to this you start off very idealistically, very high ideals and then you're doing it and you realise that life is not ideal ... and then you begin to realise that it's still [a] worthwhile job to do, but the world isn't black and white and there's so many grey areas, but on balance it's still better to try and do something than to give up because of the complexities of [organisational] life. (William)

However, there were also changes in motivation levels due to non-organisational factors. Some interviewees' motivation *increased* due to other factors:

It's been my own personal growth and development over the years that's just made it more important. (Jill)

I think it's probably increased, because as you get older you realise that there's more complex issues and there's more complexity to the issues ... I think at aged 22 I thought we could solve the problem of street children, whereas now I realise it's a lot more complicated than that. (Anna)

Others described how their work motivation had *reduced* due to non-organisational factors, one of whom was Elisabeth:

Having children really changes your motivations because basically your energies are going elsewhere, and I haven't put in the same level of enthusiasm and energy to the jobs that I've had since I've had children. (Elisabeth)

There were also interviewees who did not see that their motivation had changed at all. In the case of James, this was not negative, as he described still being excited – it is almost as though his motivation could not increase any more:

I think, in all honesty, it has stayed the same. I'm excited when I get reports from the team about what they've done with young people and how young people responded and changed. (James)

However, there were also those such as Laura who had started to work in a charity as she needed a job, and, at the time of the interview, said that she was still motivated more by the responsibility of her job rather than 'the big purpose' of the charity she worked for.

Finally, it is clear that, for many, the motivation was for a cause and doing something worthwhile. The organisation was a vehicle for this, as long as it enabled interviewees to carry out meaningful work. For example, while Samuel previously talked about disillusionment due to a lack of change and organisational factors, he was very clear that:

The core goal or motivation is really still there, is strong. (Samuel)

This sentiment was also expressed by others who still wanted to make a difference but were clear that the organisation was not central to this (a point that again emphasises the relevance of self regulation theories):

My desire hasn't changed it's just probably the vehicle has changed and it's not [this organisation]. (John)

I'll stay engaged [but] if I lost the opportunity to do things that I felt made a difference that would demotivate me and I would consider doing other things, possibly going somewhere else where I could make more of a difference. (Ben)

As can therefore be seen, while the organisation had a role in the development of values amongst employees, it was also not necessarily the only, or most important, element affecting their values.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the adequacy of PSM theory for the motivation of voluntary sector employees. It did this by presenting evidence under two points: (1) the motivations and values of interviewees, and (2) the antecedents and development of values. Firstly, it was shown

that while PSM and the four dimensions account for some of the motivation and attitudes of interviewees, there were other non-altruistic motivations, in addition to PSM, such as self interest and meeting personal need, as well as a manifestation of a mixture of motivations. The sector focus was also challenged. Additionally there were values and attitudes that were not included in PSM but were clearly highly relevant in motivating interviewees to do something that made a difference to society in their work. These included an oppositional identity, a belief in a cause, and an ability to hold in tension an individual and global/community focus.

Secondly, regarding the antecedents and development process of PSM, it was shown that some interviewees saw their PSM values as innate and not the result of institutional processes. Additionally, for many interviewees, transformative experiences, rather than institutional factors, were viewed as the main cause of value development, therefore calling into question the single focus on such factors in PSM process theory. These non-institutional factors included growing up in a multi-cultural area, travelling overseas, and experiencing health issues. These instances increased interviewees' awareness of the world in which they lived and of relevant issues, leading to a sense of injustice and to them questioning previously held views. The emphasis on organisational importance in value development was also questioned. Overall, therefore, the findings suggest more complexity within PSM theory than is currently acknowledged. In the next chapter the implications of these findings for research, employing organisations, and government policy are discussed.

Chapter 8

Discussion

This thesis has examined the motivation of voluntary sector employees by exploring the applicability of the concept of PSM and related theory to these individuals. It has done so as a result of two inter-related sets of considerations. Firstly, the arguments that successive governments have advanced to support the increased outsourcing of public service delivery to the voluntary sector. Secondly, the clear gaps which exist in the literature regarding the relevance of PSM to voluntary sector motivation, as well as the nature of this construct and how such motivation develops.

In this chapter, the findings of the conducted research are summarised briefly through the lens of the strengths and weaknesses of PSM with regard to explaining the motivation of voluntary sector employees. Four broad 'thematic propositions' arising from these findings are then highlighted and discussed. The final part of the chapter then considers the implications that they have for (1) research and theory on voluntary sector employee motivation in general and PSM more particularly, (2) organisations and management practices in the sector, and (3) government policy.

A Summary of Findings and Emergent Themes

The thesis approached the findings firstly through detailing how PSM was applicable to employees in the voluntary sector. In Chapter 5 this was shown to be the case in terms of their general motivation and the levels of support for the four PSM dimensions revealed by their responses. In

Chapter 6, the relevance of PSM was further demonstrated through showing how the development of their values reflected the institutional focus of PSM theory and research, with antecedents being shown to include the family, religion, education, and volunteering in charities. In addition, employing organisations were shown to have a role in value development, thus endorsing elements of the process theory of PSM. Key sources of such influence included knowledge and awareness of the organisation's work, and colleague interaction and support. The self-regulation element of the process theory was also supported through the importance for employees of being treated as a significant individual and experiencing public values at work.

In Chapter 7, the focus shifted to an examination of the various inadequacies of PSM in explaining the motivation of voluntary sector employees and its development. Key missing elements identified included the existence of more self-interested motivations, additional values such as an oppositional identity and a belief in a cause, and the importance of transformational experiences in value development, amongst others.

These findings are summarised in the table on the following page. As can be seen, they highlight that, whilst PSM theory does address values and motivations of relevance to those working in the voluntary sector, and also includes relevant antecedents and developmental processes, it does not fully address relevant factors or provide an adequate framework for understanding the development of such motivation (and the values underlying it).

Table 8.1: The Applicability of PSM and its Inadequacies for Voluntary Sector Employees

Theme	Applicability of PSM to voluntary sector employees	Inadequacies of PSM for voluntary sector employees
Motivation for work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They want to contribute to society and serve others in their work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PSM does not account for self-interested motivations that can coexist with more altruistic ones. • Voluntary sector employees can be primarily motivated by things other than PSM. • Employees found it difficult just talking about one type of motivation to the exclusion of other motivations. • A link between motivation and a sector focus is challenged since some employees had little commitment to the voluntary sector.
PSM dimensions and other values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally all the four dimensions are applicable and relevant, with some difference regarding <i>Self-Sacrifice</i>. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are other values and attitudes that PSM doesn't account for: an oppositional identity, a belief in a cause, and a focus on the individual combined with a global/community focus. • Different perceptions and emphases regarding values are possible.
Process theory and antecedents of values (pre-organisational entry)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions such as the family, religion, education and volunteering in charities were all shown to have a role in developing values related to a desire to make a difference. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some interviewees saw their values as innate. • An exposure to difference and challenge was the key way in which individuals developed their values related to making a difference in society. This is not accounted for in PSM.
Process theory and organisational development of values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and awareness of the organisation's work, and colleague interaction and support were both relevant in initiating and developing PSM related values. This supported PSM process theory. • Being treated as a significant individual and experiencing public values at work were important for employees in choosing to enact values, supporting the self-regulation element of PSM process theory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The organisation did not have an exclusive role in developing motivation to make a difference while at work, and for some it was simply a vehicle enabling them to work towards a cause.

Based on these findings, it is possible to support the following four broad, thematic arguments:

- Employees working in the voluntary sector have a clear, distinctive set of motivations.
- While institutions do have a function in the development of values, other sources of influence also have to be acknowledged.
- Organisations have a role to play in developing values, however, they do not have an exclusive role.
- Exploring motivation through qualitative methods reveals its complexity.

These themes are explored further below in relation to the findings and the implications they have for research, organisations and government policy will be detailed in turn.

Distinctive Values and Motivations of Voluntary Sector Employees

The research carried out for this thesis clearly demonstrates that voluntary sector employees have a distinctive set of values and motivations. While some of these values reflect PSM and its dimensions, others do not.

As has been shown, interviewees were generally motivated by a desire to contribute to society and serve the interests of others in their work. This was typically articulated in general terms through references to doing something worthwhile or making a difference. However, some respondents more specifically referred to saving or changing the world, and helping people.

The exploration of the four PSM dimensions amongst voluntary sector employees enabled more detail to emerge in terms of the values and attitudes that motivated them in their work. Firstly, it was seen that interviewees did, on the whole, exhibit values related to the *Attraction to Public Participation* dimension, as illustrated, for example, by the importance they attached to being active citizens, contributing practical responses to problems and injustices, and feeling a sense of responsibility in these regards. Secondly, the *Commitment to Public Values* dimension was strongly supported amongst interviewees through their advocacy of transparency, accountability, and equality in both work and society, and their exhibiting of a keen awareness of injustices and inequalities in society. They also believed it was important to consider long-term solutions to problems in society.

Values encompassed in the third PSM dimension, *Compassion*, were also clearly represented amongst interviewees, particularly via an awareness of the challenges faced by others and a concern for them. While some were uncomfortable with the idea of compassion, it became apparent that this was with the term (which they associated with disempowerment and a lack of action) rather than what it represents in PSM theory. Finally, there were conflicting responses regarding the fourth dimension, *Self-Sacrifice*. Some interviewees clearly saw that they were making sacrifices in a number of areas including remuneration, reputation and health. Others approached this from a different perspective, arguing that they were not making sacrifices as they either did receive benefits or, alternatively, that they did not see things such as a high salary as important to them and therefore did not believe that they were making a sacrifice in foregoing them. Despite this alternative perspective, some of those who felt they were not making

sacrifices were, in fact, doing so, for example by receiving a reduced salary compared to previous employment.

Three values not accounted for in PSM theory also emerged as important motivators for voluntary sector employees to carry out work in service of society. Interviewees tended to have an oppositional identity, where they saw themselves as different to others, and were motivated by a desire to position themselves as such. Components of this oppositional identity included being different to family and friends, having different needs (for example, a need to believe in what their organisation was doing), and strong negative views regarding the private sector and money. A belief in a specific cause was another clear motivator for many interviewees, with the result that they could be seen as enthusiastic, as well as vocal and challenging, within their employing organisations. The final value not accounted for in PSM was that of a belief in the importance of the individual, which was clearly held in tension with a broader global and community focus; thus they were not biased in favour of either. Interviewees valued others, both clients and colleagues, as individuals, whilst also seeing themselves as part of the wider world, both now and in the future. Being part of a community at work was a further important element of this value.

