



Race, gender, and public-sector work: Prioritizing occupational values as a labor market privilege



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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of occupational values in job choice. Using public service motivation (PSM), a value orientation associated with public workers, this analysis predicts public sector employment using a mixed-methods approach: a quantitative analysis of the 2006 General Social Survey and a qualitative analysis of 87 semi-structured interviews with state government workers in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Oregon. The results indicate variation within the public employee population in the effect of PSM on choosing to work in the public sector. They also suggest that prioritizing values in occupational choice may be a luxury, and assuming shared occupational values lacks consideration of the underlying rationales some individuals use when choosing a job.

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In the United States our jobs are an important part of defining us as individuals, but how much of our individual values actually align with our jobs? A half-century of research has investigated these individual “judgments about work” (see [Kohn & Schooler, 1969](#)) and occupational “values” (see [Johnson, 2002](#); [Kalleberg, 1977](#); [Marini, Fan, Finley, & Beutel, 1996](#); [Mortimer & Lorence, 1979](#)), and has developed multiple occupational value typologies. The most common differentiates between intrinsic (internal and psychological) and extrinsic (external and material) work values ([Crewson, 1997](#); [Houston, 2000](#); [Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999](#); [Zytowski, 1970](#)). Others have suggested distinctions between social work values, which pertain to relations with coworkers; altruistic work values, which involve the desire to help others and contribute to society; and prestige values, which relate to status and power ([Dawis & Lofquist, 1984](#); [Pryor, 1979](#); [Ros et al., 1999](#)).

While, sociological researchers have investigated, and found, both gender ([Beutel & Marini, 1995](#); [Spence & Helmreich, 1983](#)) and racial ([Brenner, Blazini, & Greenhaus, 1988](#); [Tuch & Martin, 1991](#)) differences in occupational value orientations, these have yet to be concretely connected to occupational selection. [Beutel and Marini \(1995\)](#) find that gender differences in occupational value orientations among high school students have persisted across time,

with females attaching more importance to compassion and finding meaning in their work, and males prioritizing materialism and competition in the workplace. [Brenner et al. \(1988\)](#) demonstrate similar gender differences in values—that female managers are more likely than males to emphasize intrinsic values—as well as racial differences. They find that black managers are more likely than white managers to emphasize extrinsic values and that a race \times gender interaction shows black, male managers as most likely to emphasize extrinsic values. Scholars have suggested that such individual values form “an internal moral compass” ([Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004](#), p. 362), guiding individuals toward that which is desirable, “which influences the *selection* [author’s emp.] from available modes, means, and ends of action” ([Kluckhohn, 1951](#), p. 395). However, the broad nature of these occupational value orientations has made investigating their role in occupational choice a difficult task.

Studying public service motivation (PSM) as an intrinsic, occupational value orientation provides some leverage in connecting how broad occupational values may lead individuals to specific jobs – in this case, jobs within the public sector. It is widely accepted that individuals self-select into public sector jobs because they are motivated by PSM values (see [Crewson, 1997](#); [Delfgaauw & Dur, 2010](#); [Houston, 2000](#); [Perry & Wise, 1990](#)). However, this conclusion is problematic in large part because past studies have measured PSM across broad swaths of public sector workers without investigating the relative importance of competing factors across social groups. It is further complicated by variation in

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economic and lifestyle incentives across sectors and industries (see Cohen, Zalamanovitch, & Davidesko, 2005; Lewis & Galloway, 2011; Llorens, 2008; Reese & Warner, 2012), as well as structural and cultural differences – such as early adoption of non-discrimination regulations and greater union coverage – that have made the public sector appealing to groups that have historically faced discrimination or other impediments in the labor force (Boyd, 1994; Eisinger, 1982; Greene & Rogers, 1994; O'Brien, 1994; Zagoria, 1972). The socio-historical context suggests that, for less privileged groups, the values associated with public sector work are likely *not* PSM values, but rather structural characteristics related to security and non-discrimination.

This study addresses two important questions of occupational selection: Are pre-existing value orientations important to occupational choice? If so, for whom? I employ a mixed-method approach to address the role of values in occupational selection, addressing the question: For whom is PSM predictive of public sector work? The purpose of this study is not to determine why individuals choose public sector work, but to investigate for whom the values associated with an occupation (or, in this case, sector) are an important part of choosing a job. Though this analysis uses cross-sectional data and cannot directly adjudicate causality, it does show that the relationship of PSM to occupational choice is quite complex.

This paper begins by discussing existing sociological theories of occupational selection and how PSM, as a value orientation, can be used to better understand the role of values in job choice. First, I use General Social Survey data to compare workers across gender and race, finding systematic differences by race and gender in the extent to which PSM values predict public sector work, and that PSM is most predictive of public sector work for white males. I then use qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with public employees to explore the observed differences in the quantitative results. I find that, while job choice may appear to be driven by idiosyncratic individual preferences, different groups prioritize values – relative to other occupational characteristics – differently. I then discuss the implications for occupational values research, public sector recruitment and retention, and occupational sorting more generally.

1. Occupational selection

Trying to explain why individuals with similar values cluster in similar jobs is a continuing puzzle in sociology. Occupational socialization undoubtedly plays a key role in the convergence of occupational values among workers, but most scholars also agree that pre-employment traits and values are important in the job selection process (see Johnson, 2001; Kohn & Schooler, 1982; Lindsay & Knox, 1984; Weisgram & Bigler, 2006). In assessing such antecedents, one set of theories suggests employers seek out and hire individuals who demonstrate particular personality (non-cognitive) or class origin traits (Jackson, 2006; Jencks, 1979). Another set of theories focuses how occupational values and aspirations arise from workers' childhood socialization (see Giddens, 1984; Morgan, 2005; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969). Though one set of theories emphasizes employers and the other workers, they both identify the importance of pre-workforce socialization and values in predicting occupational status, educational attainment, and social class (see Jackson, 2006; Jencks, 1979).

Additionally, social psychology and child development research has indicated that both age and gender are important determinants of individual values. In particular, occupational values are under active development during early adolescence and, while young adolescents may endorse many values simultaneously, occupational values are prioritized over time (Johnson, 2001; Weisgram & Bigler, 2006). Likewise, gendered socialization shapes individual

values and these values affect individuals' political beliefs, moral behaviors, and educational attainment and occupational choices (Eccles, 2011; Simpkins, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2006). Specifically, gendered socialization in childhood affects later occupational choice through expectations for success and the development of subjective (and gendered) task values (Eccles, 2011). Studies have consistently demonstrated that occupational values, typically defined as the desires one most wants to be fulfilled within a career (Singer & Steffire, 1954; Zytowski, 1970), are associated with job preferences (Judge & Bretz, 1992; Lindsay & Knox, 1984). While scholars have drawn connections between individual values and specific occupations, they placed less emphasis on extent to which workers draw on these preexisting values.

2. Public service motivation

To understand the role that values play in job selection, we do well to study public-sector workers because public sector work benefits the public good, values are perceived to be very important (see Baldwin, 1990; Perry & Wise, 1990). Additionally, there is a long tradition of studying the values associated with government work to draw upon (see Bright, 2011; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Meier, 1993; Perry, 1997; Rainey, 1982; Volcker, 1989; Wittmer, 1991). Through substantial research, public service motivation (PSM) has emerged as the value orientation that distinguishes workers in the public sector from those in the private sector (Perry, Hondeghem, & Wise, 2010). Perry (1996) defines PSM as a combination of rational, normative and affective factors that identify an individual as (1) expressing an attraction to policymaking, (2) having a desire to serve the public interest, (3) being compassionate and (4) being self-sacrificial. In other words, PSM is a particular value orientation that expresses the “values associated with government service” (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 367) and, as such, may supersede a skilled worker's desire for the extrinsic benefits of – or values associated with – the private sector.

