

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Understanding relationships between public service motivation and involvement in socio-political organizations: Perspectives of organizational field theory

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The study provides insights about public service motivation values and participation in socio-political organizations. It applies organizational field theory to a sample of similar public and nonprofit service providers in a border region of two independent states. The results reveal that socio-political activities bear different meanings for individuals from different sectors and countries. Thus, from an institutional perspective, despite offering similar services, the organizations studied belong to different organizational fields. This validates a recent shift from defining an organizational field as a group of organizations that share products, services, or markets to those that share common meanings. A broader context being a sector of economy or an administrative realm defines the types of socio-political activities that share institutional infrastructures with public service organizations. Specifically, mutually exclusive associations are found for churches, political parties, and professional and volunteering groups. The study also indicates no value overlap with labour unions.

1 | INTRODUCTION

The increasing popularity of civil society ideas caused a growth in studies about the relationship between different forms of civic participation and public service motivation (PSM), briefly defined as the desire to help others by means of public service. The literature links PSM to various activities valued by society including volunteering and donating (Houston 2006; Clerkin et al. 2009; Coursey et al. 2011; Esteve et al. 2016), and political and social activism (Keele 2007; Houston 2008; Taylor 2010; Ritz 2015). Research suggests that public service providing organizations and socio-political organizations share values leading to self-sacrifice, compassion, attraction to public service, and commitment to public interest, confirming that public service 'signifies more than one's locus of employment' and, therefore, should not be viewed as exclusively governmental (Perry and Wise 1990, p. 368).

Scholars have been looking for a common link between associations of PSM with socio-political activities, suggesting that public service providing organizations should constitute an organizational field that has some stable associations with other socio-political institutions. Their efforts could be summarized under DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) definition of an organizational field, which posits that organizations of one field are gathered around a common service or product, which for PSM studies would often be public service and public service provision. Some studies have confirmed each other, but largely, the efforts to find a common pattern of associations with socio-political activities have led to ambiguous results (see Ritz et al. 2016). Even though institutional theory provided some guidance, for instance about PSM and parental, political, religious, professional and educational socialization (Perry 1997), the results did not offer a clear perspective on whether a highly public service motivated individual exhibits a predictable pattern of volunteering, church-going, or activism in political parties, labour unions and professional organizations; and if an institutional context matters, then in which way it frames these relationships.

Advancing the work of Perry (1997), Taylor (2010), Anderfuhren-Biget (2012) and Ritz (2015), the present study aims to further understand, explore and describe possible relationships between PSM dimensions and institutional values of social and political organizations attended after work. While there is certainly a precedent of value sharing at the organizational level (e.g., Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Wright et al. 2012), the present study points to the relative importance of labour and volunteering framed by broader contexts of the institutional logic within cultures and corresponding institutions. Institutions are defined as 'core, distinguishing, societal-level patterns (structures) that characterize one area of social life, and that are fundamentally interlocked with each other' (Hinings and Tolbert 2008, p. 474). Public service motivation, from that viewpoint, is considered as 'an individual instantiation of these [its antecedent] institutions' (Perry 2000 as cited in Vandenabeele 2007).

This research proposes that instead of only being associated with public service provision, socio-political institutions constitute a part of their organizational fields, sharing with them common institutional value infrastructure. The study is guided by more recent definitions of an organizational field built around shared meanings and ideas (Greenwood and Suddaby 2006; Scott 2014) rather than services and products (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Comparing associations of socio-political variables with PSM dimensions in different institutional contexts, the study provides empirical examples of organizational fields that gather organizations around shared values rather than a similarity of a service that they provide.

The organizational field became a central construct of neo-institutional theory (Scott 2014), and scholars are engaged in a lot of work discovering cultural and cognitive processes that guide the behaviour of the members of organizational fields (Wooten and Hoffman 2017). Along the same lines, this study seeks to understand the institutions that 'directly and indirectly determine the motives guiding individual behavior' (Vandenabeele 2007, p. 547). Institutional logic provides behavioural frames for organizations and their members engaging them in established organizational practices, routines and principles (Wedlin and Sahlin 2017). These practices, routines and principles adopted through, for instance, volunteering or political activism reflect internalized individual values and suggest how a person might also behave at work. Considering several types of social, pro-social and political activities in four different institutional contexts, this article emphasizes the importance of this connection and answers the call of Perry (2000) and Nowell et al. (2016) that we should better understand the institutional differences that promote a sense of responsibility in public service employees to strengthen their engagement and develop their leadership qualities. The present study reinforces some previous findings about PSM and socio-political variables and opens new avenues for further examination of public service organizations, which might belong to all sorts of organizational fields, depending on the broader institutional context.

2 | SHARED MARKETS AND SHARED MEANINGS PERSPECTIVES

Theorization of public service motivation from the institutional perspective emphasizes that 'one can consider public service motivated behavior to conform to a logic of appropriateness as it refers to the realization of certain

institutional values rather than self-interest' (Vandenabeele 2007, p. 548). These institutionalized values can be found in public and nonprofit organizations that provide public services because these organizations allow the translation of accepted public values into actions or, at least, to create some infrastructure that makes this translation possible (see more in Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2017).

One would assume that employees of various organizations that provide similar services to the same population in need would share similar public values (either by the socialization process in their organizations or by pre-selecting their organizations based on personal sets of values). From this perspective, an organizational field with its institutional infrastructure is viewed as a network or a group of organizations connected with each other through a common product, service, market or technology, for example, social care, forestry, education, etc. (DiMaggio and Powell 1983 and others as cited by Hinings et al. 2017). Early studies on isomorphism indeed expected a unity within organizational fields that gather the same types of organizations as the result of shared institutional pressures (Scott 2014) when collective rationality leads to homogeneity within field-level populations. From value and norm perspectives, the notion of an organizational field overlapped with the definition of an industry with the expectation that it follows its own institutional logic for social relations and human and organizational behaviour (Friedland and Alford 1991).

However, decades of research have shown that the mimicking of values and practices within an organizational field as defined by a service, product, market or technology is not always happening. Despite belonging to the same industry, organizations often follow different institutional logics, demonstrating that organizations in a field defined by that industry could experience multiple, sometimes even incompatible, pressures (Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2017). Researchers explain the differences by value translations, innovativeness, fashion, etc. (see Greenwood et al. 2017 for details). The inconsistency of the findings for PSM associations with socio-political activities in different public service providing samples re-emphasizes these observations.

Considering that mimicking fails to happen regularly, but to be definable, an organizational field must have a certain institutional infrastructure shared among its members, a more recent definition of the construct claims that the boundaries of a field are determined by shared meanings rather than similar products, services, technologies or markets. Shared understanding occurs in the definitions of, among others, Scott (2014, p. 106), who refers to a field as a 'collection of diverse interdependent organizations that participate in a common meaning system' or Greenwood and Suddaby (2006, p. 28), who call it a cluster of 'organizations and occupations whose boundaries, identities and interactions are defined and stabilized by shared institutional logic'.