Thus it can be seen that there are seven key values that are important to voluntary sector employees in motivating them to do the work they do. As such, voluntary sector employees can be said to have a distinctive set of values and motivations. In summary these values are:

- An attraction to public participation
- A commitment to public values

- Compassion
- Self-sacrifice
- An oppositional identity
- A belief in a cause
- A belief in the importance of the individual combined with a global/community focus

The Institutional Function in Value Development

The second theme to emerge from the findings was that institutions do have a role in the development of values which underpin a motivation to serve the interests of others in society. However, the role of other factors also has to be acknowledged.

In terms of institutional antecedents, the family, religion, education, and volunteering in charities were all shown to be relevant. Amongst these the influence of family was particularly prominent; although it is important to acknowledge that for some interviewees none of the antecedents were applicable.

Themes that emerged related to the family were upbringing, the work that they witnessed their parents doing, and parental expectations. In terms of religion, interviewees described how their values, such as participation in society, caring for others, and equality, came from their religion. Drawing inspiration from specific Bible verses was clearly also important for some. However, other interviewees suggested that they would have the same values regardless of their religion. Meanwhile, education and volunteering were reported to have provided opportunities for learning about issues and

problems in the world and society, and in the case of the latter, to have raised awareness of work opportunities in the sector.

While institutions clearly had a role to play in the development of values, some interviewees saw their values as wholly or partly innate. Most commonly, however, interviewees reported the influence of transformative experiences. These were non-institutional influences that comprised of an exposure to difference or challenge. For example, difficulties encountered in childhood (such as poverty), insights gained from living in diverse communities, experiences gained travelling overseas, and health related problems. Such experiences particularly increased interviewees' awareness of the world and raised questions for them regarding injustices and humanity. In many cases, these transformational experiences were more significant for employees in developing their values than their institutional experiences and therefore, while it can be seen that institutions do have a function in value development, other factors should not be ignored.

The Organisational Role in Value Development

The findings related to value development further showed that organisations have a role to play in this process. There are two clear ways in which values were initiated and developed amongst individuals *within* specific organisations. Firstly, knowledge and awareness about the organisation's work was stressed. This included learning about the issues and challenges that people face as well as the organisation's purpose. It also involved being able to see the impact of the organisation's work, as well as the connection between their individual work and the work of the organisation. This learning was enabled through various means including

organisational talks from experts, stories being shared on intranets or via email, contact with beneficiaries, and engagement in front-line work as part of induction. Secondly, colleague interaction and support (such as that experienced in teamwork and staff conferences) was often reported to have contributed to the development of the values held by those interviewed. The motivation and passion of peers, the sacrifices that they made, and the high levels of their job performance were all mentioned in this regard. In contrast, underperforming colleagues caused demotivation.

Additionally, there were organisational experiences that exerted a motivational influence, but which were not specifically about the transmission of values. These related to being treated as a significant individual, for example, by being valued, recognised, thanked, and involved in decisions, as well as experiencing values, which can be described as 'public values', such as accountability, equality, and trustworthy leadership. These experiences appeared to affect how individuals chose to enact their motivation to serve society at work.

However, the findings highlighted that employing organisations do not have an exclusive role in motivation changes. Thus, while they were partly responsible for both increasing and decreasing motivation, other effects were caused by maturity gained with age, and family needs taking priority over work. In addition, the organisation was, for many, simply a vehicle for carrying out their motivation for a cause. Therefore, while organisations can be clearly seen to have a role in developing values amongst employees, other factors need to be taken into consideration.

The Complexity of Motivation Research

The final theme to emerge from the findings suggests that exploring the motivation of voluntary sector employees through the use of qualitative methods reveals more complexity. In particular, there are four aspects of complexity that are highlighted through the findings from the research for this thesis. These are the existence of complex relationships, the possibility of different understandings and perceptions regarding values, the complex coexistence of motivation, and challenges for interviewees in discussing motivation.

Complex Relationships

The findings show that simplistic relationships do not often exist, such as between people and sector, or type of work and motivation. Rather, relationships are much more complex. For example, some employees who demonstrated a motivation to make a difference in society were clearly committed to the voluntary sector and would not consider working elsewhere; however, others had no such commitment, yet still demonstrated strong PSM values and motivations.

Findings also showed possible contradictions. For example, employees developed relevant values as a result of knowledge and awareness of the work of their employing organisation – one of the ways in which they did this was through contact with beneficiaries and seeing the impact of the organisation's work. It could therefore be assumed that those working in front-line roles would have higher levels of PSM values and motivations than those in back-office roles. However, no such link was found and instead, those in back-office roles were found to be similarly motivated.

Different Understandings and Emphases

Differing perceptions of, or emphases on, particular values were clearly evident, demonstrating that the values held by employees cannot be easily captured or described in overly simplistic terms. For example, interviewees placed different emphases on different dimensions with some being seen as important, whereas others were not. There were those who described themselves as being completely motivated by compassion whereas others explained that they were not particularly compassionate people. Others said that they did not think about public values, such as accountability and transparency, suggesting that this was not an important value for them. It was clearly possible, therefore, for interviewees to have a strong affinity with one value but not with another.

It was further shown that there were different perceptions or interpretations of particular values. For example, compassion was seen by some as a positive attribute but by others as a negative, disempowering emotion. Similarly, with sacrifices, some believed that they were giving up material things whilst others argued that these were not sacrifices, as they had no interest in such things. These differences therefore highlight how people understand values in different ways, and point to a drawback regarding the use of quantitative research to investigate areas such as motivation and values. Clearly quantitative methods can be useful in exploring themes and trends across groups of employees. However, subtle differences, which are key to understanding motivations, are not addressed through such research.

Complex Coexistence of Motivations

This study showed that it was possible for various motivations to coexist and for interviewees to see different motivations as intertwined. Interviewees were not motivated simply by one type of motivation such as that of a desire to serve society. Instead, it was noted that in addition to more altruistic values such as those reflected in PSM, voluntary sector employees discussed more self-interested motivations that coexisted with their desire to contribute to society. These included needs to be admired (for working in a charity) and to be needed by others, a desire for a convenient job, and opportunities for career development. Some interviewees even openly acknowledged that their desire to do something worthwhile was not entirely altruistic since, for example, they gained a sense of pride.

Challenges of Discussing Motivation

It became apparent that interviewees, at times, found it challenging to discuss their motivations. Firstly, some interviewees found it hard to separate discussion of PSM-type motivations from other motivations (for example, career development), thereby again highlighting the ways in which motivations coexisted. Additionally, on occasion, interviewees struggled to focus on discussing certain elements of their motivation to the exclusion of other factors, for example, what took place within an organisation that increased their desire to serve society but was not linked with other types of motivation for their work. Another example of this is how some interviewees initially saw their motivation as innate, but in discussing this it became apparent that there were in fact experiences that were relevant. The use of qualitative methods thus enabled in-depth responses

to be obtained that ensured that simplistic explanations could be avoided, such as the suggestion that motivations were only innate.

Implications for Research

The four themes described above have clear implications for research. In this section, the current theory and research will be described for each theme, before recalling some of the relevant findings of the study, and then focussing on their implications for existing research. These implications are summarised in a table on page 257.

Distinctive Values and Motivations of Voluntary Sector Employees

As was seen in the discussion of the literature in chapters 2 and 3, the *voluntary* and *public* sectors and their employees are seen to be both similar to, and distinct from, each other. For example, it is argued that both sectors have the aim of serving the public interest or providing a public benefit (Word and Park, 2009) and that intrinsic motivation is more important than extrinsic motivation in both (Park and Word, 2012). It is also suggested employees are likely to be similar as a result of the normative isomorphism flowing from interactions between them (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002; Harris, 2010). More specifically, it has been suggested that PSM will be applicable for voluntary sector employees (Mann, 2006; Perry and Hondeghem, 2008b). Moreover, some, albeit relatively indirect, evidence can be drawn on to support this proposition (see e.g. Houston, 2006).

Equally, there are challenges and questions regarding this assertion of similarities between the sectors and their employees. Suggested areas of differences include variations in sector character and identity (Billis, 2010), fluidity in the voluntary sector as opposed to bureaucracy in the public sector, and the distinct challenges of governance and stakeholder accountability in the voluntary sector (Harris and Billis, 1996). Thus, governments have advocated for voluntary sector involvement in public service delivery due to its 'special abilities', such as having a particular understanding of users and an ability to involve people in service delivery (HM Treasury, 2002), as well as its 'values driven nature' (Burt and Scholarios, 2011). These elements all imply that those working in the sector constitute a distinctive group of people with particular characteristics. At the same time, however, the special abilities of the voluntary sector have also been questioned (PASC, 2008).

In terms of PSM in the voluntary sector, there have been suggestions that it might even be higher than in the public sector based on research showing that, in their work, more non-profit sector employees than federal employees wanted to help people (Light, 2002). Equally, such a view has been challenged by research which found that those who want to be able to serve the public in their work are more likely to work in the public sector than the non-profit one. (Lee and Wilkins, 2011). This is therefore clearly a contested area with many uncertainties and assumptions.

As has been shown in the earlier part of this chapter, this thesis argues that voluntary sector employees do have a set of distinctive motivations and values. These include, but are not limited to, those associated with PSM. So, there was evidence of PSM dimensions (*Attraction to Public*

Participation, a Commitment to Public Values, Compassion, Self-Sacrifice), but these were supplemented with a belief in a cause, an oppositional identity, and an ability to hold in tension an individual and global focus. The latter three are not accounted for in PSM theory and research; regarding the oppositional identity, it should be noted that although PSM does discuss identity and includes it in the process theory of PSM (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008), it does not include in detail this very specific positioning element. The presence of these distinctive characteristics amongst voluntary sector employees, some of which are not accounted for in PSM, leads to some clear implications in terms of research.