Prior empirical work has demonstrated that value differences exist between public sector and private sector workers in the aggregate. For example, public employees are more likely than private sector workers to rank PSM values such as social usefulness and meaningful public service, higher than self-interest values such as high wages or promotion opportunities (Houston, 2000; Jurkiewicz, Massey, & Brown, 1998; Karl & Sutton, 1998; Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991). Accordingly, PSM is a value orientation that is strongly associated with selection into public sector work.

3. PSM in occupational selection

Research has also shown high PSM to be associated with positive attitudes toward government and a preference for public sector jobs (Lewis & Frank, 2002; Perry, 1996). Bright (2011) explored the importance of PSM in occupational selection, testing whether higher levels of PSM are more predictive of direct public service occupations (e.g. police officer, dietitian, social worker) than of those public sector jobs that do not directly interact with the public. Though Bright (2011) finds that PSM is not predictive of public sector work, I suggest that he misidentifies PSM as being indicative of a desire to engage in direct service (i.e. work directly with a client) rather than to serve the public interest. Many of the occupations he identifies as being “non-public service” (e.g. management analyst, management specialist, planner) might satisfy individuals with high PSM. Likewise, some occupations that he categorizes as public service (e.g. animal control officer, dietitian, nurse) may not reflect “values associated with government service” (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 367), which is an accepted interpretation of PSM.

Though we know that PSM is an important value orientation for the public sector workforce as a whole, more recent PSM research has suggested that certain factors – including age, education, occupation, and period in the lifecycle – may moderate the effect of PSM on sector choice (Wright & Christensen, 2010). Likewise, DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey (2006) have demonstrated gender-based differences in the component factors of PSM among public managers – in particular, women score higher in compassion and attraction to policymaking, while men score higher in their commitment to the public interest. However, scholarship has yet to demonstrate whether PSM is equally predictive of public sector work across race and gender.

The assumption that PSM is the primary rationale for a worker choosing the public sector is potentially problematic when considering the structural differences between the public and private sectors and the disproportionate numbers of female and minority workers in the civil service (see Cohen et al., 2005). Teaching (74 percent female), nursing (90 percent female) and social work (82 percent female) are historically female occupations that are disproportionately found in the public sector, suggesting that role models and socialization continue to have a place in occupational selection (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Likewise, historically the public-sector was the only place outside the Black community where Black workers could find jobs as managers and professionals (Higginbotham, 1987; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1996). Black workers currently account for 11 percent of the labor force and the only managerial occupations in which they more likely to work than their numbers suggest are also in education (13 percent Black) and social services (15 percent Black) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015).

The research on wage differentials between the public and private sectors further complicates this problem. Miller's (1996) study of 22 white-collar occupations suggests that there is a private-sector wage premium of 10–19 percent for entry-level workers in a majority of those professional and administrative occupations. Borjas (2003) finds public-sector wage penalties of 10–20 percent for both men and women across occupations when controlling for common human capital characteristics. More recent research suggests that, on average, women earn more in the public sector relative to the private sector while men tend to earn less (Llorens, 2008; Reese & Warner, 2012). Likewise, when wage differentials are estimated separately by race, data show that Whites and Asians experience a public sector wage penalty, while Blacks and Latinos experience a public sector wage premium (Lewis & Galloway, 2011). In short, research has shown that social groups that have historically faced discrimination in the workforce tend to prefer public sector employment (Cohen et al., 2005), presumably because of the stronger employment protections and higher wages in this sector (see Lewis & Galloway, 2011; Llorens, 2008; Reese & Warner, 2012). These structural differences offer a plausible alternative to values for why individuals choose public sector work. Given these findings, I expect to find that PSM values are less predictive of public sector work for women than for men, and for black workers than for white workers.

H1. *PSM has a weaker effect on the probability of women working in the public sector than it does for men.*

H2. *PSM has a weaker effect on the probability of Blacks working in the public sector than it does for Whites.*

4. Data and method

This analysis employs two complimentary studies to assess the use of individual values in labor market decision-making. The first study employs logistic regression analysis of a nationally representative survey, the General Social Survey (GSS), to assess group

differences in the importance of PSM in predicting public sector employment. Then I analyze semi-structured interviews with public employees to suggest mechanisms that explain these differences.

4.1. Logistic regression data and method

The GSS is a full-probability, personal-interview survey conducted approximately annually in the United States and designed to monitor changes in social characteristics and attitudes. The GSS has been used in many of the studies that compare public and private sector workers (Crewson, 1997; Frank & Lewis, 2004; Houston, 2000) and is, therefore, optimal for extending this analysis to various sub-groups. This paper uses data from the 2006 wave of the GSS, which was the only year in which the GSS included the variety of work motivation measures necessary to construct a PSM index from a single sample of respondents. In each wave of the GSS, various modules are asked of only a subset of respondents. This paper's analysis limits the sample to the intersection of respondents who were asked about their current or most recent work sector, their work motivators, and a panel of demographic characteristics ($N = 4376$). This sample excludes 248 cases due to missing data, and I employ listwise deletion to address these missing data.¹

4.2. Dependent variable

The dependent variable in this analysis measures an individual's current or most recent job sector. The GSS asks:

(Are/were) you employed by the federal, state, or local government or by a private employer (including non-profit organizations)?

This question generates a binary dependent variable measuring current or most recent work sector. Though Lewis and Frank (2002) suggest that predicting actual work sector introduces an element of chance along with choice, their suggested use of preferred work sector presents the problem of disentangling the desire from socialization, particularly given a random cross-section. While preferred work sector may be the appropriate choice for a study of individuals about to enter the labor force (i.e. in college or graduate school), actual sector choice represents a revealed preference that is not variable by level of socialization or job satisfaction.

I also conduct sensitivity analyses using a dependent variable for desired job sector based on the GSS question:

Suppose you were working and could choose between different kinds of jobs. Which of the following would you personally choose: . . . working in a private business or working for the government or civil service?

Using this preferred work sector variable changes the magnitude of some of the independent variables, but does not affect their sign or statistical significance. Appendix A includes a table of logistic regression coefficients using the desired job sector dependent variable for comparison.

¹ The largest of these deletions resulted from respondents not providing their political views, which eliminated 124 cases. *T*-tests with unequal variances indicated that the missing observations did show statistically significant differences from the rest of the sample. The missing individuals are also significantly more risk averse ($t = -3.85$, $d.f. = 295.86$, $p < 0.001$), have significantly lower PSM ($t = 5.14$, $d.f. = 284.66$, $p < 0.001$), are significantly older ($t = -3.17$, $d.f. = 272.35$, $p < 0.01$), and have, on average, significantly less education ($t = 6.99$, $d.f. = 291.72$, significant at $p < 0.001$). The missing individuals are also less likely to be married ($t = 4.05$, $d.f. = 277.01$, significant at $p < 0.001$). Given that the missing cases are not missing completely at random, the results should be interpreted with caution; however, the missing values were comparable in all other respects and the author assumes that their exclusion does not further bias the sample.

4.3. Independent variables

PSM is the primary independent variable of interest in this analysis and is measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (no PSM) to 4 (high PSM). Perry (1996) used confirmatory factor analysis to demonstrate construct validity with respect to PSM along four dimensions: attraction to policymaking (rational), commitment to the public interest, social justice and civic duty (normative); self-sacrifice (normative), and compassion (affective). The measures used in this analysis were chosen to match previous PSM survey items as closely as possible. Though some may argue that these measures do not reflect their respective factor labels, this analysis is not intended to address the PSM naming conventions.²

Public administration scholars continue to refine PSM measurement. Numerous methods have been used to measure PSM, including Perry's (1996) original 24-item survey, shorter 14-item and 10-item instruments (Coursey & Pandey, 2007; Kim, 2009) and several single-measure proxies (Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007). Using the 2006 wave of the GSS, I derive the four factors of PSM from 11 different attitudinal and behavioral measures, using multiple items for all four dimensions of PSM. The survey items used in constructing these four dimensions, as well as the Cronbach's alphas and Eigenvalues for the four factors and final PSM variable are provided in Table 1, further discussion of the construction of the four factors is available in Appendix B.