The present article tests these definitions by looking at how different institutional contexts praise different social roles of public service motivated employees—volunteers, donors, and members of a political party, a club, a religious and spiritual congregation—creating a common organizational field that consists of public service providers and selected socio-political organizations. Public service and socio-political organizations become equal members of that field: they do not necessarily share similar goals but make up a recognized area of institutional life (Wooten and Hoffman 2017).

The following subsections discuss the possibilities of shared value infrastructures between public service providing organizations and after-work activities. Note that the review discusses associations and not casual relationships sharing a viewpoint of the institutional theory that translation and embeddedness of ideas into practices of organizations of one field are mutually influential processes (Wedlin and Sahlin 2017). Organizations in a field share ideas rather than impose them on each other.

Political participation. Evidence from Australia offered a perspective that public service motivated employees often indirectly participate in politics like signing petitions or approaching politicians (Taylor 2010). Meanwhile, from the institutional point of view, belonging to a political party by voluntary choice is different from ad hoc political activism, because it expects internalization of at least some institutional identities and beliefs. Following the logic of appropriateness rather than the logic of consequence, the value system of a party guides one's behaviour, ensuring that this person acts as he or she is 'supposed' to act (March and Olsen 1989). Studies conducted to date have revealed that public service motivated employees often shared their values and attitudes with left-wing parties (Ritz

et al. 2016), while there is no straightforward evidence that political parties always have a common institutional infrastructure with public service agencies. For instance, one study of Swiss municipalities showed reduced Commitment to Public Interest with hours spent on party activities (Ritz 2015), while another demonstrated its increase with more frequent participation in political actions (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012).

Religious and spiritual practice. Religiousness has been the most studied socialization context of PSM (Ritz et al. 2016). The literature suggests that church and public service providers share similar institutional infrastructure, because religion fosters public service values (Perry and Vandenabeele 2008). The empirical observations indeed demonstrated shared value of Self-Sacrifice (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012), explaining this result by strong institutionalization of the church that comes with the internalization of the abnegation ethic advocated by Christian Catholic and Protestant faiths. 'By means of socialization, willing or unwilling, institutions are maintained and distributed among their members or participants' (Vandenabeele 2007, p. 548); therefore, a typical institutionalization of identities and beliefs of churchgoers should include self-sacrifice as the most appropriate and frequently internalized behaviour. Results for other PSM dimensions, however, show conflicts with church values—they are lower for more frequent church-goers (e.g., Perry 1997; Perry et al. 2008; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012; Esteve et al. 2016)—suggesting no common institutional value infrastructure and introducing doubts about a common organizational field between public service and religious organizations.

Volunteering. The definition of volunteering is close to the definition of PSM as it suggests an action of selfless contribution for the benefit of others. Being divided on whether volunteering is an antecedent or an outcome of PSM (Ritz et al. 2016), the literature proposes the most ambiguous findings for its value structure when compared to other socio-political activities. The studies reveal no patterns: some showed a good overlap of public service motivation between public organizations and volunteering groups, suggesting that both types of organizations shared institutional infrastructure; others suggested no associations at all, or even demonstrated a mutual exclusivity of values (e.g., Brewer 2003; Houston 2006; Perry et al. 2008; Coursey et al. 2011; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012 as opposed to Ritz 2015 and Clerkin et al. 2009).

Professional organizations. The institutional literature has pointed to the professional values that shape motives and interests of actors who translate norms and values of professional institutional infrastructure into their own organizations (e.g., Blomgren and Waks 2015; Pallas et al. 2016). In professional organizations one could expect a strong socialization factor when a member through the 'identification with significant others, eventually [is] acquiring a new social identity as a member of the institution' (Vandenabeele 2007). In addition, professional organizations are also practical resources, meaning that both the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequence play a role for a member (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012). Contrary to Perry and Vandenabeele's (2008) propositions, it is also possible that professional identification will impede the development of public service values if an individual joins an organization based on the consequence logic, and is therefore not guided by PSM values. Professional identification research remains scarce (Ritz et al. 2016). Singular studies reveal that, while indeed being present, the relationships with the separate PSM dimensions vary, suggesting that professional organizations are only sometimes located in the same organizational field with the organizations studied (Perry 1997; Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012).

Labour unions. Similar to joining professional associations, an interest in joining unions could be of twofold origins—the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequence. While labour union membership may point to an attachment to the values of public service, unionism could also manifest as exclusively self-interested behaviour. Even though public employees are more likely than employees of other sectors to be unionized (Houston 2008), only few studies have validated the PSM value internalization effect separately for these organizations (Davis 2011), leaving this relationship as one of the least studied (Ritz et al. 2016). Thus, the lack of sufficient theoretical and empirical support prevents us from making an unequivocal conclusion about associations and a corresponding direction sign.

The literature reviewed emphasizes the presence of associations between public service providing organizations and pro-social, social and political institutions through the meanings expressed in public service motivation. Following that proposition, the study also hypothesizes that:

H1: Public service motivation dimensions correspond to institutional values of social and political organizations attended after work.

It is difficult to formulate specific hypotheses either for a separate dimension or for public service motivation as a total score. The ambiguity between theoretical propositions and empirical observations and the inconsistency of the latter suggest that there are no stable patterns of shared institutional infrastructures for public service employers and their socio-political affiliations. The strength and the direction of these associations vary between different studies, and generalization outside of a studied population grounded in its own institutional context to an average public service motivated individual becomes problematic (Almandoz et al. 2017).

According to the institutional approach, public service providers in different contexts share meanings with different sets of socio-political organizations. Even when providing similar services to the same populations, organizations find themselves in organizational fields with diverse socio-political groups, depending on the shared attributes of meaning (Barley 2017) rather than social problems. These central attributes are values and ideology claimed by an organization (Barley 2017). The alignment of these attributes (who we are) with practice (what we do) determines whether an organization belongs to one or another organizational field (Navis and Glynn 2010; Wry et al. 2011); in other words, organizational attributes shape responses to particular institutional expectations (Barley 2017).

Why would attributes of meaning differ between organizations equally oriented to help society and create a better world? Because of differences in ideologies and in the values emphasized by these ideologies, that are considered legitimate in a particular institutional context. Institutional theorists point to legitimacy as crucial to the emergence and maintenance of institutions: organizational attributes are tied to ideologies created by specific segments of society that gave this institution its legitimacy; as ideology changes, legitimacy will change too and will bring change in institutions (Barley 2017).

Consider an example. The ideology of a church is legitimized by a public authority as the one that leads to the betterment of society. Now, because its public serving organizations share similar ideology with the church, we observe a value convergence and shared institutional infrastructure: the church and public organizations become a part of the same organizational field. The opposite will be true when legitimizing authorities emphasize the secularity of society. Note that a legitimizing authority does not have to be a national government. Actors within organizational fields can share an ideology given to them by any legitimate body: a local government, a private donor, an international organization, etc.