The fact that there are specific values that are important throughout the group of interviewees addresses a clear gap in existing research regarding the motivation of employees in the voluntary sector. Indeed, it suggests that there may be a particular type of ethos amongst voluntary sector employees, which encompasses these seven values, and that motivates them in their work. The additional values may, in particular, be distinguishing features from people working in the public sector who also exhibit PSM values. It therefore adds support to Cunningham's (2008) suggestion, as well as that of Lee and Wilkins (2011), that there may be a voluntary sector ethos (VSE) or a unique motivation prevalent amongst these employees, and adds impetus to the further investigation and development of such a concept. In fact, it is possible to suggest that these seven values may, indeed, form the basis of a model of motivation for voluntary sector employees.

At the same time, the findings clearly demonstrate that PSM is applicable to voluntary sector employees, thus addressing the call for research into PSM

within the voluntary sector (Perry and Hondeghem, 2008). Furthermore, in demonstrating that PSM applies to voluntary sector employees, they also confirm that alternative motivation theories (as opposed to mainstream ones) are necessary to fully explain motivation of some groups of people (as suggested by Shamir, 1991). For example, values, moral obligation, and collective concerns were all highly important to the voluntary sector employees interviewed for this study, and, as Shamir (1991) argues, such elements are not included mainstream motivation theories.

Additionally, the fact that PSM values are present amongst voluntary sector employees, as well as public sector ones, adds support to suggestions of similarity between the sectors, and, to some extent, endorses research that takes place in the two sectors, grouping them together, for example, research in the US (Houston, 2011). At the same time, however, the findings point to the fact that there could be differences in the motivations between the employees in the two sectors and, indeed, even though PSM resonated with voluntary sector employees, they considered themselves to be 'different' to others. Therefore such possible differences do also need be considered when carrying out research.

The Institutional Function in Value Development

Within the PSM process theory, value development is said to take place as institutions shape behaviour (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008). Prior to employment in an organisation these values are argued to develop in institutions which research has shown to include the family and religion (Perry, 1997; Perry *et al.*, 2008). Thus PSM type values are seen to

develop in a predictable way, based on an individual's participation in institutions.

However, the findings have shown that while institutions do have a role to play in the development of values, the formation of values is rather more complex than is proposed within PSM theory, at least in the case of voluntary sector workers. In particular, it was found that some voluntary sector employees saw their values as innate, while many believed them to have developed through experiences which can be described as transformative.

The combined institutional and non-institutional antecedents clearly make contributions to the current literature but also challenge it. Firstly, there has been a dearth of research into value development in the voluntary sector and this thesis therefore addresses a gap in existing literature, demonstrating how voluntary sector employees believe their values develop.

Secondly, the findings contribute to existing PSM research and theory by both endorsing and challenging aspects of them. In part, the findings endorse the institutional function in value development, advocated by PSM theory. It does this by showing that the family and religion (both antecedents described in PSM literature) are relevant for voluntary sector employees. The findings also, however, point to the relevance of another two types of institutional antecedents – that of experiences within education, and experiences volunteering in a charity before employment in the voluntary sector. Neither of these has been included in previous PSM antecedent research.

Furthermore, the findings enable a more detailed understanding of the experiences and perceptions of individuals regarding such processes. Previous research has described antecedents in a generalised manner without exploring the nature of their influence in detail (e.g. Perry, 1997). In the present study, this has been possible due to the use of qualitative methods. For example, findings have shed light on some of the things that actually take place within a family or a religious group that can develop values. These include witnessing a caring and welcoming attitude being modelled by parents, having a sense of parental expectations, the importance of Bible verses, or values of the religion.

More widely, the findings challenge the PSM process theory which focuses wholly on institutional processes that develop PSM values (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Thus, it is shown that whilst institutional processes are relevant for voluntary sector employees, other factors also play a role. The fact that these missing elements are innate values and transformative experiences, both of which are hard to measure quantitatively, again challenges the quantitative focus in PSM research to date, despite it being acknowledged by Perry *et al.* (2008) that quantitative methods are not appropriate for studying PSM development. This will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

The Organisational Role in Value Development

In recent years PSM researchers have started to examine the role of organisational factors in PSM value development. Although it is still at a relatively early stage, such research has generated a diverse list of organisational influences on PSM. These include organisational characteristics such as entrepreneurship and being customer focussed

(Camilleri, 2007), job characteristics such as task significance, work-scheduling autonomy and task identity (Camilleri, 2007; Koumenta, 2011), and HRM practices such as reward and training (Gould-Williams *et al.*, 2010). These lists, however, do not provide depth and lack coherence which, in turn, discourages meaningful engagement with them, reducing the ability of organisations to respond in practical ways. Additionally, the existing research does not draw on the PSM process theory in its analysis, despite the proposal of the theory being a significant development in PSM theory (one exception is Vandenabeele's 2011 research). So, for example, while Perry and Vandenabeele (2008) propose that theories such as socialisation and cultural learning explain the transmission of values, and social cognitive and self-determinism theories (amongst others) explain the self-regulation aspect of individuals choosing to enact values, these elements of the process theory have not been submitted to scrutiny.

Based on findings from the research undertaken for this thesis it is clearly possible to see that organisations do have a role to play in transmitting values (through knowledge and awareness, and colleague interaction and support). The culture in organisations is particularly highly relevant in individuals choosing to enact values (through being treated as a significant individual and experiencing public values). However, there are also external factors that affect the motivation and values of employees during their tenure within an organisation. Implications of these findings for the research focus on adding depth to and endorsing the PSM process theory, whilst also challenging PSM's exclusivity.

The fact that organisations have been shown to have a role in developing values addresses a research gap regarding value development within

voluntary sector organisations. Additionally, depth was added to current PSM research, for example, by providing empirical examples of value development through knowledge and awareness, as well as colleague interaction and support – current theory simply suggests that values can be transmitted through theoretical processes (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008) but does not describe the actual content of these. These findings therefore enable a more detailed understanding of the role that organisations have in value development, thereby answering calls for this role to be subjected to more research (e.g. Wright and Grant, 2010).

Furthermore, the findings also endorse aspects of the PSM process theory that have not previously been tested. As highlighted in Chapter 6, the fact that knowledge and awareness about the organisation's work was important in transmitting values, suggests that the process theory can be endorsed in terms of its emphasis on socialisation in value transmission. The role of colleague interaction and support in value transmission further suggests support for cultural learning processes within the PSM process theory due to their focus on relationships.

Additionally, the findings regarding culture at work (being treated as a significant individual and experiencing public values in the workplace) supports self-regulation elements of the process theory (Perry and Vandenberg, 2008). Within this stage of the theory, social cognitive and self-determinism explanations are seen to be important, amongst others. These suggest, respectively, the importance of an alignment of the environment with an individual's internal standards, and the importance of relatedness and autonomy, to the enacting of values. The alignment of the environment with internal standards is therefore supported by the findings

in this research concerning the importance of individuals experiencing public values at work, while relatedness and autonomy are reflected in findings regarding the importance of being treated as a significant individual.

Finally, this thesis extends the concept of PSM by showing how it does not currently account for factors outside the organisation having an impact on an individual's PSM during their employment. This suggests that motivation models such as PSM can be too restrictive. This latter point leads on nicely to the fourth theme, that of the complexity of motivation research.

The Complexity of Motivation Research

PSM theory and research has previously focussed on measuring PSM and its dimensions (e.g. Ritz, 2009; Andersen *et al.*, 2011), as well as predicting and establishing relationships using quantitative methods (e.g. Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Vandenabeele, 2011). As a result there is a tendency to simplify motivation and its development. Some examples of this are as follows:

- There is a strong sectoral focus in existing studies where research is undertaken within one sector (e.g. Vandenabeele, 2011; Giaque *et al.*, 2012), despite assertions that PSM can be found in other sectors (e.g. Andersen, 2009; Andersen *et al.*, 2011).
- Previous authors have found key differences in work values between those involved in different types of roles, particularly between those in administrative roles and more public-facing ones, and this suggests that individuals need to be engaged in direct work in order to demonstrate PSM values (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Steijn and Smulders, 2004; Lyons *et al.*, 2006).

- While there is some focus on measuring dimensions within and between groups of employees (e.g. Koumenta, 2011), there is also a tendency to use proxies to measure PSM (e.g. Taylor, 2008; Houston, 2011) and thus treat PSM as one distinct variable or to only include some of the dimensions (e.g. Ritz, 2009).
- Previous research treats PSM in isolation, excluding other motivations from studies.

In contrast, the findings in this thesis have shown that motivation research is a complex area, entailing complex relationships, different perceptions and emphases, the existence of mixed motivations, and challenges for employees in discussing their motivation in isolation. Thus, while PSM is a useful device to explore the nature of motivation, any theory like this will only provide a partial view. All this suggests that there are clear benefits to the use of qualitative methods in research on PSM and voluntary sector employees' motivations, particularly since such methods enable broader views, outside of a narrow theory, to be incorporated. The main implication of the findings within this theme, therefore, is to strongly encourage the use of more qualitative research in this field. However, the findings related to the complexity of motivation also suggest other contributions and challenges to the research. These are drawn out below.

Complex Relationships

The findings regarding the complex relationships which exist related to motivation clearly challenge existing research. They do this, for example, by challenging the sectoral approach in such research, and some previously established relationships within it. As described above, there is a strong sectoral focus in PSM research – much PSM research is focussed

on sectors, either carrying out research within a specific sector or comparing between sectors (e.g. Andersen *et al.*, 2011; Koumenta, 2011; Vandenabeele, 2011). However, this research showed that while some employees were clearly committed to the voluntary sector and would not consider working elsewhere, others had no such commitment, while still demonstrating strong PSM values and motivations. Therefore sector seems to be less important than existing PSM research might suggest.

Another relationship that has been argued to exist is that between those involved in different types of roles and work values. This compares those in administrative roles and more public-facing ones and suggests that individuals need to be engaged in direct work in order to demonstrate PSM values (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Steijn and Smulders, 2004; Lyons *et al.*, 2006). However, it was clear that many of the employees interviewed for this research were employed in back-office roles but nevertheless exhibited high levels of motivation to make a difference and contribute to society. The importance of type of work therefore also seems to be less important than has been suggested in PSM research.

These findings imply that more investigation through the use of qualitative methodologies would be highly useful in order to tease out subtleties. The challenge to the sectoral approach also cautions against the too ready production of generalisations in research.