A number of factors related to work and individual characteristics are likely to be implicated in sector choice and are included as covariates. The analysis includes two variables reflecting the demographic composition of occupations: *majority-female* (=1) and *disproportionately-Black* (=1). I also include several variables that more generally address desired occupational characteristics: *importance of job security*, *importance of independent work*, *importance of flexibility*, *importance of having promotion opportunities*, *importance of interesting work* and *preference for a large firm*. Controls for demographic characteristics other than gender and race include *age* (range: 18–88 years), *years of schooling* (range: 0–20 years) and *marital status* (married = 1). Political views are also implicated in beliefs about the ideal size and scope of government, which may have an effect on an individual's work sector choice. Consequently, dummy variables for *liberal* (=1) and *conservative* (=1) are included here as covariates with *moderate* as the reference category.

Descriptive statistics from the GSS sample demonstrate significant differences across race and gender in occupational values, including PSM. On average, black individuals in the sample have significantly higher PSM than non-blacks ($p < 0.001$), while there is no difference in PSM between women and men ($p > 0.05$). However, when broken down into its component factors, both Blacks and women have significantly higher compassion and desire to serve the public interest than non-blacks ($p < 0.001$) and men ($p < 0.001$), respectively. These groups also rate job security and flexibility more highly than non-blacks ($p < 0.001$) and men ($p < 0.001$). While these comparisons do not control for important demographic characteristics, they do suggest that variation exists across race and gender

² For example, the measures used to create the *attraction to policymaking* factor are more explicitly about politics and knowledge of policy than about policymaking. However, the measures used in other PSM surveys are also more reflective of interest in politics and government than in the process of policymaking. Though the appropriateness of the label, *attraction to policymaking*, is contestable, this analysis does not address the labeling issue. Instead it focuses on the extent to which PSM as previously constructed is predictive of public sector work. Likewise, the factor, *desire to serve the public interest*, appears to measure liberal political values rather than a desire to serve the public, yet, (1) these measures are fairly similar to those suggested by Perry (1996) and (2) when they are removed from the PSM variable there is no significant difference in the effect of either PSM or expressing liberal values.

in factors associated with job selection. Full sample characteristics from the GSS are presented in Table 2.

4.4. Model specification

I estimate logistic regression models to evaluate the effect of PSM on sector choice. Binary logistic regression assumes that the underlying distribution of the dependent variable follows a binomial distribution and links the probability of the dependent variable (Y) to a set of independent variables (X s) through a logistic function. The logistic regression equation is:

$$\log \left[\frac{\pi}{1-\pi} \right] = x\beta$$

where $\log \left[\frac{\pi}{1-\pi} \right]$ is the log of the odds of being employed in public sector work (π), x is a vector of the independent variables, and β is a vector of the parameter estimates.

4.5. Interview data and method

The interview data come from a broader study on public-sector bureaucrats' attitudes, motivations and behaviors. I conducted these 87 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with white-collar, state government workers in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Oregon, between 2012 and 2014. With respect to the quantitative analysis, these respondents are most comparable to the sample analyzed in Model 4 – white-collar, analytical or administrative professionals, excluding predominantly public sector occupations (e.g. teachers and nurses). The interview schedule is available in Appendix C.

The group of respondents was generated through a snowball sample of individuals working in skilled public sector jobs, beginning with a convenience sample of my own public sector acquaintances. The three states were chosen to control for state size, political and legislative history and state budget situation, while allowing the composition of state legislators (Representatives/Assembly members, Senators, and Governor) and current political environment to vary. Demographically, I have constructed as diverse a sample as possible comprised of men and women between the ages of 25 and 70. Almost all have completed at least some post-secondary education and most have completed a bachelor's degree. Consequently, these individuals are not representative of state government workers as a whole, but of educated professionals who chose public service over the private sector. Participants were not provided with any monetary compensation for their participation in the study and have been provided with pseudonyms to protect their anonymity. Using a modified grounded theory approach, I conducted the analysis in Dedoose's qualitative coding software, employing open and focused coding, and memos. Table 3 provides descriptive statistics from the sample.

I first present a report of the GSS logistic regression results, followed by a discussion of the logistic regression analysis. I then introduce the interview data and method to explore mechanisms that may account for the regression results. All regression analyses are run using the STATA 12 software package and all models include post-stratification survey weights and robust standard errors.

5. Results and discussion

PSM has generally been modeled as a value orientation that is employed similarly across gender and race (i.e. without interactions) in job-sector selection. Table 4 presents maximum likelihood estimates of four logistic regression models – both with and without race and gender interactions – predicting sector choice among US adults from the 2006 GSS, to evaluate Hypotheses 1 and 2:

Table 1
PSM factors, measures, Cronbach's alphas and Eigenvalues.

Measures	α	Eigenvalue
Attraction to policymaking	0.73	1.21
1) How interested would you say you personally are in politics		
2) How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.		
3) How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I think most people are better informed about politics and government than I am. (Reversed)		
Desire to serve the public interest	0.61	1.08
1) Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more," it might require a tax increase to pay for it. G. Unemployment benefits.		
2) Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. G. Supporting declining industries to protect jobs.		
3) On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to... g. Reduce income differences between the rich and poor.		
4) On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to... i. Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it		
Compassion	0.73	0.93
1) On the following list there are various aspects of jobs. Please circle one number to show how important you personally consider it is in a job: g. A job that allows someone to help other people.		
2) On the following list there are various aspects of jobs. Please circle one number to show how important you personally consider it is in a job: h. A job that is useful to society.		
Self-sacrifice	0.65	0.62
1) On the following list there are various aspects of jobs. Please circle one number to show how important you personally consider it is in a job: B. High income (Reversed).		
2) Would you please look at this card and tell me which one thing on this list you would most prefer in a job? b. Which comes next? c. Which is third most important? d. Which is fourth most important? High Income (Reversed).		
Final PSM Measure	0.63	

Source: 2006 General Social Survey.

Table 2
Descriptions, measurements, unweighted means, and two-tailed *t*-tests for variables used in the GSS analysis, by race and gender.

Variable	Measurement	Non-black	Black	Difference in means	Male	Female	Difference in means
		Mean [S.D.]	Mean [S.D.]		Mean [S.D.]	Mean [S.D.]	
PSM	0 = no PSM to 4 = very high PSM	2.44 [0.38]	2.54 [0.35]	-0.10***	2.46 [0.39]	2.44 [0.37]	0.02
Interest in Policymaking	0 = no interest to 4 = very high interest	2.40 [0.94]	2.24 [0.83]	0.16***	2.54 [0.93]	2.22 [0.88]	0.32***
Desire to Serve the Public Interest	0 = no desire to 4 = very high desire	2.56 [0.66]	3.12 [0.56]	-0.56***	2.57 [0.68]	2.71 [0.67]	-0.13***
Compassion	0 = not compassionate to 4 = very compassionate	3.30 [0.64]	3.44 [0.61]	-0.13***	3.25 [0.68]	3.40 [0.58]	-0.15***
Self-Sacrifice	0 = not self-sacrificing to 4 = very self-sacrificing	0.85 [0.59]	0.49 [0.50]	0.36***	0.82 [0.60]	0.77 [0.57]	0.05**
Job Security Impt.	0 = no risk aversion to 4 = very high risk aversion	3.43 [0.77]	3.62 [0.77]	-0.19***	3.40 [0.83]	3.51 [0.71]	-0.11***
Independent Work Impt.	0 = not important to 4 = very important	3.10 [0.83]	3.21 [0.81]	-0.11***	3.10 [0.85]	3.14 [0.81]	-0.04*
Interest in Work Impt.	0 = not important to 4 = very important	3.53 [0.62]	3.46 [0.71]	0.06*	3.49 [0.68]	3.55 [0.60]	-0.06**
Flexibility Impt.	0 = not important to 4 = very important	2.44 [1.03]	2.59 [1.11]	-0.15**	2.38 [1.06]	2.55 [1.02]	-0.17***
Advancement Impt.	0 = not important to 4 = very important	3.13 [0.83]	3.56 [0.61]	-0.43***	3.20 [0.84]	3.20 [0.79]	0.00
Prefer Large Firm	Yes = 1	0.25 [-]	0.34 [-]	-0.09***	0.28 [-]	0.26 [-]	0.02
Public Employee	Yes = 1	0.20 [-]	0.25 [-]	-0.05*	0.16 [-]	0.25 [-]	-0.09***
Female	Yes = 1	0.51 [-]	0.60 [-]	-0.09***	-	-	-
Black	Yes = 1	-	-	-	0.14 [-]	0.18 [-]	-0.04***
Married	Yes = 1	0.56 [-]	0.31 [-]	0.25***	0.56 [-]	0.47 [-]	0.09***
Age	In years (range: 18–88)	48.78 [16.15]	42.54 [14.43]	6.24***	46.82 [15.34]	48.63 [16.61]	-1.81***
Years of Schooling	In years (range: 0–20)	13.67 [2.93]	13.36 [2.58]	0.30**	13.65 [3.14]	13.59 [2.63]	0.06
Political Views (Moderate = omitted)							
Liberal	Yes = 1	0.24 [-]	0.35 [-]	-0.11***	0.25 [-]	0.27 [-]	-0.03*
Conservative	Yes = 1	0.34 [-]	0.21 [-]	0.13***	0.36 [-]	0.28 [-]	0.08***