The same works for volunteering groups, political parties, labour unions and professional organizations: for the part of the society that accepts the legitimacy of these actors to improve life, their high public service motivation would be associated with participation in such organizations. This explains an ambiguity created by the Swiss municipalities studies mentioned earlier. When a certain political ideology is legitimized within an organization, political activism can positively correlate with public service motivation: Commitment to Public Interest was increased for those Swiss municipal government employees frequently participating in left-orientated political action (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012). However, for executive councils of Swiss municipalities, Commitment to Public Interest was reduced with hours spent on party activities (Ritz 2015), meaning that those with high Commitment to Public Interest would consider a political party less legitimate for the advancement of society. Thus, we can assume that the executive councils and the local administrations in Switzerland, despite working together on the same issues, belong to different organizational fields as they share different institutional value infrastructures.

The present study tests the previously proposed hypothesis of internalization of institutional values based on the institutional context offered to satisfy individual psychological needs (Vandenabeele 2007). Each context creates its own institutional infrastructure determining the institutional members of an organizational field. As suggested by the studies of meaning in the 1990s and 2000s, which emphasized the importance of specific locally interpreted meanings to explain initialization on the organizational and field levels (Zilber 2017), the presence and the directions of associations between public service motivation and socio-political activities will correspond to the institutional logic in place. We cannot expect universal associations with public service motivation because the institutional logic

and value infrastructure of each field is embedded in a local context and within inter-organizational and societal meanings systems (Zilber 2017). Institutional meanings are cultural building blocks that are part of the political struggle and the ongoing nature of institutionalization.

Because of different institutional infrastructures—sets of rules, norms, behavioural and traditional patterns, pressures and freedoms given by a government, past experiences and memories and other institutional factors (see examples in Inglehart 1997 and Prysmakova 2016)—in each institutional context, public service motivated people find different, sometimes even opposite, socio-political activities equally appealing and corresponding to their social orientation. They pursue activities that allow them to keep their values in harmony and agreement, and avoid activities that bring about a value clash. Each administrative and organizational context offers public service motivated individuals its unique institutional infrastructure determining the members of a shared organizational field:

Hypothesis 2: Associations between public service motivation and separate socio-political activities will vary between organizational fields with different institutional infrastructures.

3 | METHODS

The present study tests the role of different institutions on the primary data collected on PSM and its associated variables. The unit of analysis is a staff member who occupies a service providing or a technical position of a public or nonprofit organization that provides public services. The samples come from two economic sectors of two countries in Eastern Europe that share the past, but several decades ago took a different path to socio-political development. The cross-sectional analysis was performed on representative samples in a border region of Poland and Belarus collected in 2014 via pen-and-paper and online surveys. The study used procedures suggested for scale validation and international adaptation including multi-step item adaptation to the three languages spoken in the region studied (e.g., ITC 2010). Apart from Kim et al. (2013), who created an internationally applicable instrument, previous comparative studies were carried out using secondary data (Vandenabeele and Van de Walle 2008; Westover and Taylor 2010) or tested associations between different populations within one country (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012).

The design also addresses the limitations of previous research. For instance, despite well-developed dimensions of political and social activism, Taylor (2010) used proxies of PSM from the general surveys; Esteve et al. (2016) had a sample of business students coming from the same school; and Anderfuhren-Biget (2012) created separate models for each social activity. In contrast, the present study tracks the fluctuations of associations between first-hand data collected on PSM and all the activities simultaneously and by a dimension; and it samples populations that provide similar public services, yet in different institutional settings.

3.1 | Samples

First, the researcher randomly contacted the top regional supervisors of many public organizations that provide labour-market and social services in the region to obtain permission to distribute surveys to their employees. Many of them, except one supervisor in Belarus and some supervisors in Poland, agreed to distribute the survey. In the Polish part of the region, 23 out of 45 organizations that were contacted (90 organizations registered in the region) agreed to participate, resulting in 180 responses. In Belarus, 19 out of 20 organizations that had been contacted (37 exist in the region) brought 210 responses. The main institutional difference between them is that Polish organizations answer to local governments, while Belarusian ones function directly under the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection.¹

Then, a purposeful sampling strategy was used to invite nonprofit organizations ensuring that they provide the same services as their public counterparts (non-random sampling as in Perry 1996 and Taylor 2007). The total

¹The study design controls for these differences by adding two control variables of organizational centralization to the regressions (see more in Prysmakova 2016).

number of active nonprofits in the region is difficult to estimate. In Belarus, out of 202 registered providers only half were active. One-third of that half participated in the survey. Hundreds of registered Polish nonprofits are also at different stages of development: 75 replied out of the 200 randomly invited. The main difference between nonprofit sectors lies in their freedom of operation and the availability of funds. Belarusian nonprofits have limited access to funding and pay taxes on the same basis as any other private company.

The questionnaires were distributed to all employees of the organizations studied with the response rate varying from 60 per cent to 95 per cent. The distribution usually took place during one workday, when all the employees present at work were approached. Acceptance to participate was 99 per cent. Thus, the ones who did not reply are the ones who were absent, lowering the response rate for some organizations. The sample obtained remains random and representative for the region, because the lowered response rate is not related to self-selection. It does not allow for generalization at the country level, which is not the focus of the present study. Tables 3–6 present the means and standard deviations for personal background variables such as gender, education level, age, managerial position, frontline employee, etc. for each of the groups studied.

From the shared markets perspective, the samples of organizations demonstrate important similarities that might determine the institutional value infrastructure locating these organizations in the same organizational field. First, they provide similar services to the same populations: they do away with inequalities caused by social issues and support the underprivileged. In addition, many of them facilitate regional development through the employment activation of these groups. Second, organizations likely share some meanings because they come from the border region that has been populated by the same nations and governed by the same administrations for centuries (Almandoz et al. 2017), e.g. for example, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Empire, and the communist parties of the Eastern Bloc. Third, the collectivistic attitudes of Eastern European populations might facilitate sharing of some meanings that differ from Western individualistic societies. In former communist countries, the value of extra-role civic behaviour has been emphasized by the state for decades, in some cases forcibly imposed. Even though the Russian Empire's rural and urban workforce was conditioned by a traditional collectivist mentality even before the Soviet revolution (Tidmarsh 1992), the collective workforce perception of management competence and the trustworthiness of the strategies pursued by the Communist Party increased especially after the Soviet victory of the Second World War.

Employees in communist countries developed a sense of moral obligation to the state and had considerable pride in their country and its progress (Richman 1963). Studies on positive attitudes towards others and a corresponding interest in prosocial activities in post-communist societies are still ambiguous. On the one hand, a mid-1990s study showed high collectivism (Puffer 1994), while on the other hand, Trompenaars (1993) found that the former Soviet countries were high on individualism. More recent studies confirm that the transition of values is still in progress and that the residents of these countries still carry a large communist legacy which determines their public service motivation levels (Houston 2014), supporting Inglehart's (1997) proposition that institutionalized values and behavioural patterns take generations to change.