Different Understandings and Emphases

The research for this study has shown that the way in which dimensions are treated in existing PSM research is problematic. As mentioned previously, dimensions are measured through the use of survey questions

(e.g. Rose, 2012), but much research uses proxies for the whole of PSM and does not examine the dimensions separately (e.g. Taylor, 2008; Houston, 2011), or treats PSM as an aggregate of all the dimensions (e.g. Vandenberghe, 2011). There is also a study, which has not been developed, from Brewer *et al.* (2000), that suggests that there are four different identities represented in PSM: Samaritans, Communitarians, Patriots and Humanitarians. These exhibit elements of each of the dimensions, but with differing emphases. For example, Samaritans are described as wanting to help people but not being willing to sacrifice their own needs, whilst Patriots focus more on the public and would risk personal loss.

The findings for this thesis showed that interviewees placed different emphases on different dimensions. These findings, combined with those of Brewer *et al.*, suggest that particular insights might be gained from understanding the different emphases within, or between, dimensions in understanding motivations. The findings also suggest that the four dimensions should all be included and treated individually in PSM research, as opposed to existing practices by some researchers, which is to pick one or two of the dimensions, or use a proxy for PSM in general. Clearly this does not adequately capture attitudes and values, since it is possible for individuals to have very distinct attitudes within the dimensions. If only one or two dimensions are used in PSM studies the research should, in fact, be described as research on a particular dimension, not overall PSM research.

The way in which interviewees understood different values, in particular *Compassion* and *Self-Sacrifice*, additionally suggests that the use of

qualitative methods, which enables these different understandings and perceptions to be uncovered and explored, should be encouraged.

Complex Coexistence of Motivations

In addition to a focus on simplistic relationships and a lack of attention being given to dimensional differences in emphasis or interpretations, the present study further challenges the exclusive focus on PSM in existing research. As was shown, interviewees talked about how different motivations were important to them and highlighted how it was possible for various motivations to coexist. Interviewees were seen to be motivated, for example, by a desire to make a difference in the world along with a desire for professional development.

PSM does not account for 'other' motivations, and although this is understandable to some extent, for example, in terms of ensuring that research is manageable, in many ways reality is not reflected in existing PSM research. People are complex beings; there are many values and combinations of values that motivate, and many experiences that affect motivation. While researchers may choose to focus on a variable, participants may not see such things in isolation. Thus it can be argued that while motivations are fluid and difficult to pin down, in contradiction, *theories* of motivation tend not to reflect this complexity. It can also be argued that this exclusive focus on PSM leads to a characterisation of people who work in public services, or in the voluntary sector, as entirely altruistic. However, this characterisation may not encapsulate all the relevant motivations and values of employees in these sectors. This therefore highlights the dangers of looking at PSM motivation in isolation to other types of motivation. The implication of this for research is that care

needs to be taken when researching and describing such motivations, particularly when making generalisations.

Challenges of Discussing Motivation

Finally, the difficulties that interviewees found in talking about some elements of their motivation in isolation (for example, what contributed to the development of their motivation to contribute to society, but not other motivation for work) further encourages the use of qualitative methods in PSM research. As has already been mentioned, Perry *et al.* (2008) suggested that quantitative methods were not conducive to studying the development of PSM, and this should be considered in the development of future PSM research projects.

The above contributions to, and implications for, research are summarised in the table on the following page.

Table 8.2: Research Contributions and Implications

Theme	Implications and Contributions
Distinctive characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contributes to a gap in existing research regarding voluntary sector motivation, suggesting a particular type of ethos or model of motivation made up of 7 values. • Contributes to PSM research by addressing a call for research into PSM in the voluntary sector. • Confirms that alternative motivation theories are necessary. • Cautiously endorses research that takes place which groups the public and voluntary sectors together, due to some similarities in values, but also advises consideration of differences.
Institutional function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contributes to a gap in research regarding value development in voluntary sector employees. • Endorses the focus on institutions in PSM theory, and also extends institutional antecedents to include education and volunteering within a charity. • Contributes to PSM research by enabling depth of understanding regarding value development especially in terms of actual experiences. • Challenges the exclusive focus of PSM process theory on institutional antecedents, and instead shows that transformational experiences are especially important.
Organisational role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contributes to a gap in research regarding the organisational role in value development in voluntary sector employees. • Contributes to existing PSM research by adding depth and detail regarding the organisational role in value development. • Endorses elements of the process theory which have not previously been tested (socialisation, cultural theory, self-regulation). • Cautions against the restrictive nature of PSM research which does not account for factors outside the organisation having an effect on motivation while employed.
Complexity of motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall, encourages the use of more qualitative methods in PSM research. • Challenges the sectoral focus and established relationships (such as work type and motivation) within existing PSM research, and cautions against generalisations. • Advises against the use of individual dimensions as representative of PSM, and discourages proxy use. • Contributes to PSM research by highlighting different perceptions of dimensions and adds support to research which proposes different identities within PSM. • Challenges the focus on PSM to the exclusion of other motivations, and thereby advises caution in generalisations and characterisation.

Implications for Organisations

Having detailed the contributions of the thesis to existing research, this section now moves to consider the implications of the findings for organisations. As before, each of the four themes described above is taken

in turn, and the implications are then summarised in a table at the end of the section (p.264).

Distinctive Values and Motivations of Voluntary Sector Employees

The fact that employees working in the voluntary sector have a distinctive set of values and motivations has a number of implications for voluntary sector organisations. In particular, it suggests that managers in the voluntary sector need to acknowledge and take account of these values when managing voluntary sector employees.

The fact that employees are willing to make sacrifices (even if they do not see them as such) suggests that, within reason, employment remuneration and benefits do not need to keep pace with those in either the public or private sectors. However, other values that employees hold suggests that they are likely to require certain things in their work. For example, the public values that employees hold indicates that they will have high expectations of the work that they are involved in and of the organisation they work for; therefore organisations need to ensure that they are demonstrating high ethical standards, amongst other things. It can also be suggested that employees would appreciate being made aware of what the organisation is doing for beneficiaries as well as the broader impact of their work, due to their ability to hold in tension a focus on the individual and the global.

Meanwhile, opportunities for participation also appear to be important. For example, the value regarding an *Attraction to Public Participation* suggests that employees are likely to want to participate in their organisations and be

involved in addressing problems. In addition, their oppositional nature, along with their belief in a cause, suggests that employees will be unafraid of challenging others in order to further the aims of that cause; this includes their employer. Therefore, working in an environment that encourages participation and employee voice, for example, through providing general opportunities for participation and/or union representation, would therefore seem appropriate.

In terms of recruitment, the fact that there is a coherent ethos amongst voluntary sector employees, suggests that recruitment practices could focus on targeting individuals with such values and assessing whether applicants do indeed reflect them. While organisations do already target recruitment of employees with values (Cunningham, 2010b), these findings enable more specific values to be targeted.

The Institutional Function in Value Development

Implications for organisations related to institutional and non-institutional antecedents focus on volunteering and an organisation's public-facing work. It was shown in the research for this study that volunteering was one of the ways in which individuals developed values related to making a difference in society, prior to employment within the sector. While volunteering is already an important element of voluntary organisations, these findings give it an added rationale. Since experiences as volunteers (prior to being employees within a voluntary organisation) led to a greater understanding of issues and a desire to address them, it can be argued that it is highly relevant for organisations to encourage volunteering with this purpose in mind; the purpose being that values are being developed within

volunteers who are then more likely to want to contribute to society through their paid work in the future.

Educating the public and providing opportunities for transformative experiences could further lead to individuals developing values related to serving society, and potentially to seeking out employment in the sector. In the findings related to transformative experiences it was shown that some people were clearly impacted by media campaigns for charities, whilst others were impacted by gap year programmes in them. Therefore, as with volunteering, there is an added rationale behind such programmes and campaigns – that of inspiring and developing values in people that will potentially motivate them to work in the sector (or, more broadly, in the service of society) at a later date.

Finally, it is also clearly imperative that charities educate the public regarding the opportunities that exist for employment in voluntary organisations. Some interviewees said that they had not realised that it was possible to be employed in a charity, reflecting research from Nickson *et al.* (2008), and therefore pointing to the need for charities to communicate the opportunities available, in order to broaden the pool of potential applicants and ensure that they are able to recruit the best possible people for their work.

The Organisational Role in Value Development

The role of organisational practices and experiences in developing values amongst voluntary sector employees, and in their choosing to enact their values, clearly has implications for the ways in which organisations should

manage such employees, in some ways reflecting the point made above regarding their distinctive values.

Specifically, the findings point to the importance, for employees, of gaining knowledge about the work of the organisation, understanding the impact of its work, and being able to see the connection between their individual work and the overall purpose of the organisation. Practices where this took place were described, for example, communicating stories through organisational newsletters, using videos to show evidence of impact 'on the ground', enabling visits for employees to experience front-line work, or having front-line workers giving talks to other employees. Organisations should therefore be encouraged to continue such practices if they are already engaging in them, or introducing them if they do not already exist within organisations. Furthermore, considering the way that some interviewees described how such practices existed but that they did not make time to read the information shared or attend talks, it is imperative that managers encourage their employees to engage proactively in this regard. It is also important that those in management and leadership work to ensure that all employees can see how their individual work clearly fits with the overall purpose of the organisation. This could be achieved partly through planning processes, but also in day-to-day communication between line managers and employees.

Given that colleague interaction and support appear important for value development, charities should additionally encourage a collegial culture by promoting a sense of community, and enabling multiple methods of interaction between colleagues. These methods could include team and cross-team working, induction visits to projects, peer-to-peer networks, staff

conferences, social events, and enabling daily interaction in smaller ways, such as pausing from work to come together to celebrate achievements or personal events, or having lunch together. It also includes proactively addressing issues caused by underperforming employees; by not addressing performance issues early, there is an increased risk that other employees may be demotivated.