* $p < 0.05$.** $p < 0.01$.*** $p < 0.001$.Source: General Social Survey, 2006, $N = 4376$.

Table 3
Counts from the interview sample of public sector bureaucrats, by state.

State	WI	MN	OR	Total
Respondent count	26	31	30	87
Gender				
Female	11	20	17	48
Male	15	11	13	39
Age				
25–36	19	13	17	49
37–48	2	6	6	14
49–60	4	9	7	20
61+	1	3	0	4
Race/Ethnicity				
White (non-Hispanic)	24	24	28	76
Black	0	4	0	4
Asian	2	2	1	5
Native American	0	1	1	2
Hispanic	0	0	0	0
Party ID				
Democrat	21	24	20	65
Independent	4	5	8	17
Republican	1	1	2	4
Union				
Member	9	23	16	48
Non-member	17	8	12	37
Mean job tenure	5.0	8.4	7.7	7.2

H1. PSM has a weaker effect on the probability of women working in the public sector than it does for men.

H2. H2 PSM has a weaker effect on the probability of Blacks working in the public sector than it does for Whites.

Model 1 predicts sector choice for all adults in the aggregate, without interactions. Model 2 adds interaction terms by gender and race for PSM. Because this analysis suggests that individuals have agency in choosing the sector in which they work, Models 3 and 4 limit the sample to decrease the number of plausible alternative reasons an individual might end up in public sector work. Model 3 narrows the sample to adults with 16 or more years of education (equivalent to a college degree) to compare only those with skills and education that are broadly transferable. Model 4 further narrows the sample to adults with 16 or more years of education who are not teachers or nurses, eliminating female-gendered occupations that are primarily found in the public sector.³ These limitations reduce sample heterogeneity so we can see whether PSM operates similarly across gender and race among individuals with a broad range of job prospects.

Previous research has demonstrated that higher PSM is predictive of working in the public sector and Model 1 supports this conclusion. The PSM coefficient is both positive and significant ($p < 0.01$). In the aggregate, a one-unit increase in PSM increases the odds of public sector work by 55 percent. However, both

³ I have also conducted a more thorough analysis, using two multinomial logistic regressions to (1) investigate whether PSM is predictive of women entering majority-female – public sector, majority-male – public sector, majority-female – private sector or majority-male – private sector jobs, and (2) investigate whether PSM is predictive of Blacks entering disproportionately-Black – public sector, non-disproportionately-Black – public sector, disproportionately-Black – private sector, or non-disproportionately-Black – private sector jobs. These analyses do not substantively change the conclusions except to indicate that (1) PSM is a significant predictor of males entering majority-female occupations, both in the public and private sectors when compared to majority-male, private sector occupations, and (2) PSM is predictive of whites entering disproportionately-Black occupations in the private sector. These findings likely arise because many of the occupations that are majority-female and/or disproportionately-Black are in the fields of education, social work, and health/child care, which emphasize some of the PSM component factors, specifically compassion and helping/serving others. Full results of these models can be seen in Appendix D.

gender and race are also statistically significant predictors of public sector work, increasing the odds of public sector work 54 percent ($p < 0.001$) and 70 percent ($p < 0.001$), respectively. The magnitude and significance of these characteristics suggest that PSM is not the dominant rationale for these groups choosing public sector work.

Model 2, which includes interaction terms by gender and race for PSM, offers an opportunity to see whether PSM operates similarly across gender and race as a predictor of public sector work. The effect of PSM for white men remains positive and significant: a one-unit increase in PSM increases the odds of public sector work by 175 percent ($p < 0.001$). However, the *female**PSM interaction term is both negative and statistically significant ($p < 0.01$) and the *Black**PSM interaction term is also negative though not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). These findings indicate that the effect of PSM is weaker for women than for men. Likewise, while there is no statistically significant difference in the effect of PSM for black versus white workers, the magnitude and negative sign on the *Black**PSM coefficient suggest that PSM may be more important for white workers. These results demonstrate gender and racial differences in the relationship of values to public-sector work, offering some support for [Hypotheses 1 and 2](#).

In order to gain some leverage on these racial and gender differences, I present results from two models in which I limit the sample to include only those with advanced education and transferable skills. Model 3 is limited to those who have completed 16 years of education and Model 4 is further limited to exclude teachers and nurses – professions that are both female-dominated and primarily found in the public sector ([Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015](#)).

In Model 3 the interaction coefficients for both women and Blacks are negatively signed and at least moderately statistically significant ($p < 0.001$ and $p < 0.1$, respectively), more strongly supporting [Hypotheses 1 and 2](#). [Fig. 1](#) shows the marginal effects of gender and race on the probability of public sector employment across levels of PSM for those with a college degree. The figure demonstrates that the choice to work in the public sector is almost unaffected by PSM for educated women and unaffected or negatively affected for Blacks. In other words women and Blacks appear to choose public sector work for reasons other than high levels of PSM, while increases in PSM are positively associated with public sector employment for white men.

The importance of PSM in job choice among white men was reflected in the interviews I conducted with public-sector professionals. Regardless of age, job tenure or occupation, the white male respondents suggested that their values led them to choose work in the public sector. When asked to relate how he came to work in state government, Marshal O'Brien, a 32-year old analyst in Wisconsin describes his sector choice as reflective of his preexisting values and desire to serve the broader public.

I felt from, actually a very young age that public sector work and being part of a government agency was a type of career that carried a lot of meaning. . . I guess from the beginning, I wanted to go into a career that fulfilled me personally in that way.

In his interview, Marshal mentions no other factors or considerations in choosing his work sector. Choosing government work was principally about nurturing his personal values.

Likewise, in describing his transition from private-sector to public-sector work, Dwight Landrud, a 66-year old analyst from Minnesota emphasized that he specifically pursued government work because it was “a noble thing to do.” When asked what made public sector work noble, Dwight reveals how his personal PSM values align with his choice of work sector.