Meanwhile, the groups studied also might adhere to diverse meanings and values, and their public service motivation might relate to different socio-political activities because of the variations in the current forms of government, time spent under the tsar and communist administrations discussed above, and the divergence of development paths taken after the fall of the Eastern Bloc. For example, the waves of collectivization, expropriation, and execution of prosperous peasants and the rich during the establishment of the Soviet system left Belarusians without private property of any kind, and therefore, with little to sacrifice besides their own lives. It was only with the privatization reform of the 1990s that individuals could own some housing and land. On the contrary, in Poland, private property has not been massively expropriated and participation in public state enterprises was optional even during the communist period, with both conditions playing important institutional roles. Also, despite a long period of common history, today the region is divided between two opposite politico-administrative regimes. After some democratic movement in the 1990s, Belarus reverted to a highly centralized government with conservative and protective

attitudes towards the remainders of the Soviet system. In contrast, Poland took a steady path towards capitalism and decentralization, which led to European Union membership in 2004.

3.2 | Instruments

The index of Kim et al. (2013) is used to operationalize PSM and its four dimensions: Self-Sacrifice (SS), Compassion (COM), Commitment to Public Values (CPV), and Attraction to Public Service (APS) (see Table 1). The survey was structured on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 0 (not like me) to 5 (exactly like me).

The PSM theoretical construct was tested using the LISREL 9.1 Diagonally-Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) as the most appropriate method for ordinal variables and a dataset of severely non-normal data (Kline 2015). The models were evaluated by the creation of asymptotic covariance and by analysing this matrix with DWLS estimation. Separate robust DWLS were run for each country to determine the degree of similarity between the sample correlation matrix and the predicted covariance matrix. Relative fits of the models were compared based on the Satorra-Bentler chi-square and approximate fit indexes (RMSEA and CFI) as important indexes of fit (Byrne 2013; Kline 2015). The Satorra-Bentler statistic accounts for non-normality of the data with the typical skewedness for PSM toward high-end responses.

The estimation of 16-item models revealed a poor fit for both countries, suggesting elimination of the ill-fitting items, because a meaningful comparison requires a model that works equally on both sides of the border. First, CPI1 was eliminated from the Belarusian dataset because this item was not collected in Poland. Second, analysis of the alternative models for each sample pointed to SS2 and COM5, whose elimination from the models significantly

TABLE 1 Factor loadings of public service motivation instrument based upon Kim et al. (2013)

	λ	AVE	Weighted Ω
Attraction to public service (APS)		0.61	0.76
APP5: I admire people who initiate or are involved in activities to aid my community	NA		
APP7: It is important to contribute to activities that tackle social problems	0.75*		
CPI1: Meaningful public service is very important to me	NA		
CPI2: It is important for me to contribute to the common good	0.81*		
Commitment to public values (CPV)			
CVP1: I think equal opportunities for citizens are very important	NA		
CPV2: It is important that citizens can rely on the continuous provision of public services	NA		
CPV7: To act ethically is essential for public servants	NA		
CPV6: It is fundamental that the interests of future generations are taken into account when developing public policies	NA		
Compassion (COM)		0.45	0.73
COM3: I empathize with other people who face difficulties	0.56*		
COM6: Considering the welfare of others is very important	0.67*		
COM5: I get very upset when I see other people being treated unfairly	NA		
COM2: I feel sympathetic to the plight of the underprivileged	0.77*		
Self-sacrifice (SS)		0.65	0.86
SS3: I believe in putting civic duty before self	0.71*		
SS7: I would agree to a good plan to make a better life for the poor, even if it costs me money	0.85*		
SS4: I am willing to risk personal loss to help society	0.85*		
SS2: I am prepared to make sacrifices for the good of society	NA		

* $p < .05$.

TABLE 2 Goodness-of-fit statistics for the eight-item PSM model

	Belarus		Poland		Configurative	Metric
	Public	Nonprofit	Public	Nonprofit		
SB χ^2 (df)	12 (12)	14 (11)	17 (14)	12 (10)	80 (61)	82 (63)
p-value	0.451	0.218	0.245	0.226	0.051	0.056
RMSEA	0.023	0.036	0.049	0.091	0.121	0.111
CFI	1.000	0.990	0.992	0.993	0.988	0.987
GFI	0.995	0.993	0.988	0.991	0.877	0.874
N	210	120	174	119	623	623

improved the model fit. In addition, CPV1 and CPV7 were found to be problematic for Belarus, while in Poland the model required omitting CPV6. Because three out of four items disturbed the goodness of fit, the CPV dimension was dropped entirely from the comparative model, already suggesting different sets of public values among public service employees across the border. Thus, the final model consisted of Attraction to Public Service, Compassion, and Self-Sacrifice dimensions measured by eight items. Table 2 presents goodness-of-fit indices, which are very similar and within thresholds indicating good fit, and shows significant positive results for the measurement invariance tests among the two-country samples. After conducting the CFA, the individual scales were aggregated as an arithmetical average.

The questionnaire also indicated whether respondents were members of a union, a professional association or society, or a political party, and whether they practised religious or spiritual activities or performed voluntary service or made charitable donations (adopted from Perry 1997). In addition, it controlled for the factors that are likely to influence people's engagement in activities for the sake of public benefit: demographics, employment-related items and the location inside/outside of the regions' capitals. All measures are dichotomous, except for Age group (<31, 31–40, 41–50, >51); Education (1–Basic or high school, 2–Middle professional or technical, 3–University degree, 4–Advanced university degree); and Time in the organization in years (1–10, 11–20, 21–30, >30). Organization centralization is controlled by two items structured on a 5-point Likert scale from 1—completely disagree to 5—completely agree: 'In general, a person who wants to make his own decisions would be quickly discouraged in this organization' and 'Even small matters have to be referred to someone higher up/supervisor for a final answer'.

4 | DESCRIPTIVE AND INFERENTIAL STATISTICS

An average respondent is in her thirties, holds a professional, technical school, or university degree and has worked for her organization no more than ten years. One-third of the respondents perform some managerial functions and two-thirds are persons of first contact. Women dominate in both countries, yet employees in Belarusian public organizations have the highest rate of women, constituting 93 per cent of the staff. Belarusian employees also tend to be older. In Poland, employees on average have a higher education level and have worked in their organizations longer than respondents from Belarus, which is explained by a one-year contract system applied across all public and nonprofit organizations in that country. Polish nonprofit employees have the highest level of education. Meanwhile, the Belarusian nonprofit sample has the oldest employees and the largest percentage of men (largely because of veteran organizations run by males).

Belarusian public employees mainly belong to a labour union as their main social activity; Belarusian nonprofit employees—in addition to labour unions—are often involved in religious and volunteering practices; Polish public sector workers devote their time mainly to religious activities while also participating in labour unions and volunteering practices; and, finally, for Polish nonprofit employees, while they are also active in professional and religious organizations, volunteering remains the main social activity. As expected, both nonprofit groups score much higher on this item than the public sector employees. The main differences between nonprofit groups are higher unionization of Belarusian and more frequent involvement in professional organizations of Polish employees.