The findings demonstrate the importance of aspects of an organisational culture for employees choosing to enact their values within their employing organisation. In particular, treating employees as significant individuals, and exhibiting public values within the workplace, were notable points. Therefore organisations should work to ensure that their employees do not feel taken for granted. More specifically, this could include finding ways to value employees, recognising them for their work, listening to their views, and involving them in organisational decisions. In addition, organisations should ensure transparency and accountability in the workplace, along with equality and fairness, particularly between the leadership and employees. Moreover, these public values should be widely understood and clearly evident for employees. To some extent, the suggestions that are being made here could simply be seen as 'good' management, whatever the sector. However, organisational compliance with these practices is arguably more critical in the voluntary sector due to the way in which values go to the heart of what employment in the voluntary sector is about. Indeed, it can be argued that many employees simply see the organisation as a vehicle in which they can enact their values. Therefore, failure by managers in voluntary sector organisations to either exhibit values or enable employees to enact their values, is arguably more likely to have significant demotivational effects.

The Complexity of Motivation Research

The point made earlier in this chapter about avoiding generalisations in research can also be applied to management practices. It might be tempting to overly generalise the need for certain practices to be adopted based on employees' values. However, as discussed above, employees do not place equal emphasis on all values. For example, while some interviewees were happy to sacrifice salary levels, others clearly had a level at which they felt they should be paid and would not sacrifice this; therefore assuming too much in terms of willingness to sacrifice might undermine the employment relationship as employees become frustrated at the lack of benefits. Other employees said that they had not thought much about public values such as accountability and transparency, and therefore organisations need to be careful not to assume that all employees will attribute the same level of importance to all values. However, the fact that this is held in tension with employees who generally have deeply held values (even if they are not consistent across a group) highlights a particular challenge for voluntary organisations as they seek to manage their value-driven employees. More generally, however, it can be recommended that organisations should have clarity about what they are seeking to do, and the values that it adopts, as an organisation.

Organisations also need to avoid making assumptions regarding the exclusivity of motivations. For example, some employees are motivated by career development or salary, and this may be instead of more altruistic values or in addition to them. Others have a strong professional identity which competes with an altruistic-related identity. Furthermore, while for some voluntary sector employees there was a very clear link between their values and commitment to the voluntary sector, others were less inclined to

stay within the sector, or even within their organisations. Organisations therefore need to pay attention to a variety of motivators and identities, and also need to be careful to avoid being complacent regarding the commitment of employees to the voluntary sector.

The implications for organisations from the four themes described are summarised in the table below.

Table 8.3: Implications for Organisations

Theme	Implications
Distinctive characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suggests that it is possible to maintain lower remuneration than in other sectors. • Advises organisations to ensure that it demonstrates high levels of public values. • Encourages communication with employees of the broad and individual impact of work. • Encourages employee participation and/or union representation. • Enables more specific targeting of values in recruitment.
Institutional function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advises organisations to provide volunteering opportunities, programmes such as gap year excursions, and engage in media campaigns educating the public about their work (in order to encourage value development, leading to future work contributing to society). • Highlights the need to educate the public regarding career opportunities in the voluntary sector.
Organisational role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommends that organisations enable and encourage employees to gain knowledge of the organisation's work, its impact, and connection with their individual work, e.g. through story communication, shadowing, visiting front-line work. • Suggests encouraging a collegial culture and enable multiple methods of interaction, e.g. through team work, networking, conferences, social events. • Advises proactively addressing performance issues. • Encourages organisations to value and recognise employees, involving them in decisions, as well as exhibit and explain public values within the organisation.
Complexity of motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advises avoiding generalisations where it is assumed that the same values are important to all employees. • Advises avoiding assuming that employees are exclusively motivated for the voluntary sector.

Implications for Government Policy

Finally, this chapter focuses on the implications for government policy of the core themes. In this case, three themes are covered: the distinctive values of employees, the institutional function in value development, and the organisational role in developing values amongst employees.

Distinctive Values and Motivations of Voluntary Sector Employees

The existence of a distinctive set of values amongst voluntary sector employees has implications for government policy particularly focussing on the outsourcing of public service delivery to the voluntary sector. Principally, the practice of engaging the voluntary sector to deliver public services can be endorsed due to the existence of PSM values amongst its employees (for example an *Attraction to Public Participation* and a *Commitment to Public Values*). This demonstrates some similarities between the public and voluntary sectors and, therefore, voluntary sector employees would appear to be appropriate individuals to deliver public services.

The value that these employees demonstrated regarding a combined focus on individuals and the community/world also suggests that outsourcing to the sector can be endorsed. In fact, it is possible that the voluntary sector may be more appropriate than the *private* sector to deliver public services due to this combined focus. Previous research has suggested that the private sector focuses on individuals, whereas the public sector focuses on communities and society (e.g. Lee and Wilkins, 2011). Voluntary sector employees who focus on large-scale communities *in addition* to individuals

may be better suited than the private sector to deliver these public services, as they reflect the public sector focus on communities. In fact, if this ability of voluntary sector employees to hold the two foci in tension is different to the public sector (which has not yet been established), it could be argued that the voluntary sector might be better suited to deliver some public services than even the public sector. For example, in providing a care service, the joint focus on meeting the needs of society and individuals would seem to be highly desirable.

The belief in a cause and the oppositional identity of voluntary sector employees suggest there may, however, be significant challenges involved in the delivery of public services. The belief in a cause can revolve around an injustice in society and it is entirely possible that the public sector may be complicit in the injustice, as exemplified for example in Patricia's belief that government policies towards immigrants were immoral. Therefore voluntary sector employees may experience conflicts of interest in delivering public services. In addition, it is possible that they may be less inclined to accept, or cope with, the nuance and tolerance of inequality that is required in the public sector, due to their strongly held values. Conflicts of interest may, in turn, be even more of a possibility in situations where private and voluntary organisations join forces to deliver public services together, such as the government's work programme (DWP, 2013), given how those interviewed displayed particularly negative attitudes to the private sector as part of their oppositional identity.

The Institutional Function in Value Development

In a similar vein to the implications described for organisations, there are some very practical implications for policy of the findings related to

institutional and non-institutional antecedents. These implications build on the fact that values such as being an active citizen, compassion, and a combined individual and community focus are all positive values for citizens to have; indeed, the Big Society is very relevant here as components of its vision include empowering local communities and encouraging volunteering. Particular antecedents of interest include elements of education, volunteering, and travel overseas.

More specifically, this theme suggests that government should proactively encourage education content that raises awareness of the wider world and the challenges facing both individuals and society, and enable and encourage volunteering in society. It is not clear from the findings whether volunteering needs to be undertaken through personal choice for it to have an impact on values, however, possible avenues for providing this support could include school and university volunteering programmes as part of the curriculum, or funding provision for charities to develop volunteering programmes. Government policy endorsing and providing support for programmes that enable people to travel and volunteer either in their gap years or later on in career breaks, such as in the International Citizen Service, could also be productively encouraged. Thus, it can be seen that by government taking an active role in sustaining volunteering and promoting relevant educational content, a 'supply' of future voluntary sector employees is potentially ensured.

The Organisational Role in Value Development

The role that an organisation has in value development has some important implications for government policy particularly regarding outsourcing practices. Previous research has suggested that values amongst voluntary

sector employees are affected by taking on contracts to deliver public services (c.f. Cunningham, 2008; Cunningham and James, 2011a), in part due to changes in culture within the organisation. The findings for this thesis showed that colleague interaction and support within the organisation is important for the transmission of values. Additionally, the findings from the research for this thesis have shown that organisational experiences, such as being treated as a significant individual and experiencing public values in the workplace, affect how an individual decides to enact their values within that organisation. Therefore, it might be the case that, rather than an individual's values being affected by outsourcing, a change in culture caused by delivering public contracts may limit employee desires to enact their values in a changed environment.

These aspects of the organisation (colleague interaction and support, treating individuals as significant, and exhibiting public values) can all be seen as elements of the organisation's culture. The implication of this for outsourcing, therefore, is that in the process of contracting with a voluntary sector organisation, the government should ensure that it does not affect the culture of the organisation as, by affecting elements of the culture, the very nature of voluntary sector employees that is seen to justify outsourcing, and their willingness to enact values, is, in fact, damaged.

The implications described above for the three themes are summarised on the following page.

Table 8.4: Implications for Government Policy

Theme	Implications
Distinctive characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Endorses outsourcing due to the existence of PSM values and combined focus on individuals and the community/world. • Highlights the need to understand that there will be challenges in outsourcing public service delivery to the voluntary sector due to a belief in a cause and an oppositional identity.
Institutional function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advises including in educational content elements that raise awareness of the world and challenges facing individuals and communities. • Encourages enabling volunteering in society, and overseas, through funding and programme support.
Organisational role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advises that government ensures the unique culture of voluntary organisations is maintained in outsourcing public service delivery.

Conclusion

This chapter began by briefly summarising the findings of the research carried out for this thesis and demonstrating how PSM was applicable to voluntary sector employees, yet was also inadequate to fully explain their motivation and its development. It then moved on to focus on four thematic propositions that emerged from the findings.

The first theme was that voluntary sector employees have a distinctive set of motivations made up of seven values. Interviewees were shown generally to be motivated by a desire to make a difference in society and do something worthwhile. More specifically, they endorsed the four PSM dimension: *Attraction to Public Participation*, *Commitment to Public Values*, *Compassion*, and *Self-Sacrifice*. In addition, they also exhibited three other values that are not accounted for in PSM: an oppositional identity, a belief in a cause, and a concern for the individual combined with a global/community focus. As such this suggests a model of motivation within the voluntary sector. This model draws on PSM dimensions but suggests that voluntary sector motivation is arguably a more complex concept.

Secondly, institutions have a function in the development of values, explaining some but not all value development. In particular, antecedents were shown to include family, religion, education and volunteering in a charity. In addition to this, some interviewees saw their values as innate, whilst the overwhelming way in which values were developed was through transformative experiences.

Thirdly, while employing organisations play a role in the development of employees' values and motivation, the same is true of other sources of influence. One of the ways in which the organisation has a role in developing values is through communicating with employees about the work of the organisation, its impact, and the link between employees' individual work and the overall purpose of the organisation (knowledge and awareness). The encouragement of colleague interaction and support also seems of importance due to the way in which staff reported being influenced by the motivation and passion of peers, the sacrifices that they made, and the high levels of their job performance. Further to this, being treated as a significant individual and experiencing public values at work appeared to affect employees' choice to enact their values.