For one thing, you're not going to get rich working for government. So in that respect, I guess it has a certain amount of nobility associated with it, but I think it has probably more to

Table 4
Logistic regressions predicting public sector employment – weighted and reported in log-odds.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
PSM	0.44** (0.14)	1.01*** (0.24)	1.74*** (0.36)	2.14*** (0.42)
Female	0.43*** (0.11)	2.49*** (0.70)	4.18*** (1.15)	3.58* (1.40)
Black	0.53*** (0.13)	1.85* (0.95)	4.39* (2.35)	8.39*** (2.29)
Married	0.50*** (0.10)	0.51*** (0.10)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.18 (0.20)
Age	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	0.02** (0.01)
Education	0.18*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)	0.17** (0.06)	0.20** (0.06)
Liberal	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.19)	-0.21 (0.23)
Conservative	-0.25* (0.11)	-0.24* (0.11)	-0.08 (0.21)	0.16 (0.24)
Job Security Impt.	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)	0.15* (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)
Promotion Impt.	-0.23*** (0.06)	-0.23*** (0.06)	-0.13 (0.09)	0.03 (0.10)
Independent Work Impt.	-0.15** (0.06)	-0.16** (0.06)	-0.14 (0.10)	0.07 (0.14)
Interest Impt.	0.50*** (0.09)	0.52*** (0.09)	-0.22 (0.16)	-0.53** (0.20)
Flexibility Impt.	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.18* (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)
Prefer Big Firm	0.67*** (0.10)	0.69*** (0.10)	0.60*** (0.18)	0.83*** (0.20)
Majority Female	0.38*** (0.11)	0.37*** (0.11)	1.26*** (0.17)	0.72*** (0.20)
Disproportionately Black	0.59*** (0.11)	0.59*** (0.11)	0.33 (0.24)	0.63* (0.25)
Female*PSM	-	-0.83** (0.27)	-1.33** (0.43)	-1.23* (0.50)
Black*PSM	-	-0.51 (0.36)	-1.69* (0.85)	-3.58** (1.06)
Constant	-6.91***	-8.49***	-7.96***	10.29***
Chi ²	311.81***	329.67***	180.09***	118.62***
Pseudo R ²	0.11	0.11	0.16	0.13
N	4376	4376	1284	1056

* $p < 0.05$.

** $p < 0.01$.

*** $p < 0.001$.

+ $p < 0.10$.

Source: 2006 General Social Survey; 2006 Bureau of Labor Statistics.

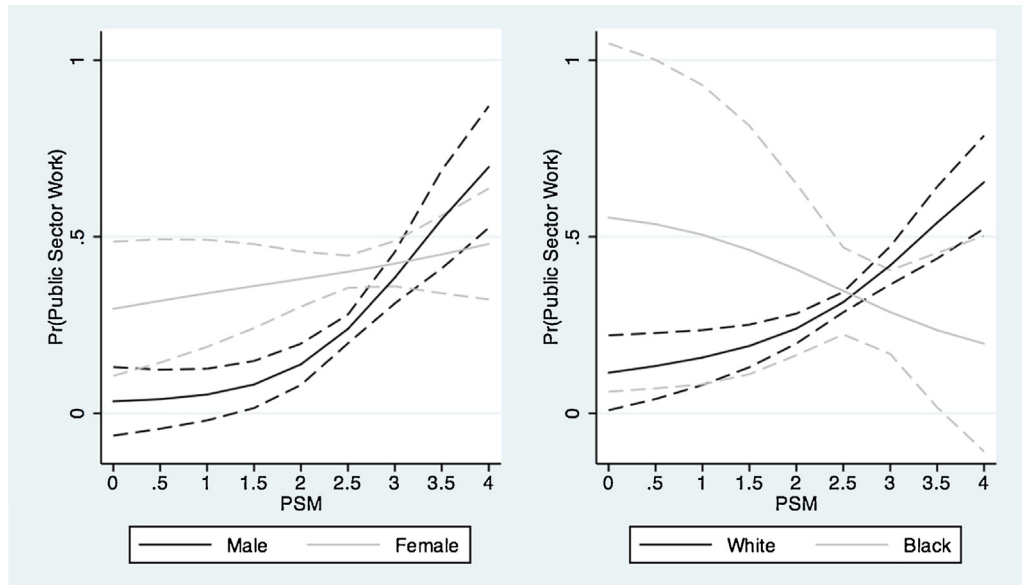


Fig. 1. Marginal effects of gender and race on public sector employment across levels of PSM for individuals with at least 16 years of education. Note: With controls and 95% confidence intervals.

Source: 2006 General Social Survey, 2006 Bureau of Labor Statistics, $N = 1284$.

do with the fact that I consider the work that I do working for the common good.

Like Marshal, Dwight could have worked in other organizations, but none would have been as personally fulfilling as public sector work. Finally, Cameron James, a 53-year old manager from Oregon also described his values as an important reason for choosing government work even after serving the public during his first career in the military.

Well, you might expect in my time in the service, we had a set of values that we lived by day to day. My values pretty much sum

up into three words—duty, honor, and country—and in some cases, I find it challenging when I see others not having the same value structure as—that I feel all public servants should.

Not only are his values important to his own choice to work in government, but he also indicates that he believes all government workers, regardless of their background, should share these values. While shared values may be a desirable outcome for an organization, Cameron's suggestion that public workers *should* exhibit PSM values reveals his labor market privilege.

Model 4, which further limits the sample by eliminating the female-gendered occupations of teaching and nursing, shows

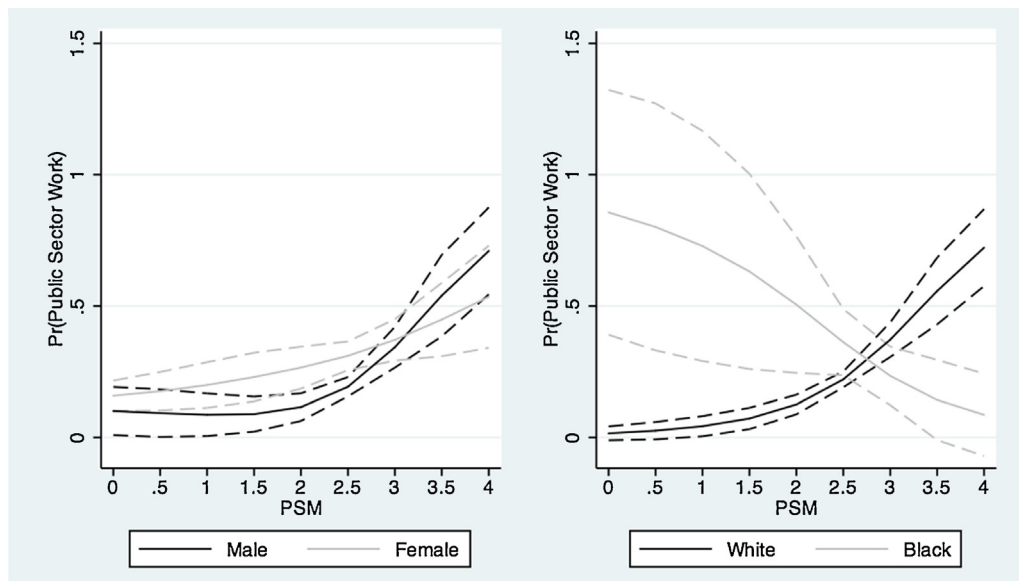


Fig. 2. Marginal effects of gender and race on public sector employment across levels of PSM for individuals with at least 16 years of education, excluding teachers and nurses. *Note:* With controls and 95% confidence intervals.

Source: 2006 General Social Survey, 2006 Bureau of Labor Statistics, $N = 1056$.

results that differ slightly from Model 3. Once female-dominated professions are removed from the population, PSM appears to have a positive linear effect on the probability of choosing public sector work for women across all levels of PSM. Though PSM has a positive effect for both genders, the effect for men appears more exponential, with little effect on the probability of public sector work below mean levels of PSM and a strong positive effect above the mean, supporting [Hypothesis 1](#). The effect of PSM by race is even more distinct, with a positive effect for Whites and a negative effect for Blacks, supporting [Hypothesis 2](#). [Fig. 2](#) shows the marginal effects of gender and race on the probability of public sector employment across levels of PSM for those with a college degree, excluding teachers and nurses.

Interviews with black public sector workers support the theory that PSM is not as instrumental in their job choice as for white workers. Instead, these interviews follow two different trajectories. Older black bureaucrats indicate that they are primarily interested in finding work that will support themselves and their families, while younger bureaucrats suggest that public service (PSM) values do not necessarily lead them to desire public sector careers. The first trajectory indicates that the strength of occupational values varies across social groups, the second suggests that values may, in fact, be misattributed to a specific occupation.