TABLES 3-6 Means, standard deviations, and Pearson correlation and association matrices

[illegible]

TABLES 3–6 (Continued)

Belarus public		M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
11. Manager		0.37	.48	.060	.055	.150*	-.135	.078	.340*	.115	-.395*	.158*	1.000									
12. Serv: Labour		0.25	.44	.145*	.027	.111	.195*	-.223*	.173*	.455*	.066	-.156*	.143*	.092	1.000							
13. Major City		0.54	.50	.134	.200*	.134	-.046	.000	.057	-.468*	.098	.334*	-.191*	-.383*	-.201*	1.000						
14. Discourag.		2.95	1.14	-.033	-.035	-.003	-.047	.060	.067	-.047	.205*	.039	.038	-.125	-.099	-.051	1.000					
15. Prior Approv.		3.26	1.30	.001	-.121	.030	.084	.071	-.018	.003	.051	.005	.029	-.066	-.174*	-.020	.523*	1.000				
16. Pol. Party		0.04	.19	.175*	.091	.176*	.114	-.169*	.109	.084	-.054	-.052	.130	.137	.142*	-.154*	.082	.089	1.000			
17. Church/ Spirit.		0.05	.21	-.006	.074	-.096	.045	.059	-.050	.082	.128	.040	-.091	.084	-.073	-.042	.032	.069	-.043	1.000		
18. Volunteer		0.07	.26	-.143*	-.182*	-.115	-.022	-.005	-.142*	.194*	-.001	.056	-.099	-.009	-.071	-.142*	.013	.158*	-.054	.412*	1.000	
19. Prof. Org.		0.03	.16	-.021	-.049	-.061	.081	.044	.018	.167*	-.046	-.175*	.006	.144*	.055	-.111	-.021	.017	-.032	.273*	.206*	1.000
20. Labour Union		0.91	.28	-.113	-.061	-.147*	-.024	.135	.096	.093	.016	-.048	-.013	.089	.097	-.031	.098	-.064	-.038	-.105	-.195*	.051
Belarus nonprofit		M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. PSM		4.18	.50	1.000																		
2. COM		4.58	.48	.657*	1.000																	
3. SS		3.54	.89	.842*	.292*	1.000																
4. APS		4.42	.58	.768*	.430*	.419*	1.000															
5. Woman		0.80	.40	-.148	.045	-.218*	-.089	1.000														
6. Age group		4.12	1.10	.255	.246*	.271*	.045*	-.079	1.000													
7. Education		3.39	.89	-.072	-.174	-.066	.059	-.132	-.248*	1.000												
8. Foreign exp.		0.27	.45	-.011	-.271*	.063	.101	-.070	-.245*	.472*	1.000											
9. First contact		0.60	.49	.042	.009	.026	.062	.229*	-.059	-.271*	-.127	1.000										
10. Time in org.		2.12	1.21	.149	.095	.124	.118	-.152	.293*	.159	.177	-.284*	1.000									
11. Manager		0.40	.49	.092	-.036	.094	.127	-.327*	.004	.294*	.216*	-.311*	.334*	1.000								
12. Serv: Labour		0.12	.32	-.149	-.062	-.234*	.023	-.042	.128	-.023	-.154	.048	.242*	.014	1.000							
13. Major City		0.75	.44	-.059	.084	-.108	-.059	.150	.062	-.023	.104	-.107	-.037	-.030	-.068	1.000						
14. Discourag.		2.20	1.26	.093	.055	.026	.156	-.033	.117	.016	.022	-.042	-.042	-.085	-.083	.290*	1.000					

TABLES 3–6 (Continued)

Belarus nonprofit	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
15.Prior Approv.	2.61	1.42	.187	.113	.207*	.076	.083	.230*	-.205*	-.202	-.041	-.110	-.183	-.200*	.251*	.563*	1.000				
16.Pol. Party	0.03	.17	.180	.070	.221*	.073	-.056	.140	.055	.024	-.095	.031	.095	-.063	-.032	-.028	.048	1.000			
17.Church/ Spirit.	0.18	.39	.052	-.056	.078	.064	.140	-.028	.131	.216*	.182	.016	.125	-.017	-.127	.022	-.029	-.082	1.000		
18.Volunteer	0.37	.48	-.166	-.284*	-.126	-.002	-.028	-.303*	.279*	.347*	.129	-.041	.241*	-.090	-.158	-.108	-.259*	-.013	.311*	1.000	
19.Prof.Org.	0.07	.25	.005	-.033	.024	.003	-.246*	-.029	.056	.095	.141	-.058	.174	.022	-.021	-.105	-.171	-.047	.071	.113	1.000
20.Labour Union	0.54	.50	.019	.015	.060	-.056	.117	-.027	-.061	.078	-.108	-.025	.068	-.032	-.084	-.053	-.045	-.073	.034	.054	.015

Note: * $p < .05$.

The *t*-test for PSM mean differences at $p < .01$ reveals no significant results for Compassion. Polish public sector respondents report being significantly higher on Self-Sacrifice and Belarusian respondents report being significantly higher on Attraction to Public Service. The larger difference in Self-Sacrifice compared to Attraction to Public Service results in an overall PSM score that is higher for Polish respondents. Polish public sector employees have a different set of social values from Belarusian public sector employees, which is reflected in different scores on the PSM constituent dimensions. The *t*-tests for the nonprofit sectors in both countries demonstrated no significant differences between the dimensions.

Each PSM dimension and a total score was analysed separately for the four sample groups. A correlation analysis performed for each of the samples studied to check for possible associations between the variables (Tables 3–6) suggested possible value overlap between public providing and socio-political organizations from the PSM perspective. Next, an Ordinary Least Square analysis was performed to control for other variables while focusing on associations between PSM dimensions and socio-political activities; the robust option was added to the models with heteroscedasticity (see Tables 7–8).

TABLES 7–8 Ordinary least squares regression results for PSM and constituent dimensions with standard errors