Fourthly, it was clear that motivation is a highly complex area to research. In particular, complex relationships between factors, different understandings and emphases on values, motivations coexisting, and the challenges for interviewees of focussing only on one type of motivation in discussion, were all apparent.

It has been argued that each of these themes had significant wide-ranging implications for research, organisations, and government policy, and the

chapter then moved on to explore them. In terms of research, they include contributions and challenges to existing research, particularly in terms of addressing research gaps, adding depth to existing research, and also challenging simplistic aspects of existing research, such as the sectoral focus and the exclusive focus on institutional antecedents. In particular, the partial view of motivation that is possible through the use of motivational models is apparent. The implications for organisations included very practical recommendations such as encouraging participation, recognising employees, and communicating the impact of the work to employees, as well as encouraging volunteering and developing collegial cultures. These practices are particularly important in the voluntary sector considering the way in which values are at the heart of the employment relationship. Finally, in terms of government implications, the findings endorse outsourcing in a broad, but qualified, way, while also encouraging policies focussed on value development through education and volunteering programmes.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This final chapter commences by considering the main contributions of the thesis, in particular, focussing on the contributions to research, voluntary organisation management, and government policy, before exploring avenues for future research. The chapter concludes by providing an overall review of the thesis. It does this by initially referring back to the two literature review chapters that provided the context for the study and highlighting the key questions that emerged from them. After touching upon the methodology pursued in setting out to address the study's aim and associated research questions, the key findings and the related propositions that arose from it are revisited, before recalling very briefly some of the key contributions of the thesis.

Contribution of the Thesis

In this section, the principal contributions of the research described in this thesis are highlighted. These are considered theme by theme, and are related back to the literature and context described earlier in the thesis. The contributions described here build on the implications of the research discussed in the previous chapter

The Existence of a Set of Distinctive Values and Motivations

The first key theme, that of the existence of a set of distinctive values and motivations among voluntary sector employees, only some of which are accounted for in PSM, makes a number of critical contributions to relevant research, organisational, and policy domains.

Principally, in terms of research, the finding that there is a set of distinctive values and motivations among voluntary sector employees contributes to key gaps in the existing literature regarding both the motivation of voluntary sector employees and whether PSM can be applied to them. As was detailed in the review of the literature earlier in the thesis, there is very limited research in terms of the values and motivations of voluntary sector employees (Cunningham, 2008). These findings therefore address deficiencies in existing research, firstly, by uncovering the values and motivations that are important for voluntary sector employees and thus supporting a model of voluntary sector motivation, based on seven, rather than four (PSM), values. This builds on the suggestions of Lee and Wilkins (2011) and Cunningham (2008) that there may be a unique motivation or voluntary sector ethos prevalent amongst these employees.

Another deficiency in current literature is the lack of research in terms of PSM within the voluntary sector and, as such, Perry and Hondeghem (2008) have specifically called for research into this. The thesis addresses this deficiency by showing that PSM is applicable to voluntary sector employees and provides evidence to support previous suggestions that this would be the case (Mann, 2006; Perry and Hondeghem, 2008). This is no surprise considering the fact that both sectors focus on serving the public. Yet it is not clear whether the findings related to the *additional* three values suggest a difference between voluntary and public sector employees, due to the fact that this study did not involve comparative research. As was highlighted in the literature review, it has been argued that there are differences between the public and voluntary sectors including sector character and identity (Billis, 2010), and a particular understanding of service users amongst voluntary sector employees (HM Treasury, 2002).

These suggested differences could be supported by some of the values found in this study (such as the oppositional identity and the focus on an individual), if such additional values are not, in fact, also found amongst the public sector. Furthermore, while the fact that PSM applies to both public and voluntary sector employees suggests that it can be appropriate to carry out research that groups the voluntary and public sectors together (e.g. Houston, 2011), the possible differences uncovered and, in particular, the oppositional identity, highlight the need for caution.

The finding that voluntary sector employees are motivated by the desire to serve the public and that these seven values (including the four PSM ones) are important to their motivation endorses the argument proposed by Shamir (1991), and supported by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), that alternative motivation theories are needed to explain the behaviour of some individuals. Shamir argues that it is important to take account of values, moral obligation and collective concerns when considering the motivation of individuals and highlights the limitations of existing motivation theories based on rational choice. The findings in this thesis demonstrate that individuals are indeed motivated by their values and collective concerns. However, the findings also suggest that it is important to consider multiple motivations and to avoid characterisation and generalisations, a point that is picked up later in this section.

In terms of this thesis making a contribution to organisations, the existence of particular values amongst employees in the voluntary sector suggests that certain management practices should be followed, for example, encouraging employee participation, communication to employees of the broad and individual impact of the work of the organisation, and the specific

targeting of values in recruitment. Indeed, as was highlighted in the review of the literature, various academics have suggested the existence of a distinctive participatory culture within the voluntary sector. For example, Cunningham (2001) argues that voluntary organisations are more likely to make decisions in participatory ways, Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2002) suggest high levels of internal democracy, and Osborne and Flynn (1997) suggest that internal communication is important. The findings from this thesis therefore build on such previous literature and provide more evidence to highlight the importance of such participatory and communication practices within voluntary organisations.

Finally, the findings related to the values of voluntary sector employees make a contribution to government policy by endorsing outsourcing. This is because the existence of PSM values amongst these employees indicates that there are similarities between them and employees in the public sector, and that it therefore is appropriate to outsource services to these similar employees. In this, the thesis makes a further contribution, by arguing that it may in fact be more appropriate to outsource to the voluntary sector rather than the private sector. This is particularly relevant considering the fact that most of the government's external funding goes to the private rather than voluntary sector (Clark *et al.*, 2009).

Of course, it is the differences between sectors that have been drawn upon in the justification for outsourcing public service delivery (e.g. HM Treasury, 2002; Office for Civil Society, 2010). In this regard, as has already been highlighted, the *additional* three values identified in this thesis arguably go some way to clarifying some of these distinctive characteristics, while also showing how they could give rise to some specific challenges with regard to

the management of outsourced services. In particular, both oppositional identity and a belief in a cause could lead to problems for such employees in working for the public sector or in working in partnership with the private sector. The literature related to the effects of outsourcing on employees (e.g. Cunningham and James, 2011a), and its connection with the findings from this thesis, will be touched on in due course below.

The Institutional and Organisational Roles in Value Development

The second and third themes that emerged from the findings were that institutions, including employing ones, do indeed have a role in the development of values and motivations but that there is more complexity involved due to the importance of transformational experiences and the relevance of non-organisational factors to motivation changes during employment. These two themes and the related findings make a number of overlapping contributions to research, organisations, and government policy.

Firstly, an important contribution is made by addressing significant gaps in existing research regarding value development amongst voluntary sector employees. In particular, the thesis shows that values and motivation develop amongst voluntary sector employees through institutions such as the family, religious groups, education, and volunteering in charities, but more fundamentally through transformative experiences involving an exposure to difference or challenge. In addition, these values are shown to develop within organisations through developing knowledge and awareness of the work a charity is engaged in and through colleague in interaction and support. These findings answer a call for more understanding of the source of voluntary sector employees' values (Cunningham, 2010), while the

particular findings related to pre-organisational antecedents build on Cunningham's (2010) suggestion that experiences outside of organisations are highly relevant to the process of value development.

Secondly, the study's findings make some important contributions to PSM research regarding the origins of PSM values, an area which is seen to be under-researched (Perry *et al.*, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2011). While the findings confirm the influence of institutional factors (prior to organisational employment) identified in current PSM research (Perry, 1997; Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008), the findings extend the institutions concerned to include education and volunteering in charities - existing research primarily suggests the importance of families and religious groups (Perry, 1997). The qualitative findings also enable more in depth understanding regarding what might actually take place within these institutions since current research only describes such antecedents in a generalised manner (e.g. Perry 1997). Indeed, Perry *et al.* (2008) have previously suggested that quantitative methods are not conducive to studying PSM development and this study is the first to address this lack of qualitative methods in understanding PSM value development.

Furthermore, the findings related to the role of transformational experiences in developing values possibly provide an answer to a particular limitation in PSM research and in doing so challenge the exclusive focus on institutions in the existing PSM literature. In a study conducted by Perry *et al.* antecedents such as family socialisation and religious activity were found to be 'significant but not strong predictors of PSM' (2008:453), suggesting that something else, in addition, is responsible for the development of PSM values. Indeed, the identified role of transformational experiences could be

the missing piece highlighted in studies such as that of Perry *et al.* (2008) mentioned above.

More widely, the findings related to the organisational role in value development suggest that the process theory of PSM, developed by Perry and Vandenabeele (2008), has some merit and therefore could usefully be subjected to further empirical testing. It is puzzling that despite the development of this theory to explain the processes involved in value development, there has been only a very limited attempt to relate empirical PSM research to it (one exception is Vandenabeele, 2011). The findings obtained in relation to the development of PSM in organisations therefore make a contribution by providing detailed empirical evidence to support elements of the theory (e.g. socialisation and self regulation). In providing such evidence, the thesis also therefore makes a contribution to research by answering a call for there to be more understanding of the role of organisations in value development (Wright and Grant, 2010). In doing so, it builds on literature that suggests PSM is a dynamic concept (Pandey and Stazyk, 2008; Vandenabeele, 2008), and also on research that shows that PSM can develop and reduce within organisations (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Koumenta, 2011).

At the same time, existing PSM research is challenged by findings that highlight the relevance of non-organisational factors in affecting employees' motivation to serve society. The PSM process theory (Perry and Vandenabeele, 2008) does not acknowledge non-institutional factors such as maturity or parenthood, and therefore it only represents a limited explanation of motivation.

The findings related to the role of institutions in general, and employing organisations more particularly, in shaping values make critical contributions at an organisational level, in addition to the research contributions described above.

In particular the findings make a contribution by highlighting the importance of certain organisational practices related to the values and motivation of employees. These include employers communicating extensively with employees regarding the work of the organisation, the impact of its work, and the ways in which employees' own work links to the organisational purpose. Additionally, the findings lend support to organisations providing multiple avenues of interaction amongst employees, valuing and recognising employee contributions, proactively addressing poor performance issues, and ensuring that the organisation exhibits public values.