One of the older black workers, Kendra Blake, a 43-year old administrator in Minnesota, described accidentally landing a public sector job.

I was unemployed for a couple of months. . . And a neighbor who works here said there was a temp job that was available and asked if I was interested and I said sure. So, I started in August of 2005, liked the job, very nice and stress-free compared to where I did come from. And then I ended up getting hired on full-time in April, 2006. So, I've been here ever since. . . It was just kind of something that fell into my lap.

Kendra's occupational decision-making appears to be driven primarily by her need to support herself and her son, rather than personal values. Similarly, James Quentin, a 56-year old community outreach worker in Minnesota, described entering state government work out of necessity rather than desire.

Well, there was no decision to deliberately work in the public sector. I had just separated from a job with the YMCA in 1999 and I was looking for a job. . . at the last minute, I got my application in after talking to a couple of other friends of mine who both work in state government. So, there was no deliberate decision to become a public servant, it was an economic need that caused me to apply for this job.

Though neither Kendra nor James was specifically looking for government work, their economic need and their networks led them to state jobs. Neither indicated that values had anything to do with their decisions to work in government. Even James, who "had worked for the better part of 20 years in community non-profits," suggesting an inclination toward serving the broader public, never mentioned his values having any relationship to his public sector career. In other words, including values in their occupational decision-making was a luxury neither could afford.

Even those who indicated a specific interest in finding state government work suggested that this interest was not driven by values. Vanessa Young, a 35-year old analyst in Minnesota described her desire to work in state government as an opportunity to learn and "gain experience implementing policy" before taking her skills to a non-governmental organization.

The state was one of those arenas that I thought would've been interesting to explore just to get the—I've never done it before. . . I'm still very much interested in international development, so ideally I would love to find a job with a non-governmental organization that works both in the United States and abroad.

While Vanessa shares the PSM values of helping others through the development and implementation of good policy, her stated career trajectory suggests that these values do not lead her toward government work. Government is a place to learn about policy and to gain experience, and her work in government is a job, not a career. By contrast to the white men in the sample, she associates her PSM values explicitly with work in non-governmental organizations; they are not "values associated with government service" (see [Perry & Wise, 1990](#), p. 367).

So why might we see racial differences in the sector choice associated with PSM values? The GSS data show that Black

workers with high PSM ($PSM > 3$) disproportionately enter service work occupations including: social work, health aide, nursing aide, janitor, and cook positions. However, they also enter general office work occupations (e.g. clerk, bill collector, investigator and adjuster) and blue-collar occupations (e.g. laborer, machine operator, packer, bus/truck driver), which would not generally be associated with the PSM value orientation. Given that PSM does not sufficiently explain their choice of either sector or occupation, the data suggest that PSM is either less central or has different meaning as a value orientation for Black workers.

Preexisting theory suggests that structural differences between the public and private sectors make the public sector more appealing for groups that have historically faced discrimination (Boyd, 1994; Eisinger, 1982; Greene & Rogers, 1994; O'Brien, 1994; Zagoria, 1972). While structural differences provide one possible reason for the diminished importance of PSM among black workers who choose jobs in the public sector, it may not be the only reason. The qualitative data suggest that social networks continue to draw black workers to the public sector regardless of their individual values. They also strongly suggest that the values associated with public-sector work may not be the same across social groups. Further research would better help us understand which values (or other factors) are associated with public sector work for Black workers.

Assessing the effect of PSM on job choice for women is more complex. Previous research indicates that occupational sex segregation, though declining, still exists and influences occupational aspirations and choices. In particular, men influence women's job preferences by employing occupational closure practices (Roos & Reskin, 1984; Cubbins, 1991) or otherwise communicating to women that they are unwelcome in traditionally male occupations (Jacobs, 1989; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986; Rosenfeld, 1983; Steinberg, Haignere, & Chertos, 1990). Women also tend to earn more in the public sector relative to the private sector for equivalent work (Llorens, 2008; Reese & Warner, 2012). Consequently, women who do not want to contend with sex-atypical occupations, prefer a predominantly female work environment, or believe they can earn more in the public sector may choose female-dominated occupations such as teaching and nursing—occupations that are located predominantly in the public sector.

Only one respondent from the interview sample, Jennifer Apple, a 51-year old librarian, works in a female-dominated occupation. She was also the only respondent to indicate that she chose a bureaucratic public sector position to limit sexism and discrimination in the workplace.

I like the coworkers that I work with and feel respected. Whereas in the different private jobs I've had I didn't always feel that way, and so I think that's important. . . For me it happened—at each private sector job I had it happened. Where they would just kind of dump things on me 'cuz I was a woman. . . There was a lot of sexism to your job.

Given Jennifer's account, some women may still consider the potential for discrimination in their occupational choice. It is, perhaps, these women who are more likely to enter female-dominated occupations such as library science, teaching, and nursing. This may account for why, in this study's quantitative analysis, once the female dominated occupations are removed from the sample, the effect of PSM, for women, on the probability of public sector work.

The relatively small magnitude of the PSM effect for women might also suggest that they are considering values alongside other factors when making career decisions. For most women in the study, PSM was discussed as a reason for choosing public sector

work. However, this value orientation was often listed in conjunction with other important job characteristics, especially stability and flexibility. While both male and female respondents mentioned work/life balance as a benefit of working in the public sector, only female respondents mentioned the flexible work schedule (particularly in reference to family commitments) as a reason that they had chosen to enter or remain in the public sector. When asked how she came to work in state government after beginning her career in legal aid, Nicole Roberts, a 36-year old lawyer in Minnesota reflected on her desire to both serve the public interest and provide stability for her family.

All three of those jobs were about public service, but in environments that had more job security, slightly more pay – not incredibly so, but certainly the starting salaries were better than where I was at – and the opportunity for salary growth, at least some growth. . . All of these jobs would've been good in terms of being the voice at the table that argued for the common good of people, but with some better bells and whistles in terms of job security and economic security for my own family.

Similarly, Alison Span, a 31-year old program administrator in Wisconsin suggests that it was a combination of factors that lead her to public sector work.

I think I got into it because I feel like I have the ability to impact. I like being reminded of that. Policies impact people. I think on a more personal level or maybe that's all personal but as it relates to my daily life, I do appreciate that there is a work life balance. I feel like I make a—that I'm making a strategic decision to work in government and get paid less than some of my friends in the private sector so that I am not working more than 40, 45, 50 hours a week max.

While Alison discusses the importance of the values associated with public service in her choice of the public sector, she also gives substantial weight to security and work/life balance.

Monica Campbell, a 49-year old analyst in Oregon, spent 10 years in the private sector despite struggling to reconcile her work with her personal values. "I can get into the profit motivation if it's a gain, but I don't really see that as the means to an end, and insurance is pretty profit-driven. . . there was always that conflict." However, when asked what ultimately drew her into the public sector, she described how her desire for a more balanced life, not her values conflict, was the reason she left for a government job. "The hours. I knew that 40 hours meant 40 hours. That was pretty much it, and a little bit that I could work away from the office." She then pivoted to her hope that making the transition would better align with her individual values.

The first job I had was more statistical and more analyzing data, so it didn't have any of that altruistic reasons for it that you would go to the state work for. I always hoped that would come about, that I could get into something along those lines and work through it, and I think I have; that was a goal.

Monica's process of prioritizing the factors that contributed to her transition from the private to public sector illuminates the complex calculus that that women face in balancing their work and home lives. While values may have a place in shaping their job choices, other factors, such as family and home life take precedence and are integral to their occupational decision-making in ways that receive less consideration by men. In particular, women are willing to set aside their values if a position satisfies these other obligations. The adaptations that women make for family-friendly job characteristics likely reflect the continued gendered division of labor in the household (Coltrane, 2000; Lincoln, 2008) as well as the mental work women do in planning

for future family commitments (see Bass, 2015; Daniels, 1987). In other words, for women, using values in their occupational decisions is a luxury that is considered as an added benefit after both stability and a balance between work and home life are ensured.