	Belarus: public sector N = 193				Belarus: nonprofit sector N = 103			
	PSM	COM	SS	APS	PSM	COM	SS	APS
Intercept	3.600	4.728	2.775	3.296	3.719	4.239	2.867	4.052
Woman	-.230 (.174)	-.063 (.123)	-.429 (.281)	-.197 (.203)	-.141 (.149)	.090 (.165)	-.480** (.236)	-.032 (.173)
Age Group	.040 (.043)	-.079 (.052)	.109 (.069)	.090* (.050)	.068 (.063)	.045 (.055)	.161 (.106)	-.002 (.069)
Education	.015 (.068)	-.112 (.079)	.019 (.110)	.138* (.080)	-.009 (.066)	0 (.056)	-.032 (.113)	.005 (.076)
Foreign Experience	.081 (.170)	-.217 (.154)	.506* (.274)	-.048 (.198)	.053 (.149)	-.285* (.150)	.287 (.217)	.159 (.173)
First Contact Position	.122 (.104)	.296** (.123)	.094 (.167)	.004 (.121)	.196 (.123)	.064 (.115)	.326 (.209)	.197 (.147)
Time in Organization	.026 (.031)	.051 (.034)	.052 (.050)	-.026 (.036)	.062 (.048)	.064 (.057)	.083 (.076)	.040 (.069)
Managing Others	.113 (.101)	.099 (.107)	.133 (.163)	.108 (.118)	.106 (.131)	.039 (.128)	.096 (.214)	.183 (.172)
Org. Service: Labour	.157 (.115)	.192 (.132)	.130 (.186)	.149 (.134)	-.301 (.199)	-.262 (.222)	-.685** (.288)	.045 (.242)
Major City	.197** (.096)	.205*± (.104)	.298* (.155)	.088 (.112)	-.103 (.130)	.087 (.138)	-.239 (.192)	-.157 (.154)
Initiative Discouragement	-.019 (.043)	.035 (.054)	-.032 (.069)	-.060 (.050)	.004 (.046)	.021 (.039)	-.085 (.087)	.076 (.049)
Prior Approval	.025 (.037)	-.059 (.041)	.045 (.059)	.087** (.043)	.050 (.047)	-.027 (.038)	.151* (.084)	.025 (.051)
Labour Union	-.262* (.147)	-.154 (.157)	-.520** (.237)	-.114 (.172)	.060 (.095)	.052 (.091)	.177 (.164)	-.048 (.118)
Professional Organization	.077 (.266)	.030 (.334)	.021 (.428)	.182 (.310)	-.020 (.180)	.054 (.148)	-.062 (.315)	-.053 (.238)
Political Party	.393* (.221)	.350** (.158)	.650* (.356)	.178 (.258)	.424*** (.111)	.193* (.102)	.866*** (.176)	.214 (.255)
Religious Practices	.144 (.214)	.598 (.318)	-.338 (.344)	.172 (.249)	.085 (.119)	.063 (.119)	.185 (.205)	.006 (.147)
Volunteering	-.336* (.361)	-.538 (.269)	-.249 (.289)	-.221 (.209)	-.182 (.122)	-.222* (.120)	-.231 (.193)	-.093 (.148)

TABLES 7-8 (Continued)

	Belarus: public sector N = 193				Belarus: nonprofit sector N = 103			
	PSM	COM	SS	APS	PSM	COM	SS	APS
R-Squared	0.155	0.170	0.183	0.125	0.22	0.19	0.319	0.10
Adjusted R-Squared	0.078		0.109	0.045				
HSK Prob > χ^2	0.0806	0.0124	0.5539	0.1785	0.0005	0.0008	0.0044	0.0098
	Poland: public sector N = 158				Poland: nonprofit sector N = 103			
	PSM	COM	SS	APS	PSM	COM	SS	APS
Intercept	3.771	4.331	2.848	4.132	3.736	4.966	2.318	3.923
Woman	-.004 (.112)	-.018 (.124)	.077 (.197)	-.069 (.175)	-.088 (.125)	-.071 (.101)	-.112 (.231)	-.082 (.148)
Age Group	.001 (.052)	-.002 (.058)	-.023 (.088)	.030 (.067)	.098* (.054)	.022 (.049)	.196** (.097)	.076 (.074)
Education	-.008 (.071)	.057 (.080)	-.079 (.126)	-.002 (.118)	.006 (.090)	-.096 (.084)	.025 (.182)	.090 (.115)
Foreign Experience	.106 (.104)	.190*± (.115)	.122 (.163)	.006 (.169)	.228 (.165)	.224 (.182)	.188 (.247)	.273 (.219)
First Contact Position	.066 (.113)	.022 (.126)	.012 (.157)	.164 (.167)	.203 (.123)	.111 (.116)	.211 (.203)	.286** (.141)
Time in Organization	.012 (.045)	-.017 (.050)	.037 (.074)	.015 (.065)	.015 (.045)	-.017 (.052)	.038 (.081)	.023 (.052)
Managing Others	.099 (.122)	.030 (.135)	.009 (.155)	.258 (.182)	-.145 (.160)	-.272* (.159)	-.079 (.244)	-.085 (.207)
Org. Service: Labour	.091 (.096)	-.128 (.107)	1.135*** (.145)	-.733*** (.137)	.179 (.163)	.356** (.160)	.020 (.228)	.161 (.221)
Major City	-.070 (.097)	-.258** (.107)	.110 (.138)	-.061 (.137)	-.350 (.232)	-.528** (.233)	-.051 (.293)	-.471 (.331)
Initiative Discouragement	-.189*** (.048)	-.113** (.054)	-.185** (.087)	-.269*** (.066)	-.062 (.071)	-.041 (.064)	-.141 (.109)	-.004 (.069)
Prior Approval	.154*** (.044)	.106** (.049)	.200*** (.075)	.157*** (.057)	.118* (.069)	.115** (.057)	.230** (.100)	.008 (.076)
Labour Union	-.212* (.120)	-.205 (.134)	-.255 (.203)	-.175 (.173)	-.194 (.265)	-.134 (.257)	-.067 (.537)	-.382 (.285)
Professional Organization	-.009 (.120)	-.303 (.222)	.401 (.482)	-.125 (.292)	.198 (.125)	.103 (.121)	.317*± (.194)	.174 (.142)
Political Party	-.149 (.194)	-.606*** (.216)	.292 (.275)	-.132 (.325)	-.203 (.364)	.136 (.326)	-.938* (.558)	.191 (.292)
Religious Practices	.255*** (.092)	.129 (.103)	.332** (.141)	.303** (.140)	-.286* (.148)	-.153 (.157)	-.498** (.209)	-.207 (.190)
Volunteering	.045 (.119)	-.018 (.133)	.054 (.210)	.100 (.146)	.179 (.127)	.156 (.120)	.320* (.191)	.062 (.158)
R-Squared	0.199	0.201	0.397	0.355	0.252	0.209	0.282	0.176
Adjusted R-Squared	0.108	0.111					0.149	
HSK (Prob > χ^2)	0.931	0.493	0.005	0.039	0.057	0.0001	0.132	0

Note: Regression coefficients marked with an asterisk were statistically significant at * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$; ± signifies coefficients on the significance border.

In line with the first hypothesis, the analysis for the cross-sectional data suggested that public service motivation is indeed correlated with the activities studied. The second hypothesis was also supported, because the detailed analysis of PSM by its dimensions revealed that each dimension has its own pattern of individual and socio-political characteristics for each sample. Some samples were closer to each other than to others, suggesting that some of the

groups studied share institutional infrastructure, while others belong to different organizational fields (see Figure 1). The associational patterns between PSM and socio-political activities vary for different institutional value infrastructures. Each administrative and organizational context offered its own institutional infrastructure for public service motivated individuals and their socio-political interests.

5 | DISCUSSION

Moving a step forward from the research of Ritz (2015), Anderfuhren-Biget (2012), Taylor (2010) and others, the results of the study contradict older views of institutional theory, which define society as a group of autonomous systems differentiated by their distinct institutional logics established by their functions—economics, science, politics, religion, etc. (Luhmann 1995). The study has demonstrated that despite different functions, socio-political and public service providing organizations could share a similar institutional logic and, therefore, be in the same organizational field.