In terms of developing values amongst individuals prior to them becoming employees within the sector, it would also appear that there are things that organisations can do to enable this, including providing volunteering opportunities, engaging in media campaigns, and educating the public with regard to career opportunities – this is something that is clearly lacking according to research from Nickson *et al.* (2008) and the findings in this thesis therefore clearly build on their findings.

The findings related to the role of organisations in value development are further argued to make fundamental contributions at a government policy level. Specifically, in relation to outsourcing, doubts are raised about the way in which it is carried out and attention drawn to the desirability of

ensuring that the culture of voluntary organisations is protected. As the literature in the early chapters of the thesis demonstrated, while the voluntary sector is seen by some to have a particular culture or 'feel' (Greer *et al.*, 2011:163), this is seen to be affected in a number of ways, not least by the taking on of contracts to deliver public services. For example, mission drift (Cunningham and James, 2011a), being moved away from the mission to provide care to those most in need (Clutterbuck and Howarth, 2007), standardisation of work, and loss of variety, control, and decision-making power (Baines, 2011) have all been found to result from outsourcing. This is not to say that the voluntary sector should not be involved in public service delivery – indeed, as mentioned above, the findings from this thesis do demonstrate that it is appropriate for the voluntary sector to engage in this work due to the values that they exhibit.

Additionally, in terms of government policy contribution, the development of educational content that raises awareness of the wider world, and support for volunteering programmes (within the UK and abroad) are to be encouraged since these have been shown in this thesis to develop PSM related values. As has been seen in the current government's Big Society agenda, as well as in the policies of previous governments (Rochester, 2001; HM Treasury, 2002; Office for Civil Society, 2010; Alcock, 2011), there is a desire to encourage volunteering, charity involvement, and community involvement. One of the ways in which this can be achieved, the findings therefore suggest, is through educational content and volunteering programmes that develop relevant values.

The Complexity of Motivation Research

Finally, the complexity that was uncovered throughout the study makes some specific contributions to existing motivation research and at an organisational level.

In terms of research, the findings of this thesis make a contribution by challenging the sectoral focus of PSM research (e.g. Vandenabeele, 2011; Giaque *et al.*, 2012) (due to the particular findings that a number of interviewees were open to moving between sectors). In addition some previously established relationships are challenged, such as differences in work values between those involved in different types of roles, particularly between those in administrative roles and more public-facing ones (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Steijn and Smulders, 2004; Lyons *et al.*, 2006). Thus, the findings, for example, showed the interviewees in back-office roles were also highly motivated despite a lack of client contact. Furthermore, the way in which dimensions or proxies are used in existing research (e.g. Taylor, 2008; Houston, 2011) as individually representative of PSM is challenged through the different perceptions and understandings of values and motivations. Developing this latter point, weight is also added to previous research which suggests the possibility of different identities within PSM (Brewer *et al.*, 2000) due to the different perceptions, understandings and emphases on values represented amongst the interviewees.

It was possible to uncover the complexity of voluntary sector employees' motivation due to the use of qualitative methods. Studies of PSM have, to date, been based almost exclusively on quantitative methods, as highlighted by Koumenta (2011). This study therefore addresses a key gap in methodological practice in this field. As mentioned above, Perry *et al.*

(2008) have previously suggested that quantitative methods are not conducive to studying PSM development and it can be argued that this is also the case for studying PSM generally – at the very least *both* quantitative and qualitative methods are necessary for developing our understanding of PSM. This thesis thus addresses a very limiting aspect of current PSM research, the dominance of quantitative methods.

Finally, the findings related to the complexity of motivation uncovered in this study make it clear that care needs to be taken to avoid generalisations and assumptions, and this is relevant to both current literature and to organisations. This is apparent from the findings that different perceptions of PSM dimensions are possible, that 'other' motivations are relevant for employees in addition to a desire to contribute to society, and that values and motivations develop and change in various ways (not just through organisational practices). This caution is important since current literature does not acknowledge this challenge. For example, while Shamir (1991) highlights the need for other motivational theories to explain some types of behaviour, there is little attention paid to the possible need to combine motivation theories together.

Overarching Contributions

In reviewing these contributions together, it can be seen, more broadly, that this thesis has touched on some fundamental issues regarding the study of motivation and the management of employees in the voluntary sector. It is worthwhile briefly considering these here. Firstly, while motivation models and theories are useful, and this study, itself, proposes a possible model of motivation in the voluntary sector, this usefulness is only partial. It has been evident throughout this study that the motivation of voluntary sector

employees is complex, taking into account many different elements, and is not always necessarily clearly understood by individuals themselves. Yet this contrasts sharply with fixed motivation theories and models that are often treated in isolation. Thus, while such models and theories can be utilised to aid access to, and understanding of, values and motivations, they should not be relied on to 'tell the full story'. Indeed, it can be argued that we will never fully understand motivation. However, by developing awareness of elements outside of fixed models and theories, some deeper levels of understanding can be reached, and these may, in fact, be more reflective of reality.

Secondly, the voluntary sector has been shown to be a complex and challenging environment in which to manage employees, given the strong emphasis on values. The employment relationship is infused with values, a commitment to a mission, and even, such employees might argue, a 'higher' calling. These employees, it can be suggested, thus bring to the organisation much broader expectations than might be found in other sectors (although due to the lack comparative research it is not possible to argue this definitively). Consideration of these values is thus imperative if organisations are to harness the motivation of their employees. Therefore, while there are many benefits to organisations in employing such value-driven individuals, it is important for organisations to be acutely aware of the fact that expectations from employees are high, and demotivation is likely when such expectations are not met.

Future Research

The research undertaken for this thesis could, of course, be developed in a number of ways in the future. Firstly, there could be a focussed development of a specific voluntary sector motivation (VSM). This would draw on the values highlighted in the research and involve the development of a construct and related measurement tool. Further to this, comparative research between the public and voluntary sectors would be particularly useful. For example, it is not clear from the research undertaken for this thesis whether the 'additional' values (belief in a cause, oppositional identity, and a combined individual/global focus) are unique to the voluntary sector or whether they might also be found amongst employees in the public sector. Indeed, if they are unique to the voluntary sector, this adds weight to the argument concerning the presence of distinctive values in it. Meanwhile, if the additional values are also be found to exist in the public sector, it suggests that the PSM construct needs to be extended to encompass them.

In a similar vein, the additional antecedents uncovered (including transformational experiences) could also be explored within the public sector to determine their relevance to those working in it. For, if they are found to be relevant, this would serve to highlight the further need to extend the current institutional focus within PSM theory.

Having mentioned the PSM process theory, it would clearly also be beneficial to submit it to further scrutiny. Elements of the theory appear to be supported through the findings for this research. However, there is clear scope for extending this investigation and including (or 'testing') other

elements of the theory. In particular, it would be useful to carry out such an investigation within the public sector.

More widely still, it is clear that the qualitative nature of findings from this research brought very clear benefits to understanding the motivation of voluntary sector employees. It is consequently argued that the field of PSM can only benefit from incorporating more qualitative research, as this can provide depth and nuance to current understandings of employee motivation. In this regard, a particularly interesting possibility would be undertaking longitudinal qualitative research especially focussed on the development of values in the context of outsourcing. Given that one of the rationales for outsourcing is the fact that voluntary sector employees are said to exhibit unique values, it would seem imperative that the effect of outsourcing on these values is the focus of further investigation.

Thesis Overview

Having revisited the contributions of the thesis, and potential avenues for future research, it is worthwhile to step back and review what has been covered through this thesis. The purpose of the research described here was to explore the motivation of voluntary sector employees through considering the applicability of the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) to them. This purpose was developed out of a review of the literature, which revealed a context characterised by questions and contradictions.

Chapter 2 set out the broad context for the research, and, more specifically, detailed the way in which the voluntary and public sectors have become

closer over history. The chapter highlighted the contested questions regarding similarities and differences between the voluntary and public sectors, a key issue considering that it is the differences which are emphasised in decisions to outsource public service delivery to the voluntary sector. The final part of the chapter narrowed in on the specific practice of outsourcing and explored the rationale for undertaking it – chiefly the special characteristics of the sector, including its ethos and values – as well as the effects of such outsourcing on the voluntary sector. It was particularly noted that, despite many assumptions, there is very limited research into employee motivation in the voluntary sector, and this is surprising considering the context described.

The thesis then moved on to explore PSM, which was deemed to be an appropriate tool with which to explore the motivation and values of voluntary sector employees. This was due mainly to its definition revolving around serving society, and the fact that it is focussed in the public sector, since the voluntary sector is increasingly involved in delivering public services. Initially Chapter 3 detailed the significance of PSM as a result of its ability to explain behaviour that other motivation theories cannot, and the organisational benefits that have been found to be associated with it. Following this, the dimensional construct of PSM was explored and the possibility of such dimensions manifesting amongst voluntary sector employees highlighted. In the final part of the chapter the focus shifted to the antecedents and development of PSM, with particular consideration given to the process theory of PSM which has had very limited attention to date.

Having set out the context of the voluntary sector and detailed PSM in the literature review, clear questions were evident in relation to the motivation of voluntary sector employees and, in particular, whether PSM and its dimensions could be applied to them. Questions were also apparent regarding the factors associated with the development of PSM, both in general and in relation to voluntary sector employees more specifically. Finally, clear scope was noted to develop PSM research qualitatively.

In order to address some of these issues, the following aim of the study was articulated: To explore the motivation of voluntary sector employees through the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM), along with the following three supporting research questions: 1) How far does PSM theory address values and motivations of relevance to those working in the voluntary sector?, 2) To what degree does PSM theory, as currently constituted, provide an adequate framework for understanding the development of such values and motivations?, and 3) In the light of the above explorations, what are the possible implications of the research for government policy and management practices, as well as for future research?

These three research questions were investigated through the use of qualitative methodology, guided by a pragmatist philosophy. Thirty-five voluntary sector employees were interviewed in semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviewees came from 19 organisations and crossed over five sub-sectors. Additionally, those in back-office and front-line work, those in early stages of their career as well as those towards the end, and those who had previously worked in other sectors were all represented. The

interviews were analysed through the use of thematic analysis and the findings were then presented in chapters 5 to 7.