Prior research has shown that work values differ considerably across race and gender; in particular, those who are more vulnerable to job and employability insecurity are more likely to emphasize income relative to other work values (Kalleberg & Marsden, 2013). Yet, public employees are identified as a group distinct from other workers in both the type of organizations they inhabit and the values that they exhibit (Crewson, 1997; Perry, 1996; Perry & Wise, 1990). Most scholars have assumed that, because public employees demonstrate the values that are exemplified by public sector work in aggregate, they are motivated by public service in their job choice (Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990). However, this analysis shows systematic differences in the way that PSM is prioritized in occupational decision-making, even among those who have skills and education that are broadly valued in the labor market. These differences warrant further research and analysis, particularly to consider continued race and gender-based inequalities both in the labor market and in the division of labor at home.

Both the samples and measures used in this analysis have limitations that must be acknowledged. Primarily, the GSS sample is limited in size and cannot fully address the heterogeneity of public sector workers. Further research is needed to assess differences by occupation and between levels of government. However, this analysis provides a benchmark for understanding which groups are likely to be motivated by public service versus other factors. Likewise, while the interview sample offers some rationale for the quantitative results, the sample of black workers is quite limited and a more extensive study of racial differences in reasons for public sector work would be an important addition to the literature. Second, the questions in the GSS are not ideal: a measure of perceived discrimination was not available in this survey and the measures used to create the PSM variable are similar to, but not exact matches with, those in Perry's (1996) analysis. Though I do not believe this has negatively impacted the analysis, comparisons to other studies that use the Perry (1996) scale should be conducted with caution. Additionally, using work sector as the dependent variable (as opposed to desired work sector) has disadvantages because work environments socialize individuals over time. However, the results of this analysis should allay concerns about the effect of socialization given the systematic differences in PSM by both gender and race, even after controlling for age. I also conducted a sensitivity analysis using desired work sector as the dependent variable without changes in sign or significance of the independent variables of interest (see Appendix A). Finally, this analysis, because it employs cross-sectional data, does not sufficiently address causality. Future research using panel and qualitative data could tell us more about both causal order and the rationale workers use when choosing a job.

6. Conclusion

For more than twenty years, PSM has been defined as representing "values associated with government service" (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 367). To refine this definition, previous research has demonstrated a number of differences between public sector and private sector employees in their occupational values, attitudes, and motivations (Houston, 2000; Jurkiewicz et al., 1998; Karl & Sutton, 1998; Rainey, 1982; Wittmer, 1991). In particular, intrinsic motivators and a desire to serve the public interest are

attributed to public workers while extrinsic motivators and a focus on self-interest are ascribed to private-sector workers. As a result, researchers have concluded that high levels of PSM lead individuals to choose jobs in the public sector (Crewson, 1997; Houston, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990).

My analysis finds only partial support for the theory that sharing the values associated with an occupation (or sector) is predictive of working in that occupation. PSM does predict public sector employment but primarily for white men, for whom the relationship appears exponentially positive. For women of any race and for Blacks the relationship is more complex. Most women in this sample describe work in the public sector as an opportunity to balance PSM with the flexibility and stability that their family considerations demand. Additionally, women may still enter some public sector occupations to avoid gender-based discrimination. Likewise, educated black workers appear to choose public sector work without regard to PSM, problematizing the assumption that PSM values are broadly associated with public sector work.

These findings have important implications for both public-sector worker recruitment and retention, as well as for the study of PSM. In particular, is the need to better distinguish public service motivation from public sector motivation (see Wright & Christensen, 2010), and further, to consider that there may be many public sector motivations. Many have already suggested that PSM's effects may be a function of the degree to which an organization shares the individual's public service values regardless of sector (Bright, 2008; Pandey, Wright, & Moynihan, 2008; Steijn, 2008; Taylor, 2008; Wright & Pandey, 2008). However, the basic assumption that public-sector workers are primarily concerned with whether these values are fostered in the workplace neglects the possibility that they may be prioritizing other occupational considerations (e.g. non-discrimination) or a combination of occupational factors (e.g. flexibility and job security and PSM). Investigating alternative rationales for public sector work may help organizations better recruit and retain workers other than those that prioritize PSM.

Ultimately, this study unveils another piece in the puzzle of occupational selection. Value orientations such as PSM can be important to understanding occupational selection, but they do not play an equal role in job choice for all workers. Prioritizing occupational values is a luxury available to the advantaged few, and not the primary reason for occupational choice among historically less-privileged groups. In particular, using values such as PSM as primary considerations in occupational choice is a privilege that is predominantly employed by white men. Additionally, assuming shared occupational values among workers may be an expression of privilege, lacking consideration of alternative rationales for choosing a job.

Finally, this privilege is reflected in how research is conducted on PSM in the public sector – the PSM construct appears to neglect variation across social groups in "the values associated with government service." Why do black workers associate PSM values with non-governmental organizations more than with government? Does the emphasis on PSM values in the public sector have negative effects on job satisfaction or retention among those who chose government work for reasons other than PSM values? Future research should further investigate these group differences, their underlying mechanisms, and the role they play in managing public sector work.

Appendix A.

Logistic regressions predicting preferred employment sector – weighted and reported in log-odds.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
PSM	0.54*** (0.11)	1.08*** (0.17)	2.04*** (0.35)	2.51*** (0.37)
Female	0.33*** (0.09)	2.21*** (0.54)	3.49** (1.19)	2.51* (1.41)
Black	0.53*** (0.12)	2.27** (0.76)	6.97* (2.73)	9.57* (2.40)
Married	0.06 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.53** (0.18)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01+ (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.04** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.15** (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)
Liberal	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.26 (0.20)	-0.60** (0.22)
Conservative	-0.37*** (0.10)	-0.37*** (0.10)	-0.38* (0.21)	-0.30 (0.24)
Job security important	0.28*** (0.06)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.37*** (0.09)	0.36** (0.10)
Promotion important	0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.37*** (0.09)	-0.34** (0.10)
Independent work important	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.17 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.13)
Interest important	-0.13+ (0.07)	-0.12+ (0.07)	-0.02 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.20)
Flexibility important	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.09)	0.29** (0.11)
Prefer big firm	0.89*** (0.09)	0.92*** (0.09)	1.33*** (0.18)	1.44*** (0.20)
Female*PSM	-	-0.76*** (0.21)	-1.25** (0.44)	-0.95+ (0.52)
Black*PSM	-	-0.70 (0.30)	-2.32* (0.98)	-3.35*** (0.87)
Constant	-3.90***	-5.37***	-9.56***	-9.13***
Chi ²	243.86***	270.97***	132.72***	147.82***
Pseudo R ²	0.07	0.07	0.12	0.16
N	4472	4472	1272	1060

* p < 0.05.

** p < 0.01.

*** p < 0.001.

+ p < 0.10.

Source: 2006 General Social Survey.

Appendix B.

While, the GSS questions for *attraction to policymaking* appear to be more related to politics than policymaking, Perry's (1996) original factor construction suggests these are deeply interconnected. Only one of his five indicators of *attraction to policymaking* asks about the process of generating policy; the rest reference politicians and politics. The items I include reflect individuals' interest in government, politics and political issues. These three integral pieces to public sector policymaking offer some improvement over Perry's (1996) original scale, which focused almost entirely on politics and political behavior (see Kim, 2009).

Four GSS measures are used to generate the *desire to serve the public interest* factor. These questions ask the respondent to consider the importance of putting the community before the self via redistributive policies. Though none directly address civic duty they require the respondent to consider setting aside self-interest to promote the common good. As per Perry (1996) and Kim (2009), these measures also directly address the extent to which the respondent feels that the government should be involved in redistribution.

The two questions that comprise the *compassion* factor address how responsible respondents feel for improving others' lives. Indicating desire for a job that is either useful to society or helpful to others suggests that the respondent cares about the interconnectedness of their community and the welfare of others. These are central components in the construction of the compassion factor in other PSM survey instruments (Kim, 2009; Perry, 1996).