The institutional theory framework also explains why seemingly similar public service organizations found themselves in different organizational fields. Sometimes, they have more values in common with different socio-political groups than between themselves. For example, while nonprofit organizations in both countries have the same level of PSM, they are associated with different socio-political activities. Thus, it could be assumed that they belong to different organizational fields. Also, the results are different between public and nonprofit sectors within one country—in Poland—confirming the institutional logics approach, which views any context as 'potentially influenced by contending logics of different societal sectors' (Thornton and Ocasio 2008, p. 104). The details of the results below further support the argument about an organizational field being a shared meanings space.

5.1 | Religiosity and spiritual life

Most studies to date revealed negative associations of religious and spiritual practices with PSM (Perry 1997; Esteve et al. 2016), suggesting that public serving organizations and religious congregations in the previously studied samples belong to different organizational fields. The results for the Polish nonprofit sector follow these observations. The sets of motives of the nonprofit sector in Poland are comparable to the values of previously studied public or private business sectors elsewhere (e.g., Perry 1997; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012; Esteve et al. 2016), where church and public service providers belong to different organizational fields. Polish nonprofits might adhere to the value system of their donors, previously American and now more often Western European (Pastwa 2014).

In the case of Polish public employees, the opposite is true. They exhibit positive associations with Attraction to Public Service and the total PSM score, showing strong value infrastructure overlap (see Figure 1). A reverse interaction suggests that public and nonprofit organizations in the context studied belong to different institutional infrastructures. Public sector employees in the region on average, more often participate in religious practices (Catholic or Orthodox Christian church). The values promoted by the church are internalized into a public service identity and they satisfy the basic psychological needs of a public sector employee (Vandenabeele 2007). A shared value infrastructure suggests that in the given context, the church and the public sector are in the same organizational field, possibly because the current government actively legitimizes the church (Krastev 2018).

Being less frequent church-goers, Belarusians showed no connection of PSM with religiosity, suggesting that the existing church values do not significantly correspond to individuals' public service motivation, and that the organizations studied do not belong to the same organizational field like public organizations do in Poland. Individual identities have been shaped by other institutions through history: low participation in religious activities has been inherited from the former Soviet system, where religiosity was not legitimized by the regime. Public services were provided in the spirit of good citizenship, rather than religious values of giving back and self-sacrifice. Consistent with low religiosity, the Belarusians on average report low on Self-Sacrifice. The communist system has forced Belarusians

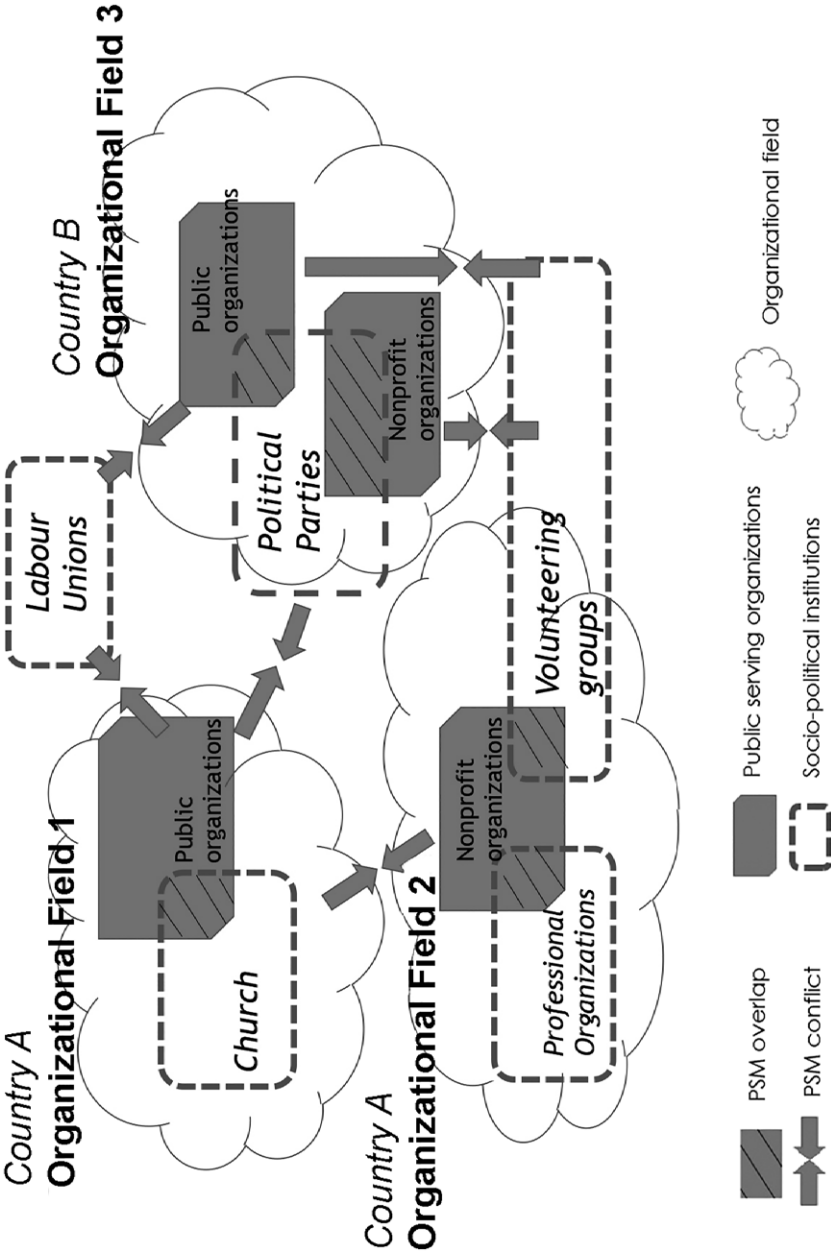


FIGURE 1 Schema of shared meanings: organizational fields found in the study

into self-denial and self-sacrifice for a 'better and brighter future' for the good of generations to come (Richman 1963), which caused the internal rejection of this value. The results confirm Trompenaars's (1993) observations of high individualism and a focus locked on the closest members of the family.

5.2 | Political activism

The Belarusian government has held a monopoly of legitimate naming inherited from Soviet times as few reforms of social life took place before the date of the present study. Thus, as opposed to religiosity, Belarusian public and non-profit employees exhibit a substantial connection with participation in political life, which has been legitimized and promoted by the preceding government for decades. These findings support previous research by confirming a positive association of political involvement with Compassion (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012), and with the total PSM score (Taylor 2010). However, both Belarusian samples also showed a positive association with Self-Sacrifice, contradicting the previous conclusions of no association (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012), and demonstrating that the value of self-denial became embedded in the foundations of the value structure when it was enforced by the Communist Party. Either individuals have been indoctrinated by the party on the importance of civic duty and the assistance of others at personal cost, or those who have such beliefs joined the party. In any case, public and nonprofit organizations in the Belarusian sample share a similar infrastructure with political parties, constituting an organizational field with them (see Figure 1). Despite the differences in agendas, participation in any of these parties on average corresponds with significantly higher levels of PSM. Thus, even though the Soviet system collapsed decades ago, and because the church has not been legitimized by the state as in Poland, individuals willing to sacrifice for the good of society and those willing to perform public service know of no other place for self-realization but a party. We observe that 'by means of socialization, willing or unwilling, institutions are maintained and distributed among their members or participants' (Vandenabeele 2007, p. 548).