The findings showed that PSM was indeed applicable to voluntary sector employees. However, they also demonstrated that PSM was inadequate to fully explain the motivation of these employees. In terms of PSM's applicability, voluntary sector employees were shown to typically have a desire to make a difference in the world or serve society through their work. Additionally, interviewees substantially supported the construct's four constituent dimensions, despite the identification of some perceptual differences relating to the *Compassion* and *Self-Sacrifice* dimensions.

Furthermore, the theory regarding the development of PSM, which specifically focuses on institutions, was shown to be of relevance to voluntary sector workers. Institutional antecedents such as the family and religion (which had previously been examined within PSM research), as well as education and volunteering (which were new findings), were all shown to have a function in developing values and motivations amongst the interviewees. Organisations were also shown to have a role in the development of values through transmission processes (knowledge and awareness, and colleague interaction and support) and in the choice to enact values (being treated as a significant individual, and experiencing public values). Elements of the process theory, which had not previously been tested, were thus endorsed.

At the same time, as has already been stated, the findings demonstrated that the constituent elements of PSM were unable to fully explain the motivation of voluntary sector employees. It was established that in addition

to the four PSM dimensions, there were other values that motivated them. These were an oppositional identity, a belief in a cause, and an ability to hold in tension a concern for the individual along with the world or community. In addition, interviewees clearly had motivations that were not so altruistic, such as gaining a sense of pride or meeting personal needs, and it was found to be possible for these motivations to coexist. When discussing such motivations, it was further apparent that interviewees, at times, found it challenging to separate discussion of different motivations; they were also not necessarily overwhelmingly committed to the voluntary sector.

It was also clear that the principle way in which values developed for individuals was as a result of transformative experiences, which are not accounted for by PSM theory. This included experiences as a child, such as living in a diverse area or witnessing poverty, as well as experiences travelling or facing ill health (either personally or via family) as an adult. In addition to transformative experiences, it was evident that some interviewees believed their values to be innate. Finally, caution was deemed to be necessary regarding the extent of the organisational role in value development due to the relevance of other factors to employees.

From the analysis of the empirical findings obtained, four critical propositions were developed and these were explored in Chapter 8. Firstly, the findings presented strong support for the fact that voluntary sector employees have a distinct set of values and motivations not fully accounted for by the dimensions present within the PSM construct. Including those encompassed by this construct, they were seen to embody seven key values: an attraction to public participation, a commitment to public values,

compassion, self-sacrifice, an oppositional identity, a belief in a cause, and a belief in the importance of the individual combined with a global/community focus.

Secondly, it was established that while institutions do have a function in the development of values, other factors have to be acknowledged. In particular, transformative experiences were shown to be typical in enabling value development. Thirdly, it was argued that the same was true with regard to the role of employing organisations in supporting the development of values. Finally, the complexity of the subject of motivation was evident. In particular, complex relationships were uncovered that challenge previous research, and it was clear that individuals could have different understandings of, and emphases on, different values. Additionally, the possibility of motivations coexisting, and the challenges for interviewees of discussing motivation, were apparent. These elements of complexity were all revealed through the use of qualitative methods.

Each of these four themes, it has been argued, carry significant implications for existing academic knowledge, as well as organisational and government policies. These implications were explored in much detail in the previous chapter and at the beginning of this chapter. In terms of research, they include addressing key gaps in current research such as voluntary sector employee values and the applicability of PSM to the voluntary sector, developing the understanding and empirical research related to the PSM process theory, and challenging the focus of existing PSM research on the institutional development of values. Meanwhile, implications for organisations were shown to include the need to allow for high levels of participation and community amongst employees in order to meet their high

expectations and enable the development of values and motivation. Finally, the implications for government focussed on endorsing policies of outsourcing, whilst exercising caution regarding the way in which this is undertaken. More broadly, the findings from the thesis have highlighted the limitations of fixed motivation theories, and have also emphasised the complexity and challenge involved in managing employees within the voluntary sector, due to the centrality of values for these employees within the employment relationship. Taken together, it is consequently argued that the findings obtained highlight that it is imperative to further develop our understanding of these complex, yet crucial areas.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introduction

- Introduction, thanks, explain format, consent form
- May cover things a couple of times in different ways or come back to something discussed
- If anything you would prefer not to answer just say

1. Job History

- What is your job here and how long have you worked here?
- What type of organisation?
- What organisations have you worked for before?

2. Motivation

People have different reasons for doing the work that they do....

- Going back to before you started to work here, why did you choose to come to work here?
 - Was it for the job?
 - Was it for the organisation?
 - Sector?
 - Something else? e.g. benefits, simply needed a job
- Why do you stay working here? What motivates you now to do your work/job?
- What frustrates you, makes you think about leaving the organisation or the charity sector?
- How does this compare to others you work with?
- What about the first charity that you worked for?

3. Dimensions

One of the things that is suggested in research is that people working in charities might have certain types of values and attitudes. I would really like to know what you think about these.

Attraction to Public Participation – important to address social problems	• How important is this for you/how does it feature for you?
Commitment to Public Values – equal opportunities, ethics, transparency, long-term service provision	• How compare to other values? Examples?
Compassion – Concern for others, sympathetic to the challenges faced by underprivileged, get upset when people unfairly treated, think its important to consider welfare of others	• How compare to others, friends, colleagues, family, employees?
Self-Sacrifice – making sacrifices in working here, think it's important to consider society's needs and others before yourself	• How important is it for colleagues or employees? Examples?
Any values and characteristics missing?	• If you don't think it's important, is that a problem? Why do you think that?
	• What do other people think? Do you see yourself as different or similar to others?

4. Origin of Motivation and Values

Different people have different motivations for doing their work. You have talked about yours being.....

- Thinking about your reasons (or motivation) and values to do the work that you do, where do you think these came/come from?
 - childhood
 - education
 - gap year
 - travels
 - significant life events
 - friends, parent's volunteering or employment
 - religion
- And also... (going back to the 4 values and attitudes we talked about above)
 - Attraction to Public Participation
 - Commitment to Public Values
 - Compassion
 - Self-Sacrifice

5. Changes to Motivation

Motivation and values can change over time...

- Thinking about the reasons that you do the work that you do (your motivation), how has this developed or changed since joining this organisation? Or during overall career?
 - Has it increased/decreased in any way?
- If your reasons (motivation) have changed, what has changed these (or has kept it as it is)?
 - Type of work you do?
 - What do you need to see, hear, experience, to keep this motivation?
- What does the organisation do that specifically fosters this?
 - Goals and clarity over mission of org
 - Induction
 - Supervisor...performance mgt
 - Training
- What effect does bad stuff in the organisation or job have on motivation to contribute to society?
- What frustrates you, makes you think about leaving the organisation or the charity sector?
- And also (going back to the 4 values and attitudes we talked about above), even if not very important for you
 - Attraction to Public Participation
 - Commitment to Public Values
 - Compassion
 - Self-Sacrifice
- What about in different jobs – any patterns?

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Public Service Motivation in the Voluntary Sector

You are being invited to take part in a research study that is being undertaken as part of doctoral research at Oxford Brookes University. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study intends to examine the beliefs and values of voluntary sector/charity employees as well as the reasons why they do the work that they do. It also aims to explore how these beliefs, values and reasons have changed over time, both prior to and since joining the current organisation. In addition, the research aims to find out what organisations views are regarding employee motivation and the management practices they adopt and encourage. The research will be conducted within different voluntary/charitable organisations based in the UK through interviews. 40 people will be interviewed.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate since you work for a charity/voluntary organisation and I would be interested to hear your views regarding your values and the reasons why you do the work that you do as well as your opinions regarding organisational practices.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

All interview participants will take part in a face-to-face interview with the researcher. You will be asked questions about your motivation to do the work that you do as well as questions about experiences prior to and since joining the organisation that might have impacted on your motivation. In addition, you will be asked about the management practices of the organisation.

The interview will take no longer than one hour. Interviews will be audio recorded (if you consent). However, all comments used or referred to subsequently will be de-identified to ensure confidentiality. Taking part will not affect your job in any way and all findings will only be used for academic purposes.

The interview will be transcribed and you will have the opportunity to request a copy in order to review its accuracy. Should you wish to receive a copy, it will be sent to you within 30 days of the interview.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There are no direct benefits of taking part, however, by participating in this study, you will be contributing towards greater understanding of employee motivation within voluntary/charitable organisations. Additionally, the study will also increase understanding of what organisations can do to encourage motivation related to serving others and society.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about you and the transcript of the audio recording will be kept strictly confidential, subject to UK legal limitations and in accordance with Oxford Brookes University's Academic Integrity Policy. All interviews will be de-identified and only pseudonyms will be used in data analysis so only the researcher will be aware of your identity. The names of the organisations participating will also be kept confidential. Readers of the research findings will only have access to anonymised quotes or information.

According to Oxford Brookes University policy, the data generated in the course of this research must be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project which is anticipated to be August 2014. After this all data will be destroyed.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you are interested in taking part please email your organisational contact or me at louisalapworth@brookes.ac.uk and I will be in touch to arrange a convenient time for an interview.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research will make up part of a thesis for a PhD in Business & Management at Oxford Brookes University and may contribute to various published papers in academic journals as well as presentations at conferences. In addition, the organisations that take part in the research will be provided with a summary of findings. As already confirmed, under no circumstances will you or the organisation you work for be identified in any written report.

If you would also like to receive a summary of the findings please make the researcher aware at the time of the interview.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is being conducted by Louisa Lapworth as part of a PhD in Business & Management at Oxford Brookes University within the Department of Business & Management. The research is being supervised by Professor Philip James and Dr Nick Wylie (contact details below).

Who has reviewed the study?

The research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Oxford Brookes University.

Contact for Further Information

If you have any concerns or questions regarding any aspect of the research please contact Louisa Lapworth in the first instance using the contact details below. Contact details are also provided for the supervisory team.

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Dr Nick Wylie
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If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, you should contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and considering participating in the research.

Appendix C: Consent Form



Full title of Project:

Public Service Motivation in the Voluntary Sector

Name, position and contact address of Researcher:

Louisa Lapworth
PhD Candidate
Department of Business and Management
Faculty of Business
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Wheatley, Oxford
OX33 1HX

Phone: 01865 484535

Email: louisalapworth@brookes.ac.uk

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I agree to take part in the above study.

Please tick box

Yes No

I agree to the interview being audio recorded

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

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