Finally, the two questions used in the construction of the *self-sacrifice* factor diverge most from those used in other PSM surveys. Though both Perry (1996) and Kim (2009) include variations on the importance of income, they do not rely exclusively on them. However, individuals primarily sacrifice income, both in wages and opportunities for advancement, to work in the public sector. Work in many occupations is available in both sectors and willingness to put the community before the self is already measured in *desire to serve the public interest*. Consequently, at its heart, this measurement of self-sacrifice is not far removed from those in other PSM surveys (see Kim, 2009; Perry, 1996).

To assure construct validity, this analysis employs exploratory factor analysis to assess the relationship between the observed measures of each multi-measure factor in the GSS. The fundamental assumption of factor analysis is that there are unobserved (latent) factors that are responsible for the covariation between observed variables (see Kim & Mueller, 1978). By assessing the extent to which the observed variables fall into the common factors indicated by prior research, it is possible to construct a variable for PSM. Standardized parameterization has been employed to adjust for Likert-scales of various ranges (see Coursey & Pandey, 2007).

Though the GSS measures used to construct the PSM variable do not fully capture the detail of Perry's (1996) instrument, they are substantively similar to other measures of PSM (Kim, 2009). Moreover, Wright's (2008) recent review of PSM measures indicates wide variation in the measures of PSM used in published studies. Almost half of the studies used a single item proxy for PSM and only about 60% of the studies published in the last ten years use a multiple-item measure based on Perry's (1996) four-factor model. Of those studies that used a multiple item measure, most failed to distinguish between Perry's (1996) four dimensions. Thus, while the measure of PSM used in this study does not exactly replicate Perry's (1996) or Kim's (2009) measures, it is consistent with the general conceptualization of PSM, reflects advances in best practice—specifically, reliance on positively worded items—and improves on the modal PSM operationalization. The Cronbach's alpha for each factor suggests an acceptable level of covariation between the observed measures (0.61–0.73), particularly given the heterogeneity of the sample population (see DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991).

Appendix C.

Interview questions:

- 1) Tell me a little bit about yourself and how you came to work where you're working today. [rapport]
- 2) When did you decide you wanted to work in the public sector? Probes: mentors, experiences, classes, networks, decision-making process
- 3) Was your education tailored to preparing for a public service career? If so, how? Probes: college major, graduate school
- 4) How many years have you been working in public service?
- 5) What other jobs or job opportunities did you have? Probes: job history, experiences, friends' experiences
- 6) What are the best parts of your job? Are there particular experiences that you recall that exemplify this aspect of your work?
- 7) What are the major challenges of your job? Are there particular experiences that you recall that exemplify this aspect of your work? Probes: job tasks, people/co-workers/managers, clients, politics, morale—try to get a sense of what makes the workday better or worse
- 8) Have you ever wanted to leave your public sector job? Why? Probes: different from expectations? Have you heard of the golden handcuffs? What do they represent, in your experience?

- 9) What incentive(s) would you need to move to the private sector? *Probes: Do you intend to remain in public service until you retire?*
- 10) How do you think others in your state perceive public employees?
- 11) How do you think government officials in your state perceive public employees? *Probes: Do you think they understand what most public employees do? Do you think they understand what you do? Why do you think they have these perceptions about public workers?*
- 12) Describe your experience of Wisconsin’s Act 10 from 2011. *Probes: What groups do you identify with? Have you experienced a connection/solidarity with other public employees? Have you ever participated in any public demonstrations or protests? If so, describe that experience.*
- 13) Is there anything else you’d like to add about your work in the public sector?

Demographics:

- 1) age
- 2) party ID
- 3) undergraduate major
- 4) highest degree
- 5) gender
- 6) race
- 7) relationship status
- 8) income: 0–20; 20–40; 40–60; 60–80; 80–100; 100+
- 9) union status: now? ever?

Appendix D.

See Tables D1 and D2.

Table D1

Multinomial logistic regressions predicting employment in majority female occupations by sector – weighted and reported in log-odds.

Variable	Majority Fem. – Public	Majority Fem. – Private	Majority Male – Public
PSM	1.62*** (0.36)	0.30+ (0.17)	0.82** (0.27)
Female	6.29*** (1.15)	2.60*** (0.55)	1.45+ (0.88)
Black	1.68 (0.25)	–1.68+ (0.88)	–0.17 (1.19)
Married	0.17 (0.13)	–0.21* (0.09)	0.67*** (0.14)
Age	0.01 (0.00)	–0.01*** (0.00)	–0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.30*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05+ (0.03)
Liberal	–0.26 (0.16)	–0.20** (0.12)	–0.52** (0.17)
Conservative	–0.42** (0.16)	–0.12 (0.10)	–0.26+ (0.15)
Job Security Impt.	0.07 (0.08)	0.26*** (0.06)	0.17 (0.11)
Promotion Impt.	–0.17+ (0.09)	–0.12+ (0.07)	–0.34*** (0.09)
Independent Work Impt.	–0.39*** (0.09)	–0.03 (0.06)	–0.03 (0.08)
Interest Impt.	0.44*** (0.12)	0.08 (0.08)	0.67*** (0.12)
Flexibility Impt.	–0.20** (0.07)	0.00 (0.04)	0.09 (0.06)
Prefer Big Firm	0.20 (0.14)	–0.07 (0.11)	1.03*** (0.14)
Female*PSM	–1.61*** (0.44)	–0.24 (0.22)	–0.33 (0.34)
Black*PSM	–0.42 (0.56)	0.56 (0.34)	0.21 (0.45)
Constant	–11.10***	2.23***	–7.25***

* p < 0.05

** p < 0.01.

*** p < 0.001.

+ p < 0.10.

N = 4376, Chi² = 1117.67, Pseudo R² = 0.15. Reference category is majority male – private.

Source: 2006 General Social Survey, 2006 Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table D2

Multinomial logistic regressions predicting employment in disproportionately black occupations by sector – weighted and reported in log-odds.

Variable	Disprop. Black – Public	Disprop. Black – Private	Non-Disprop. Black – Public
PSM	0.29 (0.34)	0.83*** (0.18)	2.13*** (0.30)
Female	–0.39 (1.06)	2.32*** (0.60)	6.61*** (0.88)
Black	1.36 (1.39)	1.30 (0.84)	2.34+ (1.15)
Married	0.68*** (0.15)	–0.12 (0.09)	0.34** (0.11)
Age	–0.01 (0.00)	–0.01*** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Education	–0.05 (0.030)	–0.13*** (0.02)	0.25*** (0.02)
Liberal	–0.61** (0.20)	–0.18 (0.12)	–0.10 (0.14)
Conservative	–0.52** (0.17)	–0.15 (0.11)	–0.10 (0.14)
Job Security Impt.	0.16+ (0.09)	0.22** (0.07)	0.05 (0.08)
Promotion Impt.	–0.15+ (0.08)	0.08 (0.06)	–0.20** (0.08)
Independent Work Impt.	–0.48*** (0.08)	–0.13+ (0.06)	–0.06 (0.08)
Interest Impt.	0.45*** (0.11)	0.05 (0.07)	0.57*** (0.11)
Flexibility Impt.	–0.02 (0.07)	0.09+ (0.05)	–0.07 (0.05)
Prefer Big Firm	0.84*** (0.14)	–0.11 (0.11)	0.50*** (0.12)
Female*PSM	0.34 (0.42)	–0.62+ (0.24)	–2.17*** (0.34)
Black*PSM	–0.11 (0.53)	–0.30 (0.33)	–0.70 (0.44)
Constant	–2.93**	–2.22**	–13.42***

* p < 0.05

** p < 0.01.

*** p < 0.001.

+ p < 0.10.

N = 4376, Chi² = 763.96, Pseudo R² = 0.10. Reference category is Non-Disprop. Black – Private.

Source: 2006 General Social Survey, 2006 Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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