In Poland, contrary to religious affiliations the institutionalization of a political party correlates negatively with compassionate feelings. Negative associations for both sectors propose that service providing organizations in the sample do not have common public service values with political parties, which are located in another organizational field (as in Ritz 2015). These findings distort a typical caring image that a party presents to its supporters. The findings are consistent with Jackall's (1983) ideas of the institutional 'moral maze' created by the competitive environment in a bureaucratic organization. A distortion of ethics occurs when the bureaucracy affects internal and external standards of morality in matters of individual success and failure, and in routine issues experienced by employees at work.

5.3 | Volunteering

As previous studies show, volunteering either implies a higher level of PSM on all dimensions (Clerkin et al. 2009; Coursey et al. 2011; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012), or at least does not reduce it (Ritz 2015). The exception has been a negative association with Attraction to Policy Making (Clerkin et al. 2009). The Polish nonprofit sector gives some support to that, revealing that its frequently volunteering workers (about 45 per cent of the respondents) also have a correspondingly higher level of Self-Sacrifice. The Polish public sector, however, reveals no correlations at all, suggesting that only Polish nonprofits are located in the same organizational field as volunteering groups.

More critical results for volunteerism have been found in Belarus. Challenging previous research (Houston 2006; Perry et al. 2008; Clerkin et al. 2009; Coursey et al. 2011; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012), both sectors revealed a negative association with PSM, demonstrating that volunteering groups and the Belarusian providers studied do not belong to the same organizational field. Volunteering individuals do not grasp the significance of this action (Vandenabeele 2007), demonstrating the institutional distortion of the volunteerism concept in Belarus. Having a compulsory character during the Soviet era, the value of volunteering lost its meaning, and the majority still view it as a forced obligation rather than an expression of goodwill. Those who declared their volunteering activities might only have

experienced a compulsory 'volunteering' service required by their employer or educator. Also, the level of Compassion of those nonprofit employees who are involved in any additional volunteering activities is significantly lower, meaning that they are doing it not out of the desire to help others but rather due to some other motives.

5.4 | Professional organizations

Most public serving organizations observed do not share an institutional value infrastructure with professional organizations, contrary to common expectations. The lack of associations with PSM suggests that individual participation in professional organizations is explained by the logic of consequence rather than the logic of appropriateness (March and Olsen 1989). The results draw our attention to the low percentage of employees who belong to professional organizations. The effect of professional value initialization through corresponding institutions simply could not take place by means of socialization (Vandenabeele 2007). It is only the Polish nonprofit sector, where professional organizations are part of the organizational field: almost 40 per cent of employees belong to professional organizations, and similarly to Perry (1997), their level of Self-Sacrifice has a positive association with this activity (note the opposite direction for this dimension and church-going in this sample). Associations with other dimensions found in previous studies were not confirmed.

5.5 | Labour unions

Several studies on labour unions (Davis 2011; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012) have suggested no positive associations of PSM dimensions with labour unions, with the only exception being Attraction to Policy Making (Davis 2011). The present study confirms the research carried out to date as it reveals no connection with PSM in the nonprofit sectors in either country, and some negative relationships in the public sectors, suggesting no shared value infrastructure. Thus, labour unions are not part of the organizational fields revealed (Figure 1).

The negative association is mostly visible in the highly unionized public sector of Belarus, where labour union membership conflicts with the individual desire for Self-Sacrifice and the total PSM score. Uniformly across the samples, the results contradict previous theoretical propositions that labour unions have the potential to transform self-seeking and egocentric public agents into members of a community of shared goals and interests (Anderfuhren-Biget 2012). The proposition of institutional theory that a strong socialization factor leads to 'identification with significant others, eventually acquiring a new social identity as a member of the institution' (Vandenabeele 2007), even if it happens, does not add to PSM values. Union members are most probably guided by the logic of consequence rather than that of appropriateness.²

6 | CONCLUSION

Public service motivated employees do participate in social, pro-social and political activities in their after-work time, and these organizations promote numerous values connected to their motivation (Perry and Vandenabeele 2008; Scott 2014). Thus, institutional infrastructure for public service motivation and corresponding values is larger than solely a public serving organization of employment.

Meanwhile, public service motivation does not have a unique pattern of socio-political associations. The presence and the direction of the associations depend on the institutional context of a particular organizational field,

²It is unlikely that missing variables related to personal background, like, for instance, professional identification (Perry 1997), might have disturbed the variation of PSM and its associations. While data on self-declared professional identification were not collected, the study controlled for professionalism by adding an education variable, which was not significant for PSM dimensions (except for once for APS). Meanwhile, the populations studied constitute a homogeneous group in terms of professionalism and professional affiliations; about 80 per cent of the respondents hold some professional degrees, and, except for Polish nonprofit employees, the overall rate of belonging to professional organizations remains low.

which consists of organizations that share similar meanings rather than social issues. This field is bound neither by the industry nor by the sector of employment, but by the legitimized institutional value infrastructure. Depending on the overall institutional context, different socio-political organizations may have similar socializing effects: for instance, to go to church in one context may correspond to the same values as being a member of a political party in another. From a value perspective, in one context, church and public organizations might have even more in common than public and nonprofit organizations would, despite the fact that they provide similar services to the same population. In other contexts, public serving organizations would share institutional value infrastructure with political parties, professional organizations or volunteering groups, which explains the inconsistency of the previously found results (e.g., Ritz 2015 vs. Anderfuhren-Biget 2012).

The finding also illuminates the previously raised issue of historical context when institutional and cultural peculiarities determine the level of public service motivation (Kim 2006; Vandenabeele and Van de Walle 2008; Anderfuhren-Biget 2012). The association signs for socio-political activities reflected the importance of institutions established during previous governments. As more work on institutional change and evolution has been required (Vandenabeele 2007), the study has illustrated how the lack of major institutional reforms after the fall of communism resulted in a relic such as the negative attitude towards volunteering. The remains of the communist legacy observed by Houston (2014) could be explained by Inglehart's (1997) 'scarcity' theory, which posits that gradual change of individual values takes generations.

Further qualitative research is required to examine what concepts such as volunteering, political party, and church mean to individuals employed by public organizations in different countries and whether the definitions of these concepts differ between the private and nonprofit sectors. While a lot of effort has been put into specifying the measurement instruments of public service motivation as a latent concept, future comparative research should acknowledge that seemingly straightforward and non-latent concepts such as volunteering or political activism could have completely different meanings in various organizational fields.

The article acknowledges that the geographical region studied exhibits certain peculiarities of a border land. The findings, however, have value beyond the study group. They demonstrate that even slight differences in institutional contexts might be enough to create different backgrounds for associations between public service motivation and socio-political activities. Future research should focus on the specific attributes of these institutional contexts—rules, norms, behavioural and traditional patterns, pressures and freedoms, past experiences and memories—that make public service providers have more in common with some socio-political organizations than with others.